October 1, 1965

Mr. Harold Boyd
President
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvedere Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Hal:

As I told you when we saw each other so briefly in Richmond, I have returned to the Southern Regional Council to head its labor program. I will be on leave of absence from my post at the University of Wisconsin.

Our plans are to provide a fairly wide range of educational programs and other services of interest to state and local councils, regional offices and local unions, as well as to individual union leaders. The primary emphasis will be on understanding current southern problems, racial relations and civil rights. I certainly look forward to an opportunity to renew both friendships and working relations with you and the Virginia labor movement.

Incidentally, I plan to be in Hot Springs during the time of the advanced Southern Labor School to sit in on the meetings of the Southern Advisory Committee to the AFL-CIO Rights Department. I hope to spend a few days there. Perhaps I should ask you, as President of the School, if it is convenient for me to attend the first few days of sessions.

It will be good to see you again. My regards to the other Virginia officers.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:js

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8806 Granel St., Norfolk, Va., 23503
JACK EPSTEIN
745 E. 26th St., Norfolk, Va.

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Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.

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102 NORTH BELVIDERE STREET
PHONE: 644-2996
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 23220

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6007 Napoli Rd., Camp Spring, Md.
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1613 Princess St., Alexandria, Va.

October 11, 1965

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

It certainly was nice to see you in Richmond even if only for a few minutes. I am very happy that you are back in our area again even if it is only on a leave of absence basis.

You certainly are invited to attend any and all of our sessions at both the Southern Labor School and the Southern Advisory Committee on Civil Rights.

Looking forward to seeing you in Hot Springs, I am

Sincerely yours,

H. B. Boyd
President

HBB:FT
OEIU 334, AFL-CIO

VIRGINIA STATE A.F.L.-C.I.O.

BE A GOOD CITIZEN—PAY YOUR TAXES—QUALIFY—REGISTER—VOTE

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March 18, 1966

Mr. Harold B. Boyd, President
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Dear Hal:

As per George Guernsey's request, I plan to be with you for your Education Conference in Norfolk on April 16. I look forward to it.

Let me know the specifics of when and where. Also do you know at this time what subject you would like for me to teach? I am available for a variety of them, and if you would prefer we could discuss it by phone.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

Joan File this with
Va. AFL-CIO Conference

Send following —

Dear Jackie:

I plan to be with Norfolk for the April 16 Va AFL-CIO education Conference.

Could you or Hal Boyd supply me with particulars regarding where the meetings will be and at least the beginning time? Thanks.

Quickly
Jimmy Z Thos

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

Department of Education
March 21, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Region Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Rm. 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory,

George tells me that you are going to teach a class on "how to improve union meetings" at the Virginia Legislative Conference on April 16th.

Hal Boyd will show the film "Heart of the Union" to the entire group the first thing in the morning before they break up into smaller groups. This will save time in your discussion group. I am shipping 200 copies of the enclosed material on improving union meetings to the conference. They will be available if you care to use them in your class.

Looking forward to seeing you in Norfolk.

Fraternally yours,

Jacqueline Kienzle
Staff Representative

JK/dc
opeiu #2 afl-cio
enclosure

HAROLD B. BOYD, PRESIDENT
BREWSTER SNOW, SECRETARY-TREASURER
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1613 Princess St., Alexandria, Va.

March 25, 1966

Va AFL-CIO
Norfolk meeting

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir and Brother:

For your information I am enclosing a copy of the program for our Week End Institute. The institute will be held at the Golden Triangle Hotel, in Norfolk, Virginia, April 16 and 17.

Registration is held on Friday, April 15, from 7:00 to 9:00 P.M., but the classes start at 9:00 A.M., Saturday, April 16.

We look forward to seeing you there.

Sincerely and fraternally,

H B Boyd

H. B. Boyd
President

HBB:FT
Enc.
OPEIU 334, AFL-CIO

VIRGINIA STATE A.F.L.-C.I.O.

BE A GOOD CITIZEN—PAY YOUR TAXES—QUALIFY—REGISTER—VOTE

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PROGRAM - WEEK END INSTITUTE - 1966

March 26 and 27, 1966, Roanoke, Virginia
April 16 and 17, 1966, Norfolk, Virginia

REGISTRATION - Friday 7:00 P.M. - 9:00 P.M., and Saturday 8:00 A.M. - 9:00 A.M.

Saturday

9:00 A.M. - Invocation - Allegiance to Flag - Introduction - Opening Remarks - Film
10:00 A.M. - 10:15 A.M. - Coffee Break
10:15 A.M. - 11:25 A.M. WORKSHOPS

Groups	Topics	Discussion Leaders
A	Implementation of the Economic Opportunity & Appalachia Acts	Jacqueline Kienzle, Staff Member, AFL-CIO Department of Education
B	Committee on Political Education	Wilbur Hobby, Area COPE Director and Julian F. Carper, State COPE Director
C	Better Union Meetings	William Clitheroe, Southern Educational Director, IAM
D	Title VII, Civil Rights Act	William Pollard, Staff Member, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department

11:35 A.M. - 12:45 P.M. WORKSHOPS

Groups	Topics	Discussion Leaders
A	Committee on Political Education	Wilbur Hobby and Julian Carper
B	Better Union Meetings	William Clitheroe
C	Title VII, Civil Rights Act	William Pollard
D	Implementation of the Economic Opportunity & Appalachia Acts	Jacqueline Kienzle

12:45 P.M. - 2:15 P.M. - LUNCH
2:15 P.M. - 3:25 P.M. WORKSHOPS

Groups	Topics	Discussion Leaders
A	Better Union Meetings	William Clitheroe
B	Title VII, Civil Rights Act	William Pollard
C	Implementation of the Economic Opportunity & Appalachia Acts	Jacqueline Kienzle
D	Committee on Political Education	Wilbur Hobby and Julian Carper

3:25 P.M. - 3:40 P.M. - BREAK
3:40 P.M. - 4:50 P.M. WORKSHOPS

Groups	Topics	Discussion Leaders
A	Title VII, Civil Rights Act	William Pollard
B	Implementation of the Economic Opportunity & Appalachia Acts	Jacqueline Kienzle
C	Committee on Political Education	Wilbur Hobby and Julian Carper
D	Better Union Meetings	William Clitheroe

Work or Speech —
7:00 P.M. - BANQUET
8:30 P.M. - FILM

Sunday

9:30 A.M. - 10:30 A.M. - Actions of the Virginia General Assembly
? EFV
10:30 A.M. - 10:45 A.M. - Coffee Break

10:45 A.M. - 11:30 A.M. - Labor Views the Virginia General Assembly

11:30 A.M. - 12:15 P.M. - Summary - Evaluation - Closing Remarks - Adjournment

OPEIU 334, AFL-CIO

April 19, 1966

Mr. Julian Carper
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Dear Julian:

It was most generous of you to lend me your car so that I could have a few hours in Richmond before returning to Atlanta. It was greatly appreciated by the whole Via clan.

I wonder if you recall the man sitting next to you on Sunday morning who was recording the proceedings. If it would be an easy thing to do, I would like to obtain a copy of the tape of my speech to the group. I would be happy to pay any cost involved in this.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

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1613 Princess St., Alexandria, Va.

April 27, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your nice letter of April 19. I am glad you had a good trip back to Richmond and a pleasant visit with your family.

I have contacted Brother Frank Walsh, of the Auto Workers Union and he brought me the tape which he recorded. We will make a copy of it and send it to you, but will have to wait until next week when he can bring his recorder to our office since his recorder operates in the exact opposite manner from ours here in the office. As soon as we are able to secure a copy we will forward it to you.

Sincerely yours,

Julian F. Carper

Julian F. Carper
Vice President and
State COPE Director

JFC:FT
OPEIU 334, AFL-CIO

VIRGINIA STATE A.F.L.-C.I.O.

BE A GOOD CITIZEN—PAY YOUR TAXES—QUALIFY—REGISTER—VOTE

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May 12, 1966

Mr. Victor Bussie, President
Louisiana State Labor Council
429 Government Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Vic:

The enclosed statement will give you an idea of some of the kinds of programs which my project at the Southern Regional Council will be sponsoring. I would welcome an opportunity to renew acquaintances face to face and to discuss this proposal or others with you.

I will be in Mobile on Thursday, May 19, and had planned to go into New Orleans for Friday. Would it be at all convenient for me to see you that day if I could make my way into Baton Rouge?

Because I will be out of the office most of next week, I will give you a call on Monday, the 16th, to see if the 20th will be a good time for you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc.

(504) DIckens 3-5742

Louisiana AFL-CIO

OFFICES:
BATON ROUGE
NEW ORLEANS
SHREVEPORT

FORMERLY: LOUISIANA STATE LABOR COUNCIL AFL-CIO

MAILING ADDRESS: P. O. BOX 58 - BATON ROUGE

(504) 525-0153

April 20, 1966

V.F.
Loretta

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Please accept my apology for the delay in answering your letter of March 9. At the time I received it, I was in the midst of preparations for our convention which just ended and I was not able to keep up with my correspondence.

The voter registration problem we have had in Louisiana, insofar as the Justice Department is concerned, is that we have been unable to get the Department of Justice to make an all-out drive to register Negroes in Louisiana. I am sure they have problems connected with this; however, it seems to me that after these people have been deprived of the opportunity to vote for so many years, every effort should be made to give them that opportunity. We have sponsored efforts jointly with the Negro community throughout Louisiana to step up the registration program but this is a very costly and time-consuming project, as you well know. The Department of Justice can do it much more rapidly and efficiently than we can. To date we have not been very successful in getting Mr. Katzenbach to move as fast as we would like.

Trusting this is the information you need and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Victor Bussie
President

VB:md

May 30, 1966

Mr. W. H. Montague, Sr., President
Georgia State AFL-CIO
15 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Room 208
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Montague:

I have just received the preliminary announcement of the Gulf Coast Labor School. Recently I attended the Tri-State School in North Carolina. It was an excellent undertaking and had enthusiastic participation from the union members attending.

I wonder if the Gulf Coast School doesn't offer a good opportunity to spread the idea of labor education more broadly to your members in Georgia. It seems to me that it would be a good preliminary for your spreading interest in labor education in the state.

I have not heard from Georgia State College as to when it would be convenient for them to meet with me. I'll let you know as soon as anything develops.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

bcc: Barney Weeks
George Guernsey

May 30, 1966

Mr. Harold Boyd, President
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Dear Hal:

Al Kehrer tells me he passed on a copy of my proposal for an Institute. I am glad you have it for I would have been sending you one soon in any case. If you would be interested in some such program I will be happy to talk with you about it or to write a more detailed suggestion of what we might do in Virginia.

Such programs can be offered either on a state-wide or regional basis, through a local body, or through a group of locals in the same national union. The information I would most need in order to send you a more detailed proposal would be how long you think such an institute should run, what group(s) you hope to reach, and at what level.

I could meet with you and others to discuss an institute if you like.

Let me know if you want anything further from me.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

June 9, 1966

Mr. Barney Weeks, President
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Barney:

It was very good indeed to see you at Daytona Beach and to bet a chance to talk with you on the return trip. I am enclosing a proposal for possible educational institutes to be held in Alabama. You will note that several kinds of institutes are suggested. And it is possible to pick from a very large number of topics when putting together an institute program.

I know that this is a special time for you and that you may prefer to delay the consideration of such a proposal until after the fall election. However, I wanted to follow up my offer to be of assistance to you and the state body in any way that's practical.

If you think that any of the ideas in the enclosed proposal or a program of even more basic union education would be more useful prior to the election please don't hesitate to be in touch with me. In any event, it may be that you would like to do some planning with me and others of your selection as to the kinds of programs that would be useful after November.

As you will understand from the proposal I stand ready to be of assistance not only in terms of instruction but also in planning and to some degree of promotion and administration.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

August 3, 1966

Mr. Oscar Wisdom, President
Tri-Cities Central Labor Union
Sheffield, Alabama

Dear Oscar:

It was good to get to meet you last week end during the educational institute. This is just a note to express appreciation for the work that you and your co-workers did in making the institute a reality. Your help and interest were greatly appreciated.

I enjoyed having a chance to chat with you in a little more detail about problems and prospects in the Tri-Cities area. If you feel that I could be of service in further programs -- either in making suggestions, planning, or instructing -- please be in touch with me or with Barney Weeks.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

bcc: Barney Weeks, Pres., Alabama LaborCCouncil, AFL-CIO

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

August 12, 1966

ALL AFL-CIO UNIONS
IN MOBILE DISTRICT

Fraternal Greetings:

A weekend AFL-CIO Educational Institute for all Central Body and Local Union Officers and members in your area will be held in Mobile, Alabama September 16-17 at the Mobile District Labor Council, 105 North Jackson Street, Mobile, Alabama. Registration will begin at 6:00 p.m. Friday with classes to begin at 7:00. The Saturday session will begin promptly at 9:00 a.m.

The Institute is jointly sponsored by the Mobile District Labor Council and the Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO. The training will be under the direction of Mr. Emory Via, former Professor of Labor Studies at the University of Wisconsin and now Director of Labor Programs with the Southern Regional Council. Among other outstanding instructors will be Ray Jenkins, Alabama newsman.

Some of the subjects to be covered are: "Labor History," "Union Administration," and "The Impact of Reapportionment on State Politics."

Please complete the enclosed registration form and return it to this office, along with a registration fee of $1.00 per student before September 12, 1966.

Fraternally,

A. G. Trammell

A. G. Trammell
Secretary-Treasurer

ek

OPEIU18

Enclosure

AFL-CIO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Jointly Sponsored by:

ALABAMA LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO and MOBILE DISTRICT LABOR COUNCIL

Mobile, Alabama - September 16-17, 1966
105 North Jackson Street

****

LOCAL UNION:_____INTERNATIONAL UNION_____

The following members of this local have been selected to attend the AFL-CIO Educational Institute:

NAME	ADDRESS	CITY

This registration form should be returned to the Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO, 604 Lyric Building, Birmingham, Alabama 35203 not later than September 12, 1966.

A check for the registration fee of $1.00 per student must accompany this form. Please make check payable to: Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO, Education Fund.

****

ek
OPEIU18

Jenkins
Renewed

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

August 17, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Since Mr. Weeks is attending the Southern Labor School this week, I am taking the liberty of acknowledging your letter of August 12.

Enclosed is a copy of the call for the Mobile institute. You will note the sessions will be held at 105 North Jackson Street. Mr. W. O. Mozingo is the president of the Mobile District Labor Council.

As soon as the officers return from the Southern Labor School, they will let you know where you will be staying and send Mr. Jenkins a check.

Sincerely,

Mary Charles Wiggins

(Miss) Mary Charles Wiggins
Sec. to Pres. Weeks

mw

OPEIU-18

Enclosure

August 22, 1966

Mr. Ray Jenkins, Managing Editor
The Alabama Journal
Lawrence and Washington Streets
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Ray:

I can't tell you how much we appreciated the marvelous job you did for us in Sheffield and Childersburg. All of us are looking forward to having you with us again in Mobile, Friday night, September 16, and Saturday, September 17.

Rather than have you wait until all of the institutes are over, our check for $151.16 is enclosed for your expenses for the two schools plus the honorarium to cover the past two institutes.

Best wishes and warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Barney Weeks
President

mw

OPEIU-18

Enclosure

bcc: Mr. Emory F. Via

Fete

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

August 22, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I have just returned to the office and found your letter of August 12, regarding Ray Jenkins' expenses. We are today mailing him a check for $151.16 to cover the past two institutes.

I surely am sorry George did not work out the details of the Southern Labor School in time for you to participate in that. It was the best we've ever had, with 86 students present. We surely would have liked to have had you there. I know you would have had to work hard, but I believe you would have enjoyed it, too, since we had such a sharp group.

We will be staying at the Battle House Hotel in Mobile, and will make your reservations there if this is agreeable.

Best wishes and warmest regards.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Barney

Barney Weeks
President

mw

OPEIU-18

In Atlanta or Gulf Coast?

HAROLD B. BOYD, PRESIDENT
BREWSTER SNOW, SECRETARY-TREASURER
JULIAN F. CARPER, VICE-PRESIDENT

Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Chartered by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

102 NORTH BELVIDERE STREET

PHONE: 644-2996

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23220

1966

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6007 Napoli Rd., Camp Spring, Md., 20023
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1613 Princess St., Alexandria, Va., 22314

MEMORANDUM

TO ALL PERSONS OR FIRMS CORRESPONDING WITH
H. B. BOYD, FORMER PRESIDENT OF VIRGINIA AFL-CIO

This is to advise you that Mr. H. B. Boyd resigned as President of the Virginia State AFL-CIO, effective August 26, 1966.

All correspondence addressed to his office should be mailed to:

Mr. Julian F. Carper, Vice President and
State COPE Director
102 N. Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Thank you for making the proper change in your mailing records.

OPEIU 334, AFL-CIO

JANE:
Please note, correct our directories if not already done, pass to Janet Smith
Thanks,
Jay

VIRGINIA STATE A.F.L.-C.I.O.

BE A GOOD CITIZEN—PAY YOUR TAXES—QUALIFY—REGISTER—VOTE

Neither this letter, nor any part thereof, may be reproduced without the written consent of Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

September 19, 1966

Mr. Emory Via, Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

This will confirm our conversation while in Mobile regarding the Sixth Biennial Convention of the Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

The Battle House Hotel will be convention headquarters, and all sessions of the convention will be held at the Municipal Auditorium. The dates of the convention are Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, October 10, 11 and 12, with the sessions beginning at 9:30 a.m. each day.

We would particularly like to have you on the program Tuesday morning, October 11, at approximately 10 or 10:30. I surely hope you can come and that you will let us know as soon as possible.

Thanks so much for all your assistance, and warmest regards.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Barney

Barney Weeks
President

mw

OPEIU-18

September 23, 1966

Barney Weeks, President
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Barney:

This letter is to follow-up on our conversation about getting letters of support from local unions for the proposed NILE program for Disadvantaged Unionist in the South. All letters should be sent to:

Joe Mire
National Institute of Labor Education
American University
1911 "F" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

You will recall that the proposal is to provide education services, classes ~~in~~ of Institutes, to the members and leaders of unions which have substantial minority or poverty level memberships.

I know that several national unions have already written letters of support. These include the Retail Clerks, IUE, Laborers, AFSCME and TWUA. Aside from these the Civil Rights Department has expressed support with a promise of cooperation. You may wish to recall that NILE has been receiving a substantial annual contribution from the AFL-CIO.

The letters can be quite simple emphasizing the need for leadership and membership training either for effective training to improve the quality of participation in the union and/or to improve the character of the union's participation in community affairs.

Although these expressions of interest and cooperation will be quite useful to NILE they, of course, do not represent a binding agreement to work with them.

I know this is an especially busy time for you, but if three or four letters from locals could be sent to Joe Mire, he would be most appreciative.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

September 23, 1966

Mr. Barney Weeks, President
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Barney:

Thanks for your letter and the list of delegates to the Gulf Coast Institute.

I appreciate your invitation to participate in your convention. I plan to be there. It would suit my schedule fine to be on the program Tuesday morning. I plan to come into Mobile in the afternoon or evening of Monday October 10.

Will you let me know, if you want me to stay at the Battle House Hotel, or if you would prefer for me to make my own reservations. I will be prepared for about a thirty-minute presentation centering on the Role of Labor Education in the Contemporary South. However, I can quite flexible as to time and either expand or contract my remarks as your schedule requires.

As always it was good to see and work with you in Mobile last weekend.

Best personal wishes.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

September 26, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director of Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I have just received your letter of September 23 and am delighted that you can come down and be with us at our convention. I have requested reservations for you at the Battle House Hotel which is convention headquarters.

Thanks so much for planning to take the time to be with us, and we will look forward to seeing you.

Warmest personal regards.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Barney

Barney Weeks
President

mw

OPEIU-18

Ala - AFL-CIO
Dead

October 5, 1966

Mr. Ray Jenkins
The Alabama Journal
Montgomery, Alabama 36102

Dear Ray:

Thanks for sending me your expenses. You will hear from Barney shortly I am sure unless his convention delays things a bit.

I appreciate very much getting your typed script on the presentation you made at the three institutes. It will be most helpful, if and when, we are able to produce a pamphlet on the impact of reapportionment.

It has been a real pleasure getting to know you and I want you to know, how much I appreciate the time and energy which you put into doing a good job for the Alabama Institutes.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

October 18, 1966

Mr. Emory Via, Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I can't begin to tell you how much I appreciate your taking the time to come down to Alabama and address the delegates to our 6th Biennial Convention.

You did a terrific job, and all of our delegates appreciated and enjoyed your address. We heard many fine remarks about your talk.

Thanks so much.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Barney

Barney Weeks
President

mw

OPEIU-18

October 21, 1966

Mr. Victor Bussie, President
Louisiana AFL-CIO
429 Government Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70802

Dear Vic:

Perhaps the enclosed registration information for Louisiana parishes will be of interest to you.

We would be happy to have any comments you might have.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Enclosure

October 24, 1966

Mr. Barney Weeks, President
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
1604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Barney:

Thanks for your kind letter. Again my congratulations on your re-election.

Did you get a chance to ask several locals to send letters to Joe Mire in support of the N.I.L.E Project for Disadvantage Unionst? Anything that you can do would be helpful.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Ala. AFL-CIO

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

October 26, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Since President Weeks is out of town and will not return to the office until October 31, I am taking the liberty of acknowledging your letter of congratulations on October 24, and inquiry concerning the N.I.L.E. Project for Disadvantaged Unionists.

Sincerely,

Mary Charles Wiggins

(Miss) Mary Charles Wiggins
Sec. to Pres. Weeks

mw

OPEIU-18

Alabama Labor Council (AFL-CIO)

1966

December 5, 1966

Mr. Barney Weeks, President
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Barney:

Sometime ago I discussed with you the possibility of getting two or three letters from locals in Alabama expressing interest in the proposal for disadvantaged unionists sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education (NILE).

I understand that O.E.O. is still actively considering this proposal, but that it very much wants some showing of interest from local unions in the South. These letters do not have to be in the form of commitments, just expressions of interest.

A foundation has already put in enough money to provide the matching funds. If O.E.O. comes through, it would provide a sizable amount of money for educational work with unions which have either large numbers of members who fall close to the poverty line or a heavy concentration of minority members.

There is need for speed at this time. If you can do something about this it would be a real service. I am enclosing some sample letters in case they may be of assistance.

The national level endorsements that I have heard of include: T.W.U.A., A.F.S.C.M.E., Laborers, I.U.E., Retail Clerks, and the D. C. Labor Council. Joe Mire tells me that the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department also supports it. You recall that NILE gets a substantial grant from the AFL-CIO.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:hj

Enclosures

GEORGIA STATE AFL-CIO

CHARTERED BY AND SUBORDINATE TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

DISTRICT VICE PRESIDENTS

LOUIE M. NUNN
1ST DISTRICT

MRS. JIMMYE HATCHER
2ND DISTRICT

RALPH C. TOWNSON
3RD DISTRICT

J. W. HARDEGREE
4TH DISTRICT

MRS. MARTHA TRUE
5TH DISTRICT

MORGAN BOWEN
6TH DISTRICT

A. J. SCOTT
7TH DISTRICT

H. G. FITZPATRICK
8TH DISTRICT

OTIS CHILDERS
9TH DISTRICT

J. HAROLD DYE
10TH DISTRICT

15 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ROOM 208
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
525-2793

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

W. H. MONTAGUE, SR.
PRESIDENT

M. J. COUNIHAN
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

J. O. (JIM) MOORE
SECRETARY

MRS. LOUISE DEAN
TREASURER

December 7, 1966

Mr. Emory Vie
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Enclosed is our Legislative Conference call. We cordially invite you to attend and take part in the discussions.

We are now developing a program, which we will send you as soon as completed.

Sincerely,

W H Montague Sr

W. H. Montague, Sr.
President

WHM:s
opeiu 21
afl-cio

GEORGIA STATE AFL-CIO

CHARTERED BY AND SUBORDINATE TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

DISTRICT VICE PRESIDENTS

LOUIE M. NUNN
1ST DISTRICT

MRS. JIMMYE HATCHER
2ND DISTRICT

RALPH C. TOWNSON
3RD DISTRICT

J. W. HARDEGREE
4TH DISTRICT

MRS. MARTHA TRUE
5TH DISTRICT

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8TH DISTRICT

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9TH DISTRICT

J. HAROLD DYE
10TH DISTRICT

15 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ROOM 208
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
525-2793

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

W. H. MONTAGUE, SR.
PRESIDENT

M. J. COUNIHAN
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

J. O. (JIM) MOORE
SECRETARY

MRS. LOUISE DEAN
TREASURER

November 1, 1966

IMPORTANT NOTICE

TO: ALL LOCAL UNIONS, CITY CENTRAL BODIES, AND STATE COUNCIL OF TRADE & INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS AFFILIATED WITH THE GEORGIA STATE AFL-CIO.

Greetings!

CHANGE OF LOCATION AND DATE OF LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

Due to a labor dispute, and the Dinkler Plaza Hotel being placed on the unfair list by the Atlanta Building Trades, we will not be able to hold our Legislative Conference there December 10, 1966, as previously notified.

The LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE will be held DECEMBER 17, 1966 at the AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL, Atlanta, Georgia. Breakfast will be served at no expense to the delegates at 8 A. M., and the conference will continue.

At this conference, BILLS that are to be presented to the 1967 session of the General Assembly, with the support of the Georgia State AFL-CIO, will be prepared in advance, as complete as possible, for discussion and your approval or disapproval.

This conference is of the utmost importance to the labor movement and we urge your organization to send as many delegates as possible.

Please make your reservations, as soon as possible, directly with the AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL, 160 Spring Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

R A T E S

Single rooms..... $13.00
Double rooms..... $16.00

There will be no other business discussed at this conference.

We are looking forward to seeing you DECEMBER 17, at the conference in the AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL, Atlanta, Georgia.

Fraternally,

W H Montague Sr

W. H. Montague, Sr.
President
Georgia State AFL-CIO

WHM:s
opeiu 21 afl-cio

December 8, 1966

Mr. Mathew Lynch
Tennessee State Labor Council
226 Capitol Boulevard
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Dear Matt:

Please bear with me for a longish letter and a number of requests. Its for a good end. This information will be used as part of a briefing session for a select group of state legislators from three states. Anything which should be kept confidential as to source, please so indicate.

Unfortunately, I need the information as soon as possible.

I am interested in information which the state body may have developed on unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, and state minimum wage-maximum hour laws.

It would be most helpful to have: (a) your criticism of existing legislation, (b) proposals for changes, (c) analysis of the state's (or employers') ability to pay for improvements, (d) difficulties in administration, (e) drafts of new bills (and who supports), (f) digests or popular interpretations of existing legislation.'

If you have done a vote analysis in the state legislature regarding the above laws, this would be useful.

A private assessment of the "good" and "bad" guys administering the legislation would be most helpful--say, for example, where a serious legislator could go or should not go for insight and assistance. Similarly, who in your organization would be the appropriate person for such a legislator to contact for expert assistance?

If you have worked on wage collection or protection legislation, any of the above kinds of information regarding it would be welcome.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:hj

December 8, 1966

Mr. H. S. Brown
Texas AFL-CIO
308 West 11th Street
Austin, Texas 78711

Dear Hank:

Please bear with me for a longish letter and a number of requests. Its for a good end. This information will be used as part of a briefing session for a select group of state legislators from three states. Anything which should be kept confidential as to source, please so indicate.

Unfortunately, I need the information as soon as possible.

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If you have worked on wage collection or protection legislation, any of the above kinds of information would be welcome.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:hj

December 20, 1966

Mr. H. S. Brown, President
Texas State AFL-CIO
308 W. 11th St., Box M.M.
Capitol Station
Austin, Texas 78711

Dear Hank:

Will you be able to send to me any of the materials which I requested in my letter of December 8? You will recall I was interested in anything put out by the Texas AFL-CIO on unemployment compensation, workman's compensation, and state minimum wage laws.

It would be most helpful to also have answers to the other questions raised in my December 8th letter if that is possible.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

December 20, 1966

Mr. Matthew Lynch
Tennessee State Labor Council
226 Capitol Blvd.
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Dear Matt,

Will you be able to help me out on my request for materials on workman's compensation, unemployment compensation, and state minimum wage laws? You will recall from my letter of December 8 that I am primarily interested in the material that the Labor Council has published.

Answers to the other questions in the December 8 letter would also be most helpful.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

TEXAS AFL-CIO

Box MM, Capitol Station 308 W. 11th Austin, Texas 78711 GR 7-6195 GR 2-0600

1965-1966

December 28, 1966

H. S. HANK BROWN
President

ROY R. EVANS
Secretary-Treasurer

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7811 Harrisburg, Houston

DON McCULLAR
P.O. Box 18242, Houston

PAUL TEAGUE
Box 1429, Texas City

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209 Kotz Bldg., Corpus Christi

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Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I apologize for the delay in answering your letter. I have been out of town and have been forced to neglect my mail to some extent.

The Texas AFL-CIO has not published any material on unemployment or workmen's compensation. We have no minimum wage law in Texas but we stand a chance of getting one enacted by the next session of the state legislature after the publicity generated by the striking Rio Grande City farm workers and their 400 mile march to Austin.

In regard to workmen's compensation, I am enclosing the Department of Labor's "State Workmen's Compensation Laws: A Comparison of Major Provisions with Recommended Standards," and the AFL-CIO worksheet on both Workmen's Compensation and Unemployment Compensation. I would also recommend the Chamber of Commerce publication "Analysis of Workmen's Compensation Laws" and the Labor Department's latest "Brief Summary of State Workmen's Compensation Laws" which has been updated with a supplemental data sheet to November of 1966. We have only one copy of these, so we cannot send them along, but you can see that the Texas laws are unsatisfactory. The workmen's compensation law meets the minimum standards in only three areas out of sixteen: agency authority to supervise and control medical care, a rehabilitation division, and administration by a state agency.

Our proposed bill is enclosed which provides, among other things, for increased benefits to two-thirds of the average weekly wage, death benefits to widows until death or remarriage, to children until they are eighteen, and benefits for total or permanent disability payable for life or for the period of the disability.

The unemployment compensation benefits should also be increased to realistically reflect the higher cost of living, and the requirements for eligibility should not be unduly restrictive. About fifty per cent of the work force of the state is not covered by the act and we feel coverage should be extended to all.

As far as the private assessment of "good guys" in our Bureau of Labor Statistics, there are none! We have a few friends that legislators can go to in the Texas Employment Commission as labor relations representatives and they are Bill Stockton in Houston, W. L. Allgood in Fort Worth, Frank Swales in Beaumont and Terry Sheffield in San Antonio. In our own office, our expert is Roy Evans, the Secretary-Treasurer.

I hope I have been of some help, and apologize again for the delay. Hoping that you and your family have had a happy holiday season, I remain

Sincerely,

Hank

H. S. Hank Brown
President

HSB:sc
opeiu 298
Enclosures

MILLERS FALLS
EZERASE
COTTON CONTENT

February 22, 1967

Mr. Bill Becker, President
Arkansas State Federated Labor Council
1408 Rebsamen Park Rd.
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202

Dear Bill:

Here is a draft announcement -- in haste. Change it as you see fit.

Dan and Al agree that it would be better not to run three institutes on successive weekends. We will take a little time to evaluate the first one. Besides, Dan has a conflict on April 14-15.

I am leaving to go out of town today but will be in touch with you next week.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

Announcing a Special Educational Institute

"Eastern Arkansas: Its Unions, People, and Problems"

When: April 7 and 8, 1967. Beginning Friday evening at 7:00 p.m.

Where: Holiday Inn, Forrest City

Who: Local union officers, executive board members, stewards

Cost: Lunch (?)

This program is designed to bring local union leaders important information about the problems and possibilities in a changing South and in a developing Eastern Arkansas. The state's tax needs and tax problems will be discussed--especially as they relate to working men and women. Also important issues concerning consumer protection, including such matters as credit and garnishment, will be considered.

This institute will help bring new insight to problems facing Arkansas and suggest constructive ways that unions and other groups can work cooperatively for better life for all of our people.

Outstanding experts and labor educators will be on hand to work with us on this fine program. Your union should make plans now to have its officers and stewards attend these sessions.

Bill: Do you want an actual program schedule, for example:

Friday, April 7

7:00 P.M. Registration

7:30 "Perspectives on the Changing South"
"A New Look at Eastern Arkansas"

9:30 Adjourn

Saturady, April 8

Saturday, April 8

9:00 -10:00	"Understanding Arkansas Taxes"
10:30-12:00	Consumer Problems: What can Be Done?
12-1:30	Lunch
1:30 - 4:30	Cooperative Programs for a Better Arkansas
4:45	Adjourn

Alabama Unions Plan Low-Cost Housing Units

Tuscaloosa—The Alabama AFL-CIO has received federal approval for the drawing of initial plans to build low-income-family housing in Birmingham, Florence and Decatur, council officers reported at the eighth biennial convention of the state central body.

That means the start of preliminary work on 800 housing units to be built with federal loans costing $11 million, Pres. Barney Weeks advised 550 delegates from the state's affiliated unions. Eventually the state council hopes to sponsor low-cost housing in every Alabama city where union members are concentrated, Weeks said.

The convention gave Weeks and Sec.-Treas. A. G. Trammell new two-year terms, and authorized the executive board to proceed with its housing program.

Weeks reported a membership gain of 15,000 since the 1968 convention and noted the success of a state-wide prescription drug program launched by the state body. Since its start 18 months ago, more than 32 stores have signed contracts to furnish members of affiliated unions with needed medicines at actual cost plus what Weeks called "a small professional fee."

Members of AFL-CIO unions are saving more than $500,000 a year on drugs because of the program, Weeks estimated.

Among convention speakers were Gov. Albert P. Brewer (D), whose term in office expires Jan. 15; Chief Justice-elect Howell Heflin of the Alabama Supreme Court; Bill Baxley of Dothan, attorney general-elect; Jerry Beasley, lieutenant-governor-elect; Stanton Smith, AFL-CIO central bodies' coordinator, and Irma Angevine, executive director of the Consumers Federation of America.

The incoming state officials assured the delegates that labor and the consumer will get fair treatment when they assume office next January.

The convention called on the state attorney general to set up a consumer protection department, and Baxley promised the delegates he would do just that early in his new term of office.

Heflin pledged that labor will get a fair hearing in the state's top court, and Beasley announced that legislation of interest to labor will be referred to fair committees in the next session of the legislature.

The convention adopted a policy statement calling for a state minimum wage of $1.60 an hour. On the federal level, it voted to back the AFL-CIO drive for national health insurance and an occupational health and safety law.

Georgia Labor Asks Improved Minimum Pay

Augusta, Ga. — The Georgia State AFL-CIO laid the groundwork at its 14th annual convention for an all-out drive to boost the state minimum wage to $1.50 an hour.

The 650 delegates also called on the state legislature to extend coverage of the wage law to more workers. Through labor's efforts, the legislature earlier this year adopted the state's first minimum wage law setting a floor of $1.25 an hour for covered workers.

Delegates voted to increase monthly per capita payments from 10 cents to 12 cents. The additional income will be channelled mainly into COPE operations and legislative programs of the state body.

Pres. J. O. Moore told the convention that 8,000 new members were enrolled in the state body since the last convention to boost the total membership to 74,000 members.

Moore was re-elected to his second two-year term as president, defeating former Sec. J. W. Giles. In the contest for secretary, H. H. Marbry of the Carpenters was elected over Melvin Tate of the Pulp-Sulphite Workers. Mrs. Louise Dean was re-elected treasurer.

Speakers at the three-day convention included Assistant Sec. of Labor W. J. Usery and Georgia Commissioner of Labor Sam Caldwell.

Times, News Reach Pacts With Guild

New York—Wage increases as high as $100 a week are provided in new three-year contracts tentatively agreed upon by the Newspaper Guild and the New York Times and the Daily News.

Guild negotiators reached agreement a few hours before a scheduled walkout and sent the terms to a vote Nov. 9 by 2,600 Guildsmen at the Times and about 1,400 at the News.

No details were released pending unit votes, but a Guild spokesman said the papers offered the same 41.69 percent package increase won by the Guild at the Post, and by other unions from the publishers.

Under the pattern formula, top minimum wages for experienced reporters, copy editors and advertising salesmen will rise at the Times from $255.25 to $361.66 a week in the third year and at the News from $242.55 to $343.67.

Guild members have been working under a contract extension since Mar. 30. Besides wages, which will go up in yearly increments of 15, 11 and 11 percent, issues at the two dailies include a full union shop, percentage increases applied to top minimums in all Guild classifications, conversion of a six-minute reduction in working time per day to cash or other benefits, and improved pensions.

Theodore W. Kheel, chief mediator in the talks that started last February, said contract approval by members of the Guild and the photoengravers would close out the 1970 round of negotiations. Kheel was aided by federal and state mediators.

Eugene Goslee Named Labor Board Solicitor

The appointment of Eugene G. Goslee as solicitor of the National Labor Relations Board was announced by NLRB Chairman Edward B. Miller. Goslee, 48, is a veteran NLRB attorney.

Goslee succeeds William Feldesman, now on leave for an assignment on behalf of the International Labor Organization in Africa. On his return, Feldesman will become a special assistant to Board Member John H. Fanning.

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

June 17, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director of Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Since talking with you by telephone, I have checked with the presidents of the central bodies in Childersburg, the Tri-Cities and in Mobile. The president of the Tri-Cities Central Body gave us a tentative okay but said he would officially clear it with his central body on the 21st of this month and let us know immediately. The President of the Mobile Central Body also gave us a tentative okay, but will officially clear it with his central body on the 20th of this month. The president of the central body in Childersburg felt that he could give us a positive okay without waiting for his central body.

I will, of course, let you know immediately after the central body meetings in Mobile and the Tri-Cities, but I am positive in my own mind that we will get an okay. It is my opinion that we should start getting the call out as fast as possible after these two dates, at least for the first meeting in Sheffield.

You will hear from me as soon as possible.

Best wishes and warmest regards.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Barney

Barney Weeks
President

mw

OPEIU-18

June 27, 1966

Mr. Barney Weeks
President
Alabama Labor Council
AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Barney:

It occurred to me a little late that you might want to go ahead and announce the school in Childersburg on August 5th and 6th. We would still plan to have the film and comment on labor history for the opening session. And Saturday morning we would have Jenkins talking on the impact of reapportionment on Alabama politics. For that conference, however, the other main topic would be local union administration.

Would you please send me copies of any announcements that you are mailing out in regard to these programs. This will be a further help in keeping us coordinated especially in regards to time, places, and the way we are phrasing the subject matter.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director Labor Program
Dictated and signed in
his absence

EFV/km

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

June 27, 1966

ALL AFL-CIO UNIONS
IN NORTHWEST ALABAMA

Fraternal Greetings:

A weekend AFL-CIO Educational Institute for all Central Body and Local Union Officers and members in your area will be held in Sheffield, Alabama July 29-30 at the Ironworkers' Hall, 506 Nashville Avenue. Registration will begin at 6:00 p.m. Friday with classes to begin at 7:00. The Saturday session will begin promptly at 9:00 a.m.

The Institute is jointly sponsored by the Tri-Cities Central Labor Union and the Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO. The training will be under the direction of Mr. Emory Via, former Professor of Labor Studies at the University of Wisconsin and now Director of Labor Programs with the Southern Regional Council. Among other outstanding instructors will be Ray Jenkins, Alabama newsman.

Some of the subjects to be covered are: "Labor History", "The Union's Role in the Poverty Program", and "The Impact of Reapportionment on State Politics."

Please complete the enclosed registration form and return it to this office, along with a registration fee of $1.00 per student before July 15, 1966.

Fraternally,

A. G. Trammell

A. G. Trammell
Secretary-Treasurer

ek

OPEIU18

Enclosure

July 5, 1966

Mr. Rudy Oswalt
Research Department, AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Rudy:

I've just talked to George Guernsey of the Education Department and he has informed me that you will be able to help us at the week end institutes. We surely are delighted that you have been able to take the time to come down and assist us and we are looking forward to having you.

Registration for the schools will start at 6:00 p.m. on Friday with the first class to begin at 7:00 p.m. on Friday and run until 9:00 p.m. The Saturday session will start at 9:00 a.m. and run until about 4:30 p.m. The first institute will be held at the Ironworkers' Hall in Sheffield, Alabama July 29 and 30. The second one will be held August 5 and 6 at the Textile Workers' Hall in Childersburg and the final one to be held September 16 and 17 at 105 North Jackson Street, Mobile, Alabama.

If you will let us know what time you will arrive in Sheffield we will make arrangements to have someone pick you up. We will probably be staying at the Holiday Inn in Florence and if we can make your reservations we'll be glad to do that also if you will let us know when you are arriving.

Best wishes and warmest regards.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Barney weeks
President

ek
opeiu18

bcc: Mr. George T. Guernsey
Mr. Emory Via

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

July 5, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

George Guernsey called me today, July 5, to tell me that Rudy Oswalt will come down and help us at one or more of the institutes. He had tried to get you but failed and asked me what time you would need Rudy. I told him I was almost positive it would be Saturday rather than Friday night but that you would let him know about this later. We have used Rudy before and he has done a fine job.

Best wishes and warmest regards.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Barney

Barney Weeks
President

ek
opeiu18

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

July 6, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

After a lot of maneuvering around I managed to get Rudy Oswald of our Department of Research to attend the Central Body Conference in Alabama on July 29 and 30. Rudy is an excellent person who has done a good deal of work on the Minimum Wage and can handle the whole poverty problem realistically.

I had planned to check with you on this but Barney told me that you were on vacation. He knows Rudy very well and was glad to get him. If you want to talk to Rudy about the program, call him here at the AFL-CIO in the Research Department.

Fraternally yours,

(dictated but not read)

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir., Department of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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RALPH HELSTEIN

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

July 11, 1966

Mr. Barney Weeks, President
Alabama State AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Barney:

I spoke to Rudy today. We promised you Rudy only for July 30th. He is probably committed to another meeting on the 5th of August. We certainly didn't mean to imply that he could come to all three conferences.

Fraternally yours,

(dictated but not read)

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir., Dept. of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio
cc: Rudy Oswald, AFL-CIO

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

July 13, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I have just received a copy of New South which you were so kind to send me. I have not had time to read it yet, but am looking forward to it particularly since having an opportunity to glance at some of the titles and authors. I surely do appreciate this and thank you ever so much.

I have just received the enclosed letter from George Guernsey in which he tells me that Rudy Oswald of the AFL-CIO Research Department will participate only on July 30. It was not clear in his letter so I just assumed that it would be for each one of the three institutes and responded accordingly.

In order that I might tie down reservations for our accommodations at the Holiday Inn in Florence for the first institute, would you please advise me who we'll have that I should make reservations for other than for you, Ray Jenkins and my group.

Hope the vacation was enjoyable and that you are now raring to go.

Best wishes and warmest regards.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Barney

Barney Weeks
President

mw

OPEIU-18

Enclosure

July 25, 1966

Mr. Ray Jenkings
The Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

This letter will give you a few more details regarding the conference with the Alabama AFL-CIO on the week end of July 20-30. The sessions will be held in Sheffield at the Ironworkers' Hall, 506 Nashville Avenue. However, I have made reservations for you at the Holiday Inn in Florence where the rest of the teaching staff will be housed.

The sessions will begin on Friday evening at 7:00 p.m. with a labor history film and discussion.

The next morning we will begin promptly at 9:00 and have your session, "The Impact of Reapportionment on State Politics." This session will run until 12 but we will take a break about midway. We had discussed earlier your taking about thirty minutes to lay out some of the groundwork and then to get into a discussion with the group. Your experience is such that I feel sure we will have no difficulty keeping the discussion going for the period of time alloted. Although you may feel that a half hour is not enough time to say all that you would like to say in your initial presentation, you will find that as the discussion goes on there will be adequate opportunities to reinforce any points you feel need to be made. By and large you will find the group one interested in increasing its political understanding. It may be that there are some tough problems which they are somewhat reluctant to face up to, but my general experience is that they are quite responsive to factual interpretive material.

In the afternoon we will be discussing the union's role in the poverty program. You are most welcome to stay.

I hope to have in hand maps showing the reapportioned districts for both the House and the Senate as well as Congressional district maps to distribute to each person.

I look forward to seeingyyou on the 29th. Please be in touch with me, by collect call, if you have any questions whatsoever.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

July 25, 1966

Mr. Rudy Oswald
Research Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Rudy:

George Guernsey tells me that you will be with us for the Alabama Education Conference to be held in Florence on July 29 and 30. Good. I had tried to reach you by phone to discuss the program but your office said you would not be back in until August 1st.

On Friday evening we will show THE INHERITANCE and have a discussion. Saturday morning will be devoted to "The Impact of Reapportionment on Alabama Politics." This will be led by Ray Jenkins with the Montgomery Advertiser.

For the afternoon, the general topic will be "The Unions' Role in the Poverty Program." This will be the portion of the program for which you will have the chief responsibility. You will have roughly three hours at your disposal with time out in the middle for a break.

I envision the session accomplishing several things. One is to provide some orientation to poverty problems and a presentation of those programs designed to affect them. Two, we should explore especially the problems affecting the Appalachian region and specific proposals for meeting them. And, three, we should spend a fair amount of time discussing the how and why of union involvement in poverty programs. I don't know what kinds of materials you like to use with such a group, but you may wish to check with George regarding what the Education Department has available. Anything which you wish to distribute should be brought in quantities of about fifty or more each.

We will be providing copies of the American Federationist for April, 1966; "Labor's Role in the War on Poverty," an AFL-CIO Guide; and a summary of the Appalachian Regional Development Act published by the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council.

I am asking Al Ulmer of our staff also to be on hand for the Saturday afternoon session. You should feel no special responsibility to use him, although I find him a good resource on the practical problems of poverty programs in operation and in terms of the difficulties and hopes of working with disadvantaged folk. You should know, too, that the AFL-CIO coordinator for the poverty programs in Alabama will be on hand as will Oscar Wisdom who is president of the Tri-Cities Labor Council and a participant in the Appalachian Council training project operating out of the University of West Virginia. You should feel free to draw on the experience of any of these people as it fits in with what you would like to do.

Would you call me when you get into your office in case you would like to discuss anything involving this program. I have had a reservation made for you at the Holiday Inn in Florence, Alabama for Friday, July 29. Of course, I do not know if you plan to be in on Friday evening or on Saturday morning. Could you let me know about this also?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

AFL-CIO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Jointly Sponsored by:

ALABALA LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO and TRI-CITIES CENTRAL LABOR UNION

Sheffield, Alabama - July 29-30, 1966
Ironworkers' Hall--506 Nashville Avenue

****

LOCAL UNION:_____INTERNATIONAL UNION_____

The following members of this local have been selected to attend the AFL-CIO Educational Institute:

NAME:	ADDRESS:	CITY:

This registration form should be returned to the Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO, 604 Lyric Building, Birmingham, Alabama 35203 not later than July 15, 1966.

A check for the registration fee of $1.00 per student must accompany this form. Please make check payable to: Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO Education Fund.

****

ek

OPEIU18

Ala – AFL-CIO

B.W. to supply

Projector
Screen
Blackboard
Eraser & chalk
Badges
registration cards
Certificates
pencils

Only 1 room – can't split groups

Reserved rooms for Jenkins, Ulmer, Oswald, Via

W. Va.

Roger Reis – 3 states
Coordinator for Appalachia
Project invited by Oscar
Wisdom to participate
weeks made clear
just as an observer –

FPV –

Film
Materials
Notebooks

Maps (appart & dist)

For Ala

Black board
Chalk
eraser
notebooks

Pencils

Film
Inheritance

Materials
Poverty —
Labor & Politics

(?) Reapportionment
Ala — Maps ?
Court case extracts —

Local Union Administration
Duties of offices
Planning
The Local Meeting
Committees

Song books —

New "organization" — South
Migrant Labor
Fla — Processing
RWDSU
J. P. Stevens —

AFL-CIO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Sponsored by the

Tri-Cities Central Labor Union

and the

Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO

in cooperation with the

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Ironworkers' Hall
506 Nashville Avenue
Sheffield, Alabama

July 29-30, 1966

PROGRAM

AFL-CIO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Sheffield, Alabama

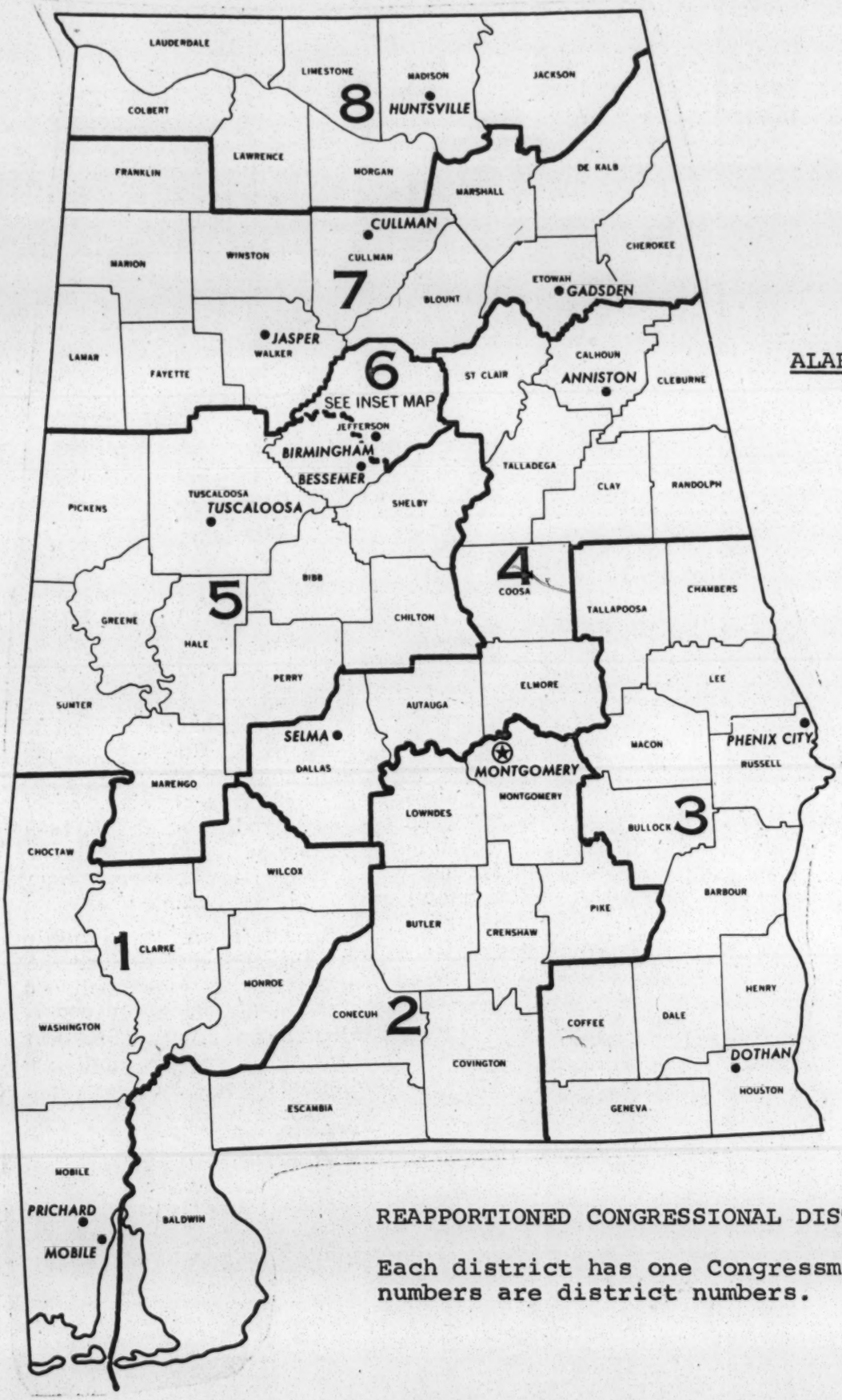
July 29-30, 1966

Friday, July 29.

6:00 p.m.	Registration
7:00 p.m.	Welcome: A. G. Trammell, Secretary-Treasurer, Alabama AFL-CIO Labor Council; Oscar Wisdom, President, Tri-Cities Central Labor Union; Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
7:15 p.m.	Film showing: THE INHERITANCE. Discussion.

Saturday, July 30.

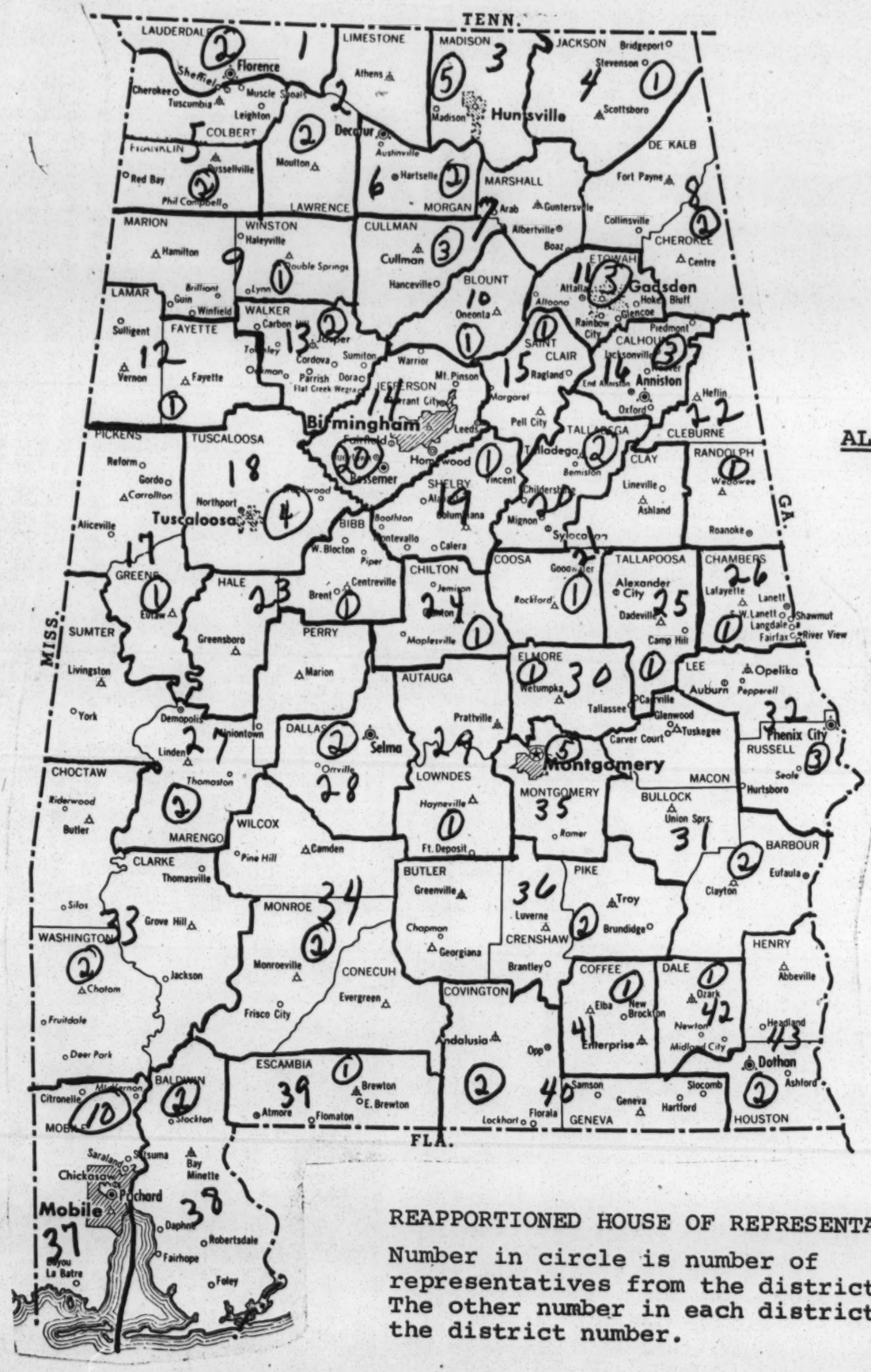
9:00 a.m.	"The Impact of Reapportionment on State Politics." Ray Jenkins, The Montgomery Advertiser.
10:30 a.m.	Coffee break.
10:45 a.m.	"The Impact of Reapportionment on State Politics" continued.
12:00	Lunch.
1:15 p.m.	"The Union's Role in the Poverty Program." Rudy Oswald, Research Department, AFL-CIO.
2:45 p.m.	Coffee break.
3:15 p.m.	"The Union's Role in the Poverty Program" continued.
4:15 p.m.	Closing ceremonies.



ALABAMA

REAPPORTIONED CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

Each district has one Congressman; numbers are district numbers.



ALABAMA

REAPPORTIONED HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Number in circle is number of representatives from the district. The other number in each district is the district number.

ALABAMA

REAPPORTIONED SENATE

With exceptions noted by numbers in circles, each district has one senator. Other numbers are district numbers.

A Summary of The Appalachian Regional Development Act

PUBLISHED BY THE

AFL-CIO Appalachian Council

P. O. BOX 646

CHARLESTON • WEST VIRGINIA

AFL-CIO Appalachian Council

A cooperative effort of AFL-CIO organizations to assist in the development of Appalachia

Post Office Box 646 • Charleston, West Virginia 25323

Phone 304 344-3557

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6

AFL-CIO Appalachian Council

About the Council

The AFL-CIO Appalachian Council is an Amalgamation or joining together of all AFL-CIO organizations in the eleven-state Appalachian Area.

The formation of this unique regional organization is a direct result of the "Appalachian Trade Union Conference" held in Charleston, West Virginia October 12-14, 1964. Present in the conference were representatives of AFL-CIO unions from every state in the eleven-state region. At its concluding session the conference unanimously adopted a resolution urging and approving the establishment of a permanent Appalachian Organization. Specifically the resolution stated that such an organization should work toward "unearthing and understanding problems of the region, developing plans for their solution, and stimulating or undertaking specific projects or action programs for their elimination."

Subsequent to the conference, permission was obtained from the National AFL-CIO to form the organization and, in December 1964, an organizational meeting was held in Washington at which time the officers whose names appear on the opposite page were selected.

Since the conference was held in October, both the Economic Opportunities Act and the Appalachian Regional Development Act have been passed by Congress. The Council can now be of invaluable assistance in making these programs successful in the Appalachian Region.

About This Pamphlet

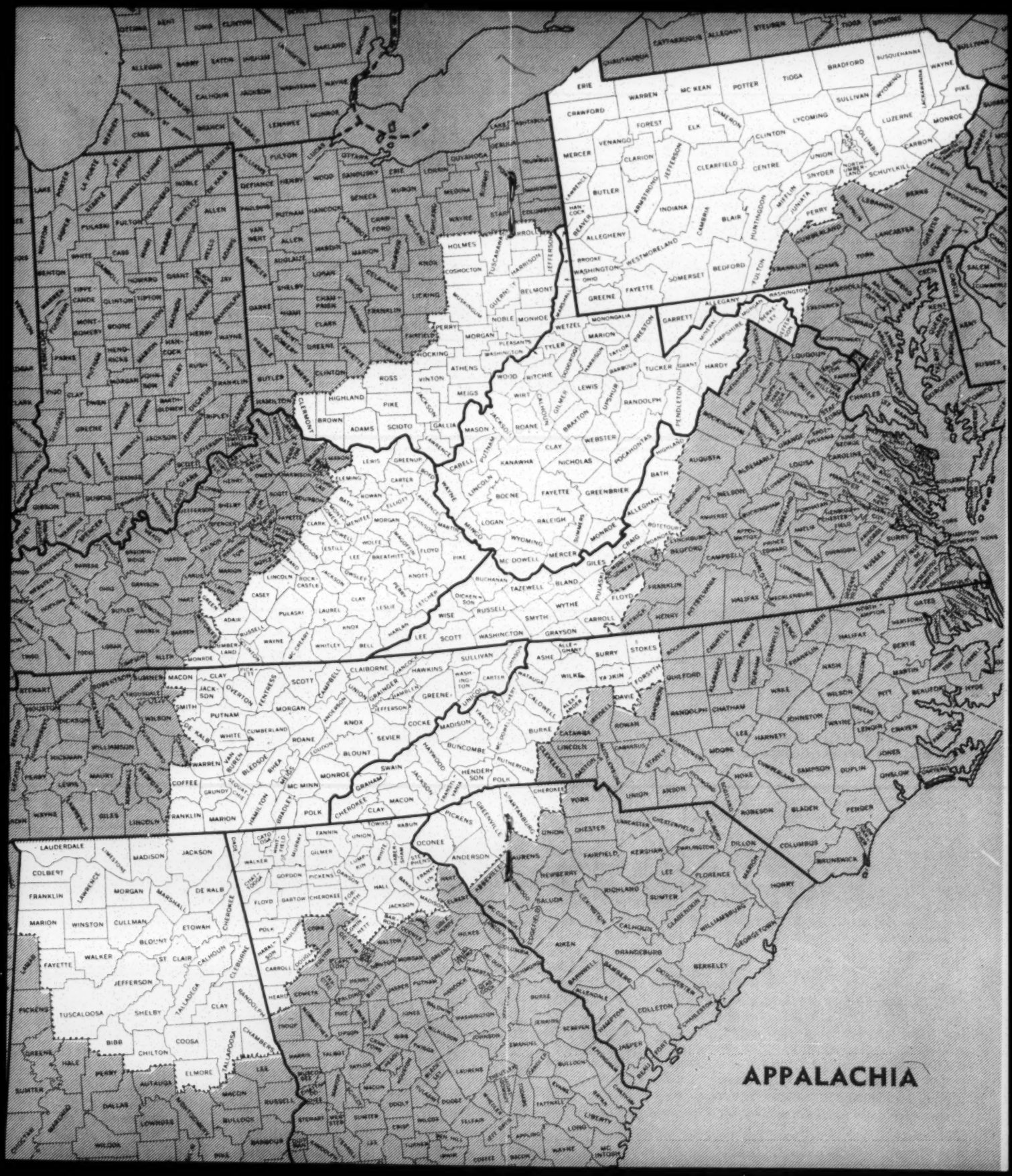
This pamphlet is designed to give a quick summary of the provisions of the Appalachian Regional Development Act. Many questions have been raised relative to the allocations of funds among the states to finance the various programs provided in the Act. Unfortunately, at the time of this printing, such information was not available. When it is released the Council will see that proper distribution is given this important information.

★ ★ ★

A Summary of the Appalachian Regional Development Act (1965)

The Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 (P.L. 89-4), signed by President Johnson on March 9, authorizes a variety of programs designed to stimulate the economic development of the Appalachian Region. This region of 167,000 square miles sweeps diagonally across 11 states from northern Pennsylvania to central Alabama and has a population of more than 16 million.

Appalachia contains 360 contiguous counties in portions of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Virginia,


APPALACHIA

Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and all of West Virginia. One-third of the population of Appalachia, compared to one-fifth nationally, is beset by poverty, according to the standards established by the President's Council of Economic Advisors.

This Act is the direct result of the concerted efforts of the Conference of Appalachian Governors and the President's Appalachian Regional Commission established in 1963; it is composed of representatives of the Appalachian States and a dozen Federal agencies.

In making its legislative recommendations, the President's Commission noted that Appalachia was plagued by low income, high unemployment, lack of urbanization, low educational achievement, and relatively low living standards and that "a coordinated, adequately funded and sustained effort must be undertaken to restore the region's economic vitality." Accordingly, the Commission recommended a variety of programs designed to revitalize the Appalachian economy on four fronts:

1. Better access to and within the region;
2. Fuller development of the land and timber resources of Appalachia;
3. Improved management of Appalachia's valuable water resources, and
4. Improvements in human resources and public facilities.

In addition to providing for public investments in the Appalachian Region, the Act establishes a framework for joint Federal and State efforts to attack the region's common problems on a coordinated regional basis. The Appalachian Regional Commission will administer the Appalachian program in such a way as to promote economic growth in the Region and enable it to develop a more diversified industry.

The Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 does not contain all of the programs for which monies will be made available during fiscal year 1966. It contains only those programs requiring new legislative authorizations or modification to existing legislative authorizations.

Funds to carry out the entire program, both those provisions contained in P.L. 89-4 and those programs already authorized which require additional funds for increased activities in the Appalachian Region are provided for in a special appropriations bill recently submitted to Congress.

The main provisions of the Appalachian Regional Development Act are as follows:

Highways

An Appalachian Development Highway System will be constructed to provide access to isolated sections of the region and to make possible a greater flow of industry and tourism between areas within the region and between the region and the rest of the country. Existing roads will be upgraded and

new sections constructed to open up areas with a developmental potential. A total of 3,350 miles of roads shall be built of which 1,000 miles are reserved for local access roads, to serve specific developmental facilities, including recreational, residential, commercial, industrial or like facilities.

Water Resources

A comprehensive water resources study is authorized for the entire Appalachian Region. The study will be coordinated by the Secretary of the Army, assisted by all relevant agencies. Acceleration of water facilities construction in the region is requested in the supplemental appropriation bill for Appalachia. There will be a heavy emphasis on flood control, industrial and recreational impoundments and sewage treatment plants.

Timber

The timber program includes accelerated research into end uses for the Appalachian hardwoods found throughout the region; increased national Forest Land acquisition; more access roads in National Forests to increase the cut from matured timber; assistance to local nonprofit corporations, known as timber development organizations, designed to manage and produce better grades of timber, thereby earning a greater return for the small landowner.

Land Conservation

To promote the conservation and better utilization of the region's important land and water resources, the Act authorizes a program of grants to landowners for the adoption and improvement of land treatment practices. The Department of Agriculture will administer grants for land treatment to prevent erosion and to promote soil conservation.

A special coal lands program gives the Secretary of the Interior broadened authority to seal and fill voids in abandoned coal mines, extinguish mine fires and expand the restoration of fish and wildlife sites destroyed by strip mining. The Secretary of the Interior is also directed to carry out a comprehensive strip mining study which should give the answers needed for the development of a broader strip mining program. The authorizations in the bill, together with the program to be included in the supplemental appropriations bill, will make it possible to begin a comprehensive regional program of coal lands reclamation that will enhance the region's attractiveness to industry and to tourism.

Human Resources and Public Facilities

The Act provides a specific program for the construction and operation of multi-county health centers which will contribute to the economic development of the region. A special supplement to the Vocational Educational Act of 1963 is also provided which makes $16 million available over a two-year period for the construction of vocational education facilities. In addition, the Act provides a supplemental fund to be used to reduce the local cost of participation in Federal grant-in-aid programs for the construction of public facilities.

Among the programs to be supplemented in this fashion are those providing funds for hospitals,

vocational education facilities, higher education facilities, including community colleges and technical schools, libraries, educational television facilities, airports, sewage treatment plants and public recreation facilities.

There will be careful coordination of the construction activities with the Office of Economic Opportunity, directed by Mr. Sargent Shriver. The Office of Economic Opportunity will provide operating funds for activities to be carried out in many of the facilities that will be constructed with Appalachian program funds.

Coordination and Execution

An Appalachian Regional Commission is created by the Act to coordinate this new program as well as to make recommendations with regard to existing programs and to provide program planning. This Commission will be comprised of representatives from each of the eleven Appalahican States and a Federal co-chairman appointed by the President whose vote would equal the states' vote. Project applications for grants and technical assistance will be made through the state members of the Commission, who shall evaluate such applications. Only those applications for programs and projects which are approved by a state member will receive Commission approval.

The Act requires that the Commission make its investment in areas which have a potential for growth and where the return on public dollars invested will be maximized. All investments must be in accordance with overall program plans recommended by the Commission and approved by an officer designated by the President.

To enable local areas to develop projects and plans which will lead to their economic development, grant funds are provided in the Act to cover part of the administrative expenses of local development districts.

★ ★ ★

Conclusion

The labor movement has a great stake in developing the human and natural resources of Appalachia. The Council is currently planning programs and projects to assist AFL-CIO organizations to be more effective in this endeavor.

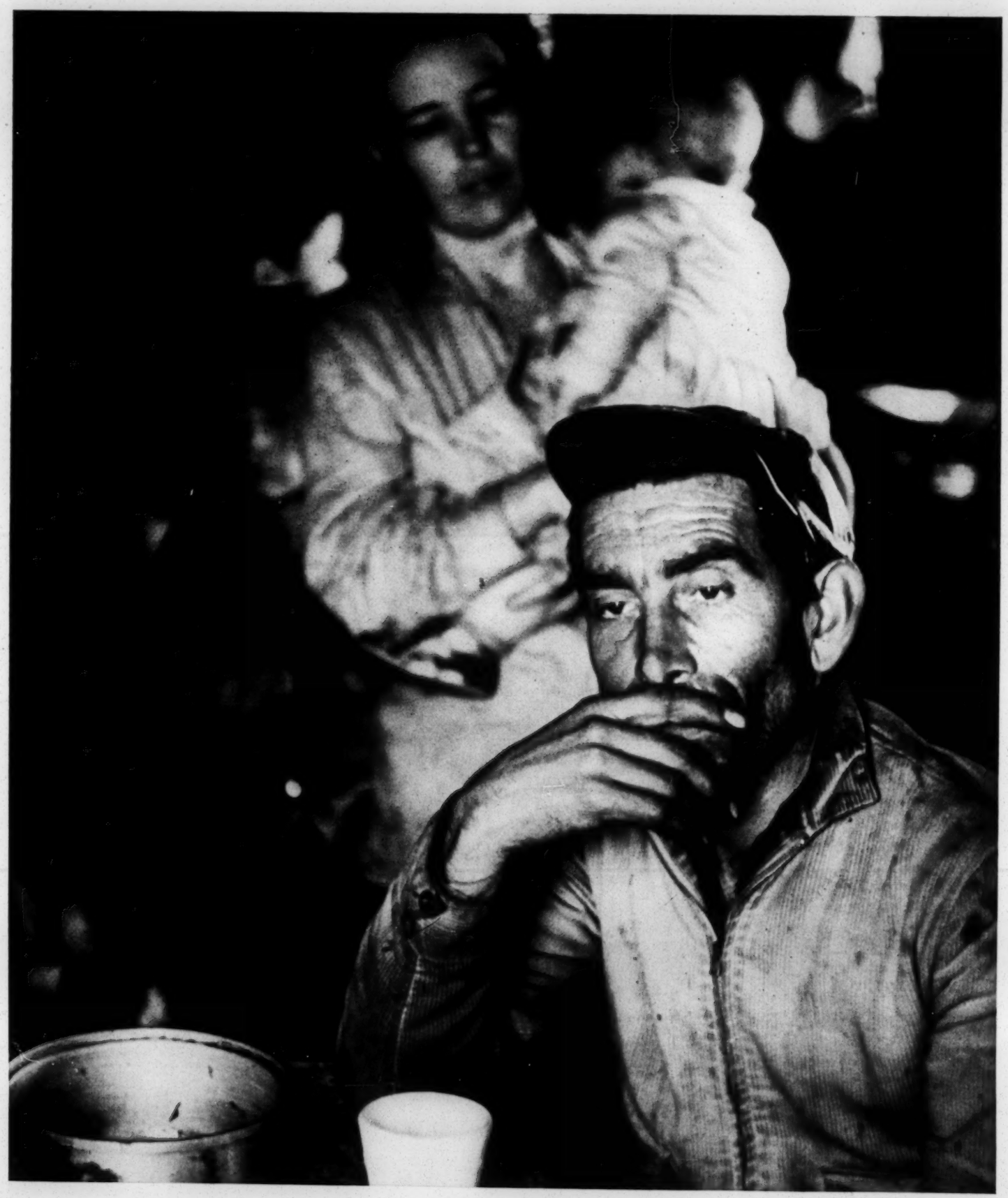
If your organization would like more specific information regarding the Applachian Regional Development Act, the Economic Opportunity Act or the activity of the Council, please contact your state central body or write directly to the:

AFL-CIO Appalachian Council
P. O. Box 646
Charleston, West Virginia 25323

The American Federationist

APRIL 1966

AMERICA'S POOR: Reality and Change



The American Federationist

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America is committed to a war on poverty with programs which must be greatly expanded. But this does not disturb the fact that the basis for building a strong and stable democracy lies in policies to promote full employment and a modern system of social insurance and income maintenance. Only on such a foundation can a war on poverty be won.

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Cover photo by Vytas Valaitis

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AN EDITORIAL

The No. 1 Domestic Problem

Despite all the talk about inflation by economists and newspaper writers, the No. 1 domestic problem in America today is poverty.

It is not surprising that we in the labor movement see this fact more clearly than anyone except the poor themselves. Poverty was our original enemy from the day the first trade union was established; it will remain the enemy until it is exterminated from American life.

Poverty is a curse in any era. Its persistence in a period of unparalleled opulence is an intolerable affront to the national conscience, a denial of the American promise so proudly proclaimed for two centuries.

The time to end poverty is now—in the decade of the Sixties. The means are available; they need only to be used.

The first essential is jobs at good wages for all. More than half the poverty in the nation is the direct result of unemployment, low wages and involuntary part-time work.

Unemployment has been declining at a gratifying rate. But real or potential shortages of workers with certain skills should not be allowed to obscure the backwaters of the manpower pool that remain largely unreached.

The place to start is with a higher minimum wage, applicable to all workers in interstate commerce. The wage-hour bill now before Congress proposes a long step in that direction—but only one step out of many that must be taken.

A corresponding need is more and better education at all levels—not only equal and unlimited opportunity for the young, but catch-up schooling, training and retraining for adults. Impressive progress has been made in recent years, but the immense backlog that remains is obvious to the least sensitive observer.

The ultimate answer to the hypocritical lament that a higher minimum wage takes work away from the unskilled is the full development of every worker's potential ability. Yet better education and a realistic wage floor, even in combination, cannot assure the elimination of poverty.

There also must be a concerted, well-planned federal policy to ensure full employment in times of peace as well as times of war. The massive investment in America, which we in the AFL-CIO have advocated for years, must be carried on. While the demands imposed by the Viet Nam war of course have top priority, there must be no retreat in the continuing struggle for a better life for all.

If poverty is to be wiped out, another group requires special attention. One-fifth of the poor is old—too old to get get jobs, past what is normally accepted as the retirement age. They have been helped by the modest increase in social security pensions; they will be helped soon by medicare, but they deserve further measures to cope with their problems and extend their useful lives.

I write these words in the full knowledge that President Johnson, more than two years ago, declared a war on poverty. I write in the full knowledge that there has since developed, on a vastly expanded scale, a different kind of war in Viet Nam. We in the AFL-CIO fully support both these wars.

But we do not accept the proposition that America must choose between these two wars, fighting either one or the other. We believe that both must be fought—and won.

The United States is not faced with a choice between guns or butter. The extermination of poverty is not "butter"—it is muscle, muscle to make this free land stronger, in spirit and substance, in the struggle against communism and every other form of tyranny.

When we fight to end poverty in America, we are fighting for the cause of human liberty throughout the world—for the aspirations of all mankind.

George Meany

The World

A family of four is eating its big meal of the day together. They live in a large city and the father works full time. Assuming the wife is a shrewd shopper and a good cook, she can spend a total of 95 cents for this feast.

The official government statistics would describe these four Americans as the very best-off of the poor, for poverty is now defined as an income which will not allow an urban family of four to spend $4.60 a week per person on food. That's 22 cents per person per meal—or 95 cents for everyone on a big occasion.

It is, of course, true that the people who have less than this minimal budget are not inevitably starving. Living in the most prosperous nation in the history of mankind, they simply have to choose among necessities. And depending on exactly how you compute the human misery in America, there are between 34 and 50 million citizens living at levels which will not let them spend 95 cents for a four-person meal.

It is particularly important to emphasize the dimensions of poverty today since there is now a very real danger of over-optimism about our progress. Unemployment has been reduced to around 4 percent for the first time in years; and in its 1966 report, the Council of Economic Advisers announced that, in 1963 and 1964, almost 3 million people were liberated from poverty. So there will be those who will conclude that we are not so far from the goal proclaimed in the preamble to the Economic Opportunity Act: "It is the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty. . . ."

Perhaps the best way to begin to understand how profound the poverty is, even with the progress that has been made, is to realize that the "poverty line" is just a figure of speech.

The government has figured out that it would take an annual income of $3,130 to provide that four-person family with its miserable 95-cent meal. This is the upper limit of poverty as we now define it and it is a very useful and important thing to have developed such a criterion.

Yet, are people freed from the want and insecurity of being poor the moment they have $3,130 a year—or even when they get all the way up to $4,000? It is crucial in this context that we understand poverty as a dynamic world and not as a mathematical "line." Mollie Orshansky of the Social Security Administration was one of the researchers who came up with the data and analysis for the government definitions. And she brilliantly realized this larger notion of poverty when she spoke of people "who live within the bleak circle of poverty *or at least hover around its edge.*"

For the family with $3,130 or even $4,000 a year is only one illness, one accident, one recession away from not being able to buy that 95-cent holiday meal. They "hover" around poverty, they are in its magnetic field. And, Orshansky concluded, if one takes this broader notion of what it means to be poor, then we are talking about 50 million Americans, 22 million of them children.

And this last statistic about 22 million young people emphasizes another crucial aspect of the dimensions of poverty: that it is, to an incredible extent, a youthful phenomenon; that there is, therefore, a very real growth potential for impoverishment in the United States.

When President Johnson first declared his social

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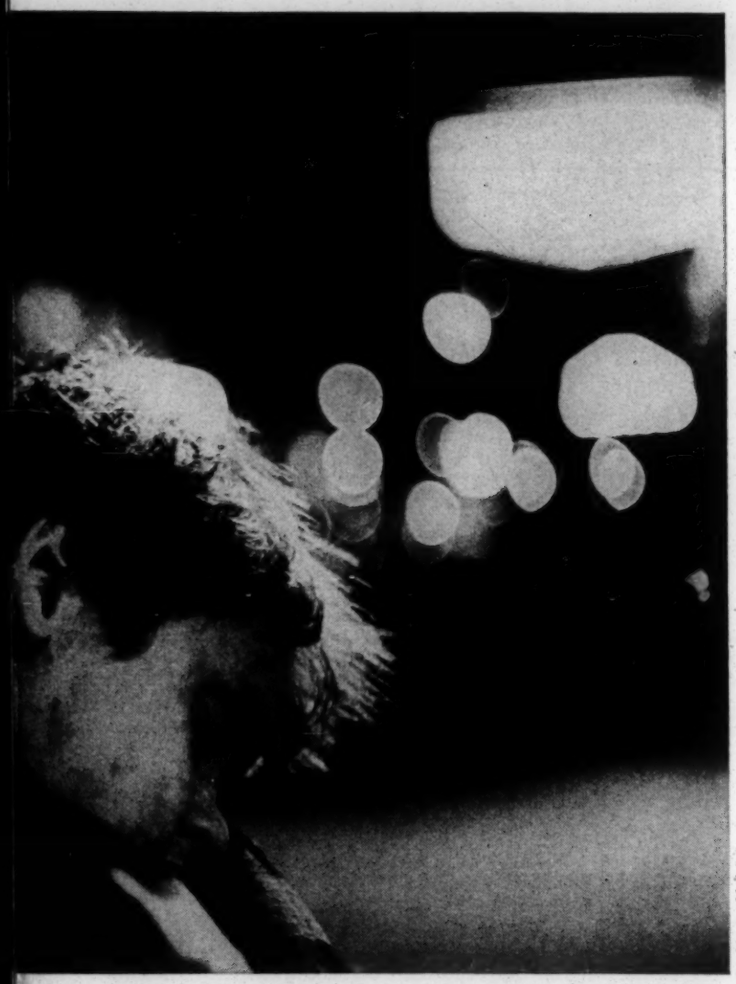
# of Poverty



By Vytas Valaitis

war in January 1964, he used a fairly rough definition of what poverty was: $3,000 a year for a family. Since then, governmental and private scholars have made our definitions much more precise, adjusting the income figure for family size, urban and rural, etc.

The most shocking thing to emerge from this calibration of economic suffering in the United States is that the young are "poorer" than the rest of the society. So it was that in 1965, the Council of Economic Advisers announced there were 15 million Americans under 18 years of age living beneath the poverty line—five million more than we originally thought. This count was made on the basis of a strict, statistical notion of what it means to be poor. But when Orshansky's insight into the millions who "hover" about poverty is brought into play, then there are, as noted earlier, 22 million poor children in this country.

In other words, almost half of the total poverty population—43 percent to be exact—is under 18. Or, put another way, one out of every five Americans is poor—but one out of every four young Americans is in this plight.

This is particularly tragic today because we are more and more learning that poverty could become hereditary for the first time in our history. In the old days of the great, impoverished immigrant waves, millions who had less than a grade school education, or who couldn't even speak English, were absorbed by an economy which had a tremendous need for simple muscle power. And so it was a typical American experience that the children of a poor man would not be poor. Today, however, there is a new, sophisticated economy with machines which possess the skill of a high school graduate, at least.

In the age of automation, it is three or four or five times as hard to "lift one's self by the bootstraps," as in immigrant times, because one has to get three or four or five times higher than ever before in order to find a decent job. This means that, unless we move radically, those 15 to 22 million impoverished young Americans of today are going to be the fathers and mothers of an even larger poverty generation of tomorrow.

Right now, for instance, the 1966 manpower report of the U.S. Department of Labor anticipates there will be more drop-outs in the 25-29 age group in 1975 than there are today (3.3 million in 1965; almost 5 million in 1975). What are these young people going to do; how will they fit into the most technological society ever known? In the last several years, we have been more successful in finding work for hordes of untrained young people. But there have been very special circumstances: some $20 billion in tax cuts disproportionately awarded to the well-off; spending for the Viet Nam war and an increase in the armed services of 300,000; the creation of a large amount of temporary employment in government programs like the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

There is no reason today to be confident that this society will know what to do with 5 million drop-outs in 1975. Obviously, we should be preparing an economic substitute for the war in Viet Nam if that tragic conflict should happily come to an end. Thus far we have not yet really faced up to the consequences of a poverty population which is so very young.

But, then, it is not simply the young who are the special victims of poverty today. In a time when we have proclaimed a national goal of equal rights for all, the massive and discriminatory workings of the econ-

omy could effectively nullify all our civil rights laws and keep Negroes and other minorities in second-class citizenship.

The trends of the present and immediate past are familiar to most socially concerned Americans. Because of racial prejudice, Negroes were among the last of the Americans to enter into the mass production mainstream of the economy. Arriving in the plants at a time of automation and chronic recession, they were the "last hired and first fired." Progress was made in World War II when war jobs allowed Negroes to reduce the discriminatory distance between what they were paid and the white wage. But in the 1950s, this hopeful trend stopped and perhaps even went into reverse. So today, on the average, black Americans receive just a little bit more than half of the pay of white Americans.

This is an existing and intolerable outrage. But the newest government figures suggest that things could be even worse in the future.

The National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress, set up by Congress and composed of businessmen, trade unionists and scholars, reported to the President earlier this year. It said, among other things, that "if non-whites continue to hold the same proportion of jobs in each occupation as in 1964, the non-white unemployment rate in 1975 will be five times that of the labor force as a whole. . . ."

It is already a scandalous fact about American society that Negro unemployment is twice that of white (and that joblessness among Negro teenagers is at 25 percent, or Great Depression rates). But now an authoritative Commission tells us that, unless there is a gigantic upgrading of the Negro workforce, this miserable situation is going to get more than twice as bad as it is now!

But, then, the Automation Commission went on, if we continue our present efforts to help non-white Americans, things will not be so bad. Negroes will "only" be two and a half times more unemployed than whites in 1975. In other words, the current national effort to help the Negro win full economic citizenship could, after nine years of activity, leave us with an increase in Negro joblessness, up from double at present to two and a half times that of whites. Thus it is clear the growth potential of poverty will victimize Negroes more than anyone else and that the most terribly abused citizen of this society today and tomorrow is the young Negro who most deserves our help.

All of these enormous problems are compounded by the incredible fact that it is precisely these defenseless and victimized youth and Negroes who are not given the most basic federal protections.

There are, for example, more than 17 million jobs not covered under minimum wage and they are precisely in the areas where the drop-outs and racial minorities desperately try to find work. There are 3½ million retail trade jobs, almost 2 million restaurant jobs, a million positions in hospitals, 2 million for domestics, which are beyond the pale of the law.

Thus when one hears that new openings in the service industries are taking the place of the jobs not being created on the assembly line, it is good to remember that one is often talking about new poverty jobs not even covered by minimum wage. And there is, of course, the subsidiary scandal that many of the jobs which *are* covered by minimum wage keep the worker in poverty.

At the beginning of this article, I pictured a poor family at the table with the father as a full-time worker. That is because 52 percent of the heads of poor families in 1963 were employed—and 64 percent of

them had at least some employment during the course of the year. In other words, it is quite possible to put in a full 52-week year on the job and to be able to provide your children with only 22 cents apiece for each one of their meals, or less. The 22 cents is for the better-off poor.

These last figures contradict the cynical American image of the poverty-stricken: as loafers, welfare chiselers, spivs. But what about those poor people who don't work? Aren't they wastrels and do-nothings?

In point of fact, it is only a minority of the non-working poor who receive any help from federal, state or local funds. According to the 1966 report of the Council of Economic Advisers, in 1964 only 7.3 million of the poor, *about one-fifth of the total*, received any public assistance payments. And, to emphasize the heartlessness of these programs, in June of 1965, 11.5 million poor children and their 7 million parents, plus about 3.5 million aging poor persons, were receiving nothing at all.

Indeed, the Council reports the ironic situation where, in 1965, there was more public aid, assistance and money for the people who were not at all poor (they got $20 billion) and for those just above the poverty line ($10 billion for them) than for those who were living in the very depths of poverty itself (they got $10 billion, or only 25 percent of the total of public transfer programs).

This is not, however, to say that those who were lucky enough to get some kind of assistance were living high on the hog. As the Economic Advisers put it, "Most persons now receiving assistance do not receive enough to enable them to live at even a minimum income level." A typical mother with three children gets a budget which allows the grand sum of $1.15 a day per person for food, shelter, clothing and all the other necessities of life.

This situation was probably one of the reasons that the Automation Commission recommended that the President investigate the possibility of guaranteeing an annual income to every citizen. For clearly a society whose national product is increasing by about $50 billion a year can afford to eliminate the scandal of poor children who get no help at all from society and others who receive utterly inadequate assistance. We are rich enough to guarantee every citizen the *right* to the necessities of life.

Here, then, starting off from that 95-cent meal for four of the best-off of the poor, is the world of American poverty. If one takes a narrow definition of a "poverty line," then it is possible to applaud our statistical progress. But if one understands that we confront a subculture, a magnetic field of misery, then things do not look so bright, for we are talking about 50 million Americans, 22 million of them children. In these terms, there will not be ultimate success in the war against poverty until every citizen is not simply across the "line" but also is insured from even the fear of falling into a situation where he must again choose between necessities like food, clothing or medicine.

Second, the most shocking thing we have learned about poverty in the course of the last two years is that it is a tragically youthful phenomenon: there are between 15 and 22 million potential heads of poor families who are now poor and under 18 years of age.

Third, the slowing down, or even the reversal, of Negro progress vis-a-vis whites is not a temporary phenomenon. If we are complacent and do not step up our efforts, the Automation Commission tells us that things will get worse for the black American, that in the midst of a political revolution for civil rights, there will be a counter-revolution of economic and social civil wrongs.

Fourth, the most victimized of our citizens are generally in jobs that are not afforded the most minimal protection of minimum wage—and we tolerate a poverty minimum wage in any case.

Fifth, if the average poor head of a family works hard and long, the average poor person who is out of the labor market does not even receive public assistance.

Given these few determinants of the nature of American poverty, there is no cause for celebration in the very modest gains we have made. There remains this world of the 50 million. There remains the fact of a meal for four persons which costs 95 cents—or half of that, or a quarter. The bread of poverty still has a bitter taste.

THE WAR ON POVERTY A 'GIANT STRIDE' FORWARD

by Sargent Shriver

Neighborhood Youth Corps

The national war on poverty is now in its eighteenth month. And we are winning that war. Not as rapidly as we would like to but faster than we thought possible when the Office of Economic Opportunity was created by law and charged with attacking chronic poverty on a broad front.

Since November 1964, the federal government, through the OEO and other executive agencies, has spent more than $2 billion. A huge sum but a mere fraction of the cost of sending men into space and very close to profits reported by one American corporation last year. Or about one-eighth the cost of conducting the war in South Viet Nam for a like period of time.

But the mere expenditure of money is no yardstick by which the accomplishments of these first eventful and often hectic months of this war can be measured. Those of us who have been directly engaged are far more concerned with the gains made in this relatively short period. We knew that a war to eradicate poverty from the United States—something no other nation in world history has ever attempted—would be a long struggle. And it will be. How long and how much the cost will be are calculated guesses. It will be a long journey, perhaps 20 years, and the cost will be high, but far cheaper than suffering about 17 percent of our citizens to remain in the degradation of poverty.

Considering the magnitude of poverty in our society, one might say we have "only scratched the surface." But we feel we have taken that first giant stride that is the most important step of the journey.

During 1965, 2.2 million people in the United States moved out of the poverty class. This reduced the number of people living in dire poverty to 32 million, which is still a shocking number of poor people. But we are making inroads. The next year should bring an even more marked decline.

Obviously, there are many reasons for this encouraging development. Our private economy has never been healthier. Since March 1964, the unemployment rate has dropped from 5.4 percent to 3.8 percent. Last year, our economic growth generated 2.5 million new jobs, including a million jobs for teenage Americans. Meanwhile, the wages of the average worker went up by more than 3 percent.

The conditions for making a successful and many-pronged attack on poverty were never better. And the results of these efforts speak for themselves.

Statistics quoted by the yard will not show the spirit of the people who have stepped forward to enlist in this war:

- There were 250,000 volunteers who worked in the Head Start school program last year. They made possible the resounding success of this pre-school effort for 600,000 underprivileged children.
- Right now, more than 15,000 citizens, rich and poor, representing every race, every religion, every profession, every trade, are helping to oversee the programs in their communities in an effort to help the poor people who want to better themselves.
- Nearly 300,000 teenagers from the poor among the rural and urban communities want to get into the Job Corps.
- There are now 10,000 Protestant, Catholic and Jewish women, Negro and white, working together through their own volunteer organization, Women in Community Service, formed only late last year.
- More than 30,000 Americans of all ages have applied to become Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), our domestic Peace Corps, even though we can offer VISTA volunteers wages that are often lower than the income of many of the poor with whom they will serve. Some 2,000 Volunteers are now serving in urban slums, in migrant labor

SARGENT SHRIVER, who directed the extremely successful Peace Corps for five years, has been Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity since its inception.

streams, on Indian reservations, in Appalachian hollows.

There is no intention here to convey the idea that the war on poverty is being waged exclusively by the OEO. Many other federal and local agencies are conducting various phases of this broad attack, some in concert with OEO, others independently. Every undertaking that reduces economic need among our people is a part of this war. Even a partial list must include: The redevelopment program for Appalachia, low cost housing, the Manpower Development and Training Act, the new education bills, the improvement and enlargement of the coverage of social security, medicare, the minimum wage law, unemployment compensation, the Older Americans Act, the Economic Development Administration.

These first 18 months are indeed just the beginning. But it has been an encouraging start. Our accomplishments in this brief span have not been limited to psychological and spiritual results. The human impact on entrenched poverty has already brought lasting changes and benefits to poor people. Here are some of them:

- It has reached more than 3 million poor people directly with jobs and other kinds of services they did not have before.
- It has involved more than 5,000 residents of the areas served by the poverty programs on community action boards, fulfilling the congressional requirement for the maximum feasible participation of the poor in choosing the best means for the eradication of poverty in their own localities.
- It has enrolled more than 600,000 pre-school children in Head Start classes in less than one year.
- It has provided jobs for more than a half-million teenagers through the Neighborhood Youth Corps projects.
- It has approved more than 5,000 separate money grants for Community Action Projects, covering every state in the Union and more than one-third of all the counties and more than one-half of the 182 poorest counties.

The Community Action Program has been and will continue to be the main attack in this war on poverty. It alone consumes more than half of all the funds allocated to the OEO. It has now clearly evolved from an experiment into an operational program. A new force working to shape the destiny of millions of the poor, bringing new vitality to community life in every state, Community Action is now a reality in more than 656 cities and towns and the number increases every day.

It requires coordinated action on the part of both the public and the private community agencies to carry out such a comprehensive program. For poverty has many faces. Poverty is not just low income; it is also wretched housing, inadequate education, lack of job skills, insecure family life and denial of access to the services which help to eliminate some of these problems.

Community Action can only succeed through the coordinated efforts of both private and public agencies. No one agency has the know-how to tackle all the problems that beset the poor. Effective local anti-poverty action needs the help of the churches, the established welfare agencies, employment offices, set-

Project Head Start

Job Corps

Community Action

tlement houses, schools, youth groups, veterans organizations, labor unions—representatives of all the moving forces in the whole community and, of course, the poor themselves. For the poor should assist in determining what priorities are placed on their needs, which programs will work best and what techniques are most likely to bring the desired results.

I would like to emphasize here that the participation of the poor themselves is one thread that runs through the Community Action plans. Not only is this a requirement of the basic law authorizing the war on poverty, but this provides an important insight into problems of poverty—the kind of insight which comes most meaningfully to those who have experienced real poverty.

Today, more than 21,000 poor people are employed directly in our Community Action agencies. It is expected that some 45,000 poor will be employed in this summer's Head Start programs. And, by the end of 1967, it is anticipated that more than 100,000 poor persons will be employed as teachers' aides, child supervisors, clerks and in other subprofessional jobs which can lead to careers outside the anti-poverty program.

A look at several important programs may be the best way of understanding the war on poverty.

The Job Corps

On January 15, 1965, a little band of 30 youths arrived at a refurbished Civilian Conservation Corps camp in the Catoctin Mountains of western Maryland. They were the first of more than 20,000 young people, including 1,600 women, in one of the more spectacular programs of the war on poverty.

By July 1966, the total is expected to reach 30,000 and in 1967 it will reach the 55,000 mark.

For all of them, who populate nearly 100 residential Job Corps Conservation Centers, as well as urban centers throughout the country, the goal is the same: To prepare for jobs in which they can earn, at the least, a decent living and to become responsible citizens.

To that end, these less privileged young men and women, these school dropouts and jobless youths from age 16 through 21, get basic education, training and work skills.

They receive full maintenance and health care, a modest living allowance and a readjustment allowance when they have completed their training. In addition, they are encouraged to make allotments of $25 per month, which is matched with a like sum from the Job Corps, to help support their families. To date, in the brief life of the Job Corps, these allotments total more than $3.5 million.

Their training in Job Corps Centers is in dozens of vocations for which there is demonstrated need and which will not displace presently employed workers.

Already these young people of the Job Corps have made enviable records in becoming part of their neighboring communities. They have fought fires and floods, planted trees and cleared sites for recreational areas, harvested crops, done many charitable deeds, given blood and, literally, saved lives. All this has been accomplished while they pursued their main objective—to become qualified workers.

As of February 28, 1966, more than 1,000 had left the program after completing their training. Nearly half went directly into jobs; about a third entered

the armed forces (although four in every ten had previously been rejected because they failed the physical or mental tests); and the remainder returned to school, with ten of them in college.

To date, more than 4,300 business firms have expressed interest in interviewing Job Corps graduates for approximately 13,000 jobs.

By mid-summer 1966, the Job Corps will be graduating thousands of young men and women monthly and more than half of them are expected to go into jobs awaiting them in industry. The remainder will return to school or enter the armed forces. All, however, will have been reclaimed from the almost certain dead-end life of those without trades, without education and without even hope for a better life.

Project Head Start

Project Head Start is OEO's program to give preschool children from economically and cuturally disadvantaged backgrounds and their families the education, medical care and social services they need.

Designed initially to enroll 100,000 children in an eight-week summer program in 1965, more than 600,000 children eventually took part, in 2,400 communities in all 50 states and the territories. So successful was the undertaking that, at its conclusion, President Johnson announced its extension to include a year-round program, follow-through on summer Head Starters and a further summer program.

With a budget of $180 million for fiscal year 1966, over 100,000 children are now enrolled on a year-round basis and a further 500,000 are expected to participate in the coming summer program.

Organized and administered by local communities, with financial assistance from OEO, each Head Start center provides the children with full medical and dental examinations, psychological, nutritional and social services. Parents are encouraged to take part in every phase of the program, to work as teacher aides and to attend special courses in home economics, food budgeting and buying, child care and improving the home environment.

OEO is now seeking an increased budget for Head Start of $310 million for fiscal year 1967. With these funds, we can enroll 200,000 children in full-year programs and 500,000 in a summer program.

The Future of the War on Poverty

The increasing demands to support our military efforts in South Viet Nam have forced President Johnson to increase the war on poverty more slowly than might otherwise be the case. But he has recognized that this anti-poverty program can and must go forward.

We have asked the Congress to authorize $1.75 billion to continue the OEO programs. This compares with $1.45 billion this year for comparable programs.

There is a natural inclination to associate the war on poverty with the civil rights revolution. Poverty claims victims in all race groups. Indeed, the majority of the poor in America are white. But one-half of the non-white population is poor and the solutions to the overall problem of poverty are closely related to the lowering of the barriers to equal civil rights. Poverty cannot be substantially eliminated until the galling problems of discrimination are more nearly solved.

Our requests for the future funding of this vast undertaking are now under consideration in the Congress. It would be presumptuous for me to assume Congress will do exactly what has been requested. However, it is obviously my earnest hope the war on poverty will not be slowed either by reductions of funds or other crippling restrictions. We need every program and dollar we have asked for.

Should the Congress agree with our requests, and authorize the expenditure of $1.75 billion, during fiscal year 1967 we will be able to:

- Allocate $533 million for the programs permitting the enrollment of a total of 45,000 youths in the Job Corps and provide jobs for 354,000 young people in the Neighborhood Youth Corps.
- Fund the Community Action Program in more than 900 localities with $944 million. This includes extending Head Start programs to 700,000 children and adult basic education to 75,000 participants.
- Set aside a total of $65 million to expand the programs for migrant farm workers and to provide loans to some 15,000 low income rural families and 400 local cooperative associations.
- Provide $5 million for small business loan programs to provide screening, counseling, management guidance or similar assistance through 120 small business development centers in 70 areas of the country.
- Earmark a sum of $160,000 for work experience programs serving 105,000 impoverished individuals.
- Enlarge the VISTA program through the allocation of $26 million, which will enable us to increase the number of volunteer workers to 4,500 as against approximately 2,000 now working among the poor.

What we have planned and the money we have asked for will not solve the poverty problem in 1967 but it will enable us to keep winning this war.

This war on poverty will go on. It will continue to be noisy, visible, often dirty, uncomfortable and sometimes politically unpopular. For grinding poverty itself is not a pretty, neat or nice affair to those afflicted by it. But this war will be won.

HEAD START · Job Corps · LEGAL SERVICES · VISTA · CAP COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM · YOUTH CORPS · UPWARD BOUND

LABOR'S ROLE IN THE WAR ON POVERTY

by David Sullivan

The nation's anti-poverty program can live up to its highest promise if all union members become involved in it at the grass roots—in the cities and counties where the battle must be fought.

For years, organized labor has fought for social progress by electing liberal legislators and by keeping in touch with them through its legislative efforts. But this is no longer enough.

For the national war on poverty is different. Unlike the New Deal programs which were largely carried out by federal, state and local government staffs, the Great Society program is to be directed largely by local citizen organizations known as community action agencies, working in conjunction with governmental and private programs.

Seeing that the program reaches the poor is a job which cannot be done by Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity alone. We have to help—or it will not work.

OEO wants our help. AFL-CIO leaders have been involved in the Office of Economic Opportunity's plans from the very beginning. And union leaders are still involved in giving advice on the program at the very highest level.

The AFL-CIO also has been developing an administrative structure to work with the Office of Economic Opportunity. Miles Stanley heads all these activities. He has been having some success persuading AFL-CIO state and local central bodies and international unions to appoint coordinators of their anti-poverty activities. Many local central body officials now serve on the governing boards of local community action agencies. They are supported by Miles Stanley's office and by the other staff departments of the AFL-CIO, each of which has been assigned special responsibility for one or more OEO programs.

The AFL-CIO Anti-Poverty Office works closely with the Job Corps and Community Action Programs. The Department of Research covers the Neighborhood Youth Corps and rural, small business, manpower, public works and regional development plans.

The Department of Education works especially with the college work-study program, adult basic education, project Head Start, vocational education and public education.

The Department of Community Services concentrates on Consumer Education and Legal Services programs and Volunteers in Service to America.

The Department of Social Security deals with work-experience programs.

So both the AFL-CIO and OEO have developed and are continuing to build administrative machinery to back up labor's efforts.

In the power structure of a typical American community, the poor, while having many sympathizers, do not have many natural allies among organizations. But AFL-CIO affiliates are such natural allies. The poor have a right to expect labor to lead in the fight to reduce poverty. After all, that has been the historic role of unions in America and poor people know it.

DAVID SULLIVAN is President of the Building Service Employes International Union and a Vice President of the AFL-CIO. He serves as Chairman of OEO's Labor Advisory Council.

Labor and OEO

Organized labor is represented on the National Advisory Council of the Office of Economic Opportunity by A. Philip Randolph, President of the Sleeping Car Porters and Miles Stanley, Director of the AFL-CIO Anti-Poverty Office.

President David Sullivan of the Building Service Employes is chairman of OEO's Labor Advisory Council. The other 12 members are:

- Finlay C. Allen, Vice President, Carpenters;
- Peter Brown, Special Int'l. Representative of State, County and Municipal Employes;
- Milton Fried, Director of Research, Clothing Workers;
- Nathaniel Goldfinger, Director of Research, AFL-CIO;
- Max Greenberg, President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union;
- C. J. Haggerty, President, Building and Construction Trades Department;
- Leonard Lesser, Assistant to the President, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO;
- Leo Perlis, Director, Community Services Department, AFL-CIO;
- M. Vernie Reed, Vice President, Laborers;
- Larry Rogin, Director, Department of Education, AFL-CIO;
- Barney Weeks, President, Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO;
- Hunter P. Wharton, President, Operating Engineers.

OEO is developing further union participation through a labor liaison staff. Thomas J. Cosgrove, former education director of the State, County and Municipal Employes, is Executive Secretary of the Labor Advisory Council. His chief function is to generate fuller union participation. He will be aided by a labor liaison staff at OEO's Washington office and its seven regional offices.

SURVEYING – "Real Man's Work"

Forty-five hard-nosed young men fired with "desire" are combatting the elements and their own suspicions to win permanent places in the ranks of those who work on America's biggest construction jobs.

Behind them lie poverty and hopelessness. Ahead is a sound economic future, with good jobs that pay well—and a sense of accomplishment.

They are the survivors of an often uncertain and usually doubting group in upstate New York that accepted the challenge of Operating Engineers Local 545 to prepare themselves for "real man's work in the outdoors," work which could be cold or wet but was interesting and profitable.

They are undergoing training as surveyors' aides in a Neighborhood Youth Corps project sponsored by the local and the New York State Department of Public Works. Since the initial shakedown, they've been doing so well most of them will be put to work before finishing their scheduled 21 weeks of instruction.

The project was developed by Local 545, with help from the international union, to fill a widening shortage of men qualified to work in surveying gangs—everything from rod and chainmen to chiefs of party.

The trainees were recruited from three areas—Buffalo, in the western area; Syracuse, in the central section and Keeseville, in northern New York. The instruction is given by experts from the union's ranks in each location.

The project got off to a difficult start. The very first day brought temperatures of 20 degrees below zero and 18 inches of snow to Keeseville and only seven of the 16 young men who had signed up managed to make it the opening morning. But by afternoon another seven had appeared and 12 of the group slept in the classroom overnight rather than take a chance on not getting through the snow the following day.

But there had been difficulties before that. The prospects, from homes with incomes of no more than $3,100 a year, were screened by the area employment service offices. They were supposed to have completed the 10th grade and to know algebra or geometry, or to be prepared to complete these subjects during the training period. But some with no more than eighth grade backgrounds appeared and the instructors, undaunted by their lack of schooling but impressed by their earnestness, accepted them. In most cases, they have proved adept pupils and have done as well as their colleagues.

Tentative plans had called for 60 trainees, 20 from each area, but it proved impossible to recruit that many youths who had minimal requirements and were willing to face the admitted hardships. By the time the first classes were ready, only 37 had been accepted. The rolls were kept open for three weeks, there were comings and goings and, at the end of the fourth week, there were 10 trainees at Buffalo, 19 at Syracuse and 20 at Keeseville—a total of 49. Four have since been sent to jobs.

The toughest job for the union, the teachers and the highways department was to convince the trainees that somebody was interested in them and their future. Once that hurdle was taken, things have gone about as smoothly as they can in such a program.

The highways department provides a center in which the trainees assemble and trucks to transport them to the spots where they may be doing the preliminary work on laying out highways, conservation lines and access roads and firebreaks in state forests and parks and staking the foundations of future buildings.

The youths, who often never had two dimes to rub against each other, are paid $1.25 an hour for 32 hours training each week. When they're ready, they will step into jobs under union contracts that pay from $2.175 to $2.65 an hour. The union thinks many of them will do a lot better than that if they continue to apply themselves as they have been—and that 15 to 18 of them might end up as chiefs-of-party, or boss of surveying teams, whose earnings run a lot higher.

Surveying trainees, who do a different job each day, are shown how to make adjustments on the "gun."

Oakland Labor Backs Up Youth

by Max Awner

Oakland is a city of contradictions. A near-metropolis of 385,000 people, it is an ugly-duckling sister to glamorous San Francisco eight miles across the bay.

Oakland is a key industrial center and world headquarters of the progressive Kaiser Industries. Yet just a few blocks from the modern Kaiser skyscraper stands the Florentine tower of the Oakland Tribune, property of former Senator William F. Knowland, known as "Mr. Right-to-Work" throughout California.

The physical contrast runs from the elegant residential neighborhoods of East Oakland's wooded hills to the decaying ghetto-slums fringing downtown.

Add to this potpourri of contradictions just one more. A city governed by a notably unimaginative municipal administration, brazenly bullied by a sadly benighted publisher, is also the home of one of the most imaginative and progressive central labor bodies in the AFL-CIO family—the Alameda County Central Labor Council. And thereby hangs this tale.

Alameda County, which covers most of the so-called East Bay region, is one of the fastest growing counties in the state; its population recently topped the million mark. At the same time, it has been plagued with an unemployment rate consistently running 50 to 75 percent higher than that of the nation as a whole. Oakland, the county seat, has been especially hard hit. In 1964, the city's adjusted annual jobless rate was 9.6 percent. Though it has declined substantially since then—along with that of the rest of the country—it is still nearly double the national rate.

A grossly disproportionate share of Oakland's unemployment burden is borne by the one-third or more of its population who belong to racial minorities—the vast majority of them Negro. It has been estimated that as much as 20 percent of the city's employable Negroes are jobless. Nearly 10 percent of Oakland's population receive some welfare assistance; again a heavy majority of them are in the non-white community. No wonder a Chicago newspaper recently ran a banner headline: "A 'Watts' Festers in Oakland."

MAX AWNER, a veteran labor observer, writes on political and social problems from the west coast.

Such facts and figures long have troubled the leaders of the Alameda County Central Labor Council. Thus when the Economic Opportunity Act was enacted in 1964, they promptly grasped the opportunity to move against the poverty and inequity that almost everyone else was merely deploring or lamenting.

In May of 1965, the council submitted to the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity a plan for a twelve-week summer job project under Title II of the Act. The plan envisioned employment of 200 youths in various types of community work, all under supervision of the labor council. The purposes of the project, as spelled out in the proposal, were as follows:

1. To provide "hard to serve" unemployed youth with a specific program of work training and experience;
2. To provide youth who would otherwise not qualify for jobs or standard apprenticeship programs a chance to earn money constructively;
3. To demonstrate that a task-oriented situation, with appropriate supervision, challenging work, realistic wages and worker involvement in planning can stimulate personal motivation and responsibility;
4. To provide maintenance, repair and rehabilitation services, through youth work teams, to organizations and agencies in the community of poverty who could not afford such services through normal private industry channels.

Last June 9, the OEO approved a grant of $235,761 for the project.

A project director and staff of supervisors and foreman-instructors were hired, largely from the ranks of retired or unemployed union members, and a list of proposed work projects was obtained from community non-profit agencies. Job requests were carefully screened as to social usefulness or need, variety and interest of the work involved and—very important—the inability of the agency requesting it to finance it privately. Projects were cleared with the unions concerned to ensure no jobs were taken from unionists.

Job applicants were sought through schools, church organizations, the state employment service, welfare rolls, youth centers—and police records. Requirements were: age 16 to 21, family income of not more than $4,000 a year for a family of four, less for a smaller family and willingness to work.

In general, the more bleak the family situation, the more unpromising the applicant's history, appearance, manner or personality, the better his chance of selection. Nevertheless, the task of recruitment was an agonizing one. In less than three days, nearly 700 had applied for the 200 openings. The 200 finally chosen

—140 boys and 60 girls—represented what would normally be called the social dregs of the community. Nearly a third of them were on parole or probation or had previous police records—the sort of kids who nine times out of ten would be rejected by the typical social agency. About half were from broken homes. Most came from families receiving public assistance. A high proportion were school dropouts. About 90 percent were Negro.

Almost from the day the work began, June 28, it became clear the project was setting in motion profound changes in the lives of its youthful participants.

Early in the project's life, Labor Council Assistant Executive Secretary Richard Groulx reported to a council meeting that, despite the reputation that preceded them, nearly all the young workers were "courageous, deserving and sincere." He suggested that the mere prospect of decent jobs where they could bolster both the family income and their own self-respect had begun to change their outlook.

With few exceptions, the young workers tackled their tasks with zest and hustle. The work, and the prospect of regular $1.25 an hour wages, seemed to promote new feelings of self-respect, ambition and responsibility. Many opened bank accounts for the first time in their lives. They began to dress better, both on and off the job. A supervisor of a group of girls reported that her charges had matured remarkably in just a few weeks—"no more gum chewing and bubble popping and they've gained a new respect for themselves and each other." She added that most of them were planning to return to school in the fall—now that they had a little money for school clothes and supplies.

Another foreman, a member of a Teachers local, had this to say:

"At the beginning, we all agreed to treat them as young but mature men and women, not baby them the way we do in the schools. All of a sudden, they were proud of themselves—proud of themselves and the community."

Not the least significant aspect of the project was the effect it had on the foreman-instructors. Harold Wilson, the labor council's community services director who acted as overall project coordinator, reported:

"We conceived this project with the idea that experienced working men could guide kids in proper work channels. This has happened just as we foresaw. What we didn't foresee was how deeply the experienced workers would be affected, too. They've come to understand these kids and their problems; they've gotten not only involved but enthused."

About midway in the three-month project, a number of the youths were asked how they felt about the whole thing. Many answered that were it not for these jobs they would be walking the streets and very likely getting into trouble.

"Now I have money in my pocket that I worked for and it makes me feel good," wrote one, adding, "Why should it be so hard for us young people to find jobs?" Several said they were learning to do things they never imagined they could do and this contributed to their feeling of accomplishment and self-respect. One young man of 16, asked about problems of work and schooling, replied: "School may be free, but it takes a lot of money to get to it."

In October, the federal agency approved a second work-experience project submitted by the labor council. This one, at first set for six months, has been extended through next July. It has double the budget of the first project—some $500,000 in OEO funds, plus sizable local contributions in facilities and services. Financed under Title I of the Economic Opportunity Act—the Neighborhood Youth Corps section—rather than Title II, the Community Action Program, this project has enlisted some 365 young people.

The type of work is substantially the same and the rate of pay is only a little higher; $1.30 an hour as against $1.25 in the first project. But there is one notable difference: About a third of the youths in the new project are working only part-time—3½ hours a day, four days a week—and going to school the rest of the week. Thus they are being enabled to further their education and at the same time gain most of the benefits of a work-and-wages discipline. And though even a higher proportion of the second group came in as so-called "problem kids," the results, with the project approaching its termination, are just as encouraging, according to Director Paul Katz.

"These kids are living proof of the self-fulfilling prophecy theory," he says. "If you help them believe they're worth something, why, dammit, they *turn out* to be worth something."

Jack Howard, national director of Neighborhood Youth Corps, visits young workers on bicycle repair project.

Arming The Unemployed With Skills

by Robert B. Cooney

The improvised school is located in a refurbished industrial building within sight of the U.S. Capitol. Inside, the director finishes his cigarette and then purposely grinds it into the linoleum. By littering the floor, he is setting a good example for the staff. And a challenge for the students.

For this is the Custodial Training Project of the Building Service Employes Union. The Washington, D.C., program is a pilot project sponsored by BSEIU and its Locals 82 and 536 in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education.

"Our main purpose in sponsoring this school," says BSEIU President David Sullivan, "is to secure jobs for unemployed workers after they have completed the 12-week course.

"The school represents a concrete effort to support President Johnson's War on Poverty. If it is successful, we hope to establish similar schools in other cities."

The "if" is unnecessary. The first group of 40 trainees is made up of people determined to succeed.

Every day, the students turn to and make the facilities sparkle. They are learning the techniques of efficient cleaning from experienced teachers. And, in remedial education classes, they are brushing up on English and basic math.

On the work skill side, they learn how to "strip" a floor, use mops and waxes, operate buffing machines and clean rugs and windows efficiently and carefully.

These trainees used to be hard-core unemployed or chronically unemployed. They don't plan to be any more.

Take William Henry Kinard. He is 41 years old, the father of 8 children. One is married, seven are still at home. He is determined that his children finish high school. He didn't.

Kinard left school at 15 "to help out at home." In 1943, when he was 18, he went into the U.S. Air Force. He spent 20 years in the service, rising to the rank of staff sergeant. Besides duty in the U.S., he served in England, Greenland, Alaska and on Guam.

In the Air Force, he was a tractor trailer driver, hauling fuel for jets and other aircraft.

"I am a good driver," says Kinard, a husky guy who looks like he could easily handle a tractor trailer. He feels his Air Force job was "a very skilled job—a very important job."

Yet he could not get on as a civilian driver. When he left the Air Force in 1963, he "knocked around from little job to little job." He applied at trucking companies but found "great big waiting lists."

He thought it would be easy to get a government job since he had veterans' preference. But he had trouble with the vocabulary tests when he applied for a guard's job at several agencies.

Kinard worked as a trash truck driver for a year but gave it up when doctors at Walter Reed army hospital told him it was adversely affecting his health.

Kinard was out of work two months when the U.S. Employment Service steered him to the new BSEIU training program.

Like all other students, Kinard receives $41 a week during the 12-week course, plus $5 for each dependent. With a maximum set at 6 dependents, his income totals $71 a week while in training.

Of the custodial school, Kinard says: "I think it is a good thing. You learn how to do things."

Learning the right techniques of cleaning take up the period from 10 am to 4:30 pm, with an hour for lunch. Then, from 4 to 6 pm, special remedial classes are held in math and English. These have been unusually popular.

The math course concentrates on practical problems, such as the current one of filling out income tax forms correctly. The English course helps the trainees brush away all the old cobwebs, build up vocabularies, improve sentence structure and discuss current events.

"I think it is a real good thing," declares Kinard. "And," he quickly adds, "especially if you don't have a high school education."

This lack has handicapped Kinard when he needed work the most. He left the Air Force with a half-pay pension of $133 a month, a sum which goes mainly for payments on his house. With veterans' preference on civil service tests, he thought he could find a job quickly. As he explains it:

"I thought it would be easy to get into the government, but I soon found out that without a high school education you are wasting your time."

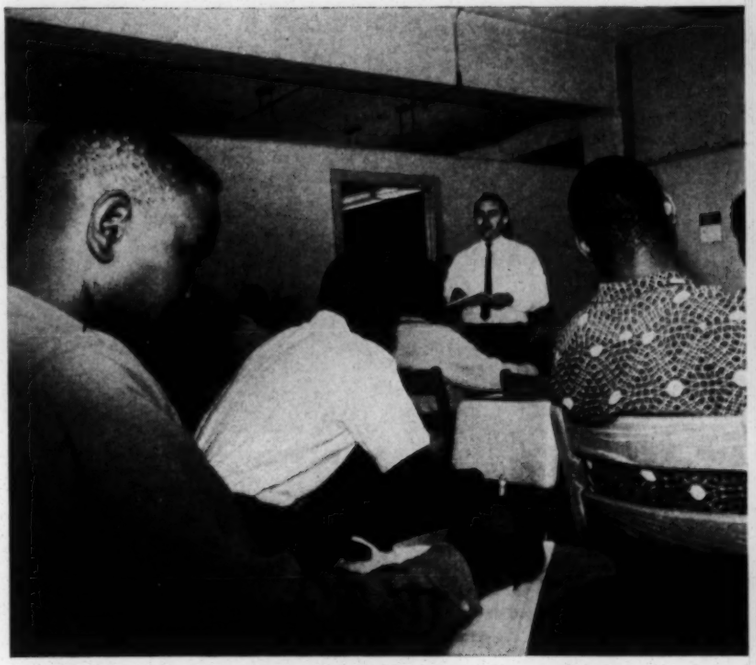
Kinard said he needs a steady job badly at this time in his life because, "while the pension helps, I want my children to at least finish high school."

For Mrs. Viola Brown Colbert, 51, there are similar reasons for wanting to acquire enough skills to hold a steady job. She needs a regular income to keep her children in school and make their opportunities better than hers.

Mrs. Colbert's 18-year old daughter, Linnette, is

ROBERT B. COONEY is Assistant Editor of the AFL-CIO Federationist.

The BSEIU school. Top, an English class with teacher Maurice Griffin; center, a cleaning session; bottom, pointers from instructor Bernie Hunter, a union veteran.



in her first year at Howard University and her 17-year old son, Eddie Leroy, Jr., is completing high school and wants to go on to college. They are their mother's pride and joy.

Looking back, Mrs. Colbert has seen a life of "trial and tribulation" which she feels has given her the strength to survive adversity. She was born in Georgia and grew up in the South.

When her husband went into the service in World War II, Mrs. Colbert went to night school and graduated from the 8th grade at the age of 30. After the war, her husband came down with tuberculosis and died in 1952 after four years of illness.

Mrs. Colbert was a laundry worker for 12 years until she injured her arm in 1962. She had been making $1.25 an hour and then received small workmen's compensation payments for 7 months while under doctor's care.

She owns her own house and has managed by renting out rooms, aided by a $53 monthly dependents' benefit for her children.

Mrs. Colbert is now seeking steady work so she can pay off a loan to keep her daughter in college and enable her son to start college next fall. She was referred to the custodial school by USES.

"I am enjoying every minute of it," Mrs. Colbert said of the school's program. She enumerated the techniques of cleaning she learned and the equipment she can now operate and added: "I want to do a good job when I go out."

Of the remedial courses, Mrs. Colbert is convinced they will help her improve her English and arithmetic.

Of the school itself, she said this:

"I think they got something good here for us, especially the poor class of people.

"You can't get the people out of the slums until you get the slums out of the people. People can do better if they have the education and proper help and money to pull out."

To Mrs. Colbert, "life has been a struggle." This training, she feels, will help her "get another start."

Now William Kinard and Mrs. Colbert and their fellow trainees and the trainees to come have strong allies.

Project Director Michael Nash, the man who litters the floor on purpose, is proud of the trainees after just one month's operation. He said 11 trainees have been placed on part-time jobs at $1.45 an hour.

Nash, who has rejected offers of $1.25 an hour for the trainees, intends to develop a roster of employers offering the best pay and conditions. The BSEIU locals oversee the program and plan to keep in constant contact with graduates to back them up on the job.

For these men and women are becoming workers with skills to offer—and they know it.

Community Action in Cincinnati

by Al Bilik

On the heels of a successful march organized by the Cincinnati Action Committee for Civil Rights (CAC) in October 1963, the realization came to many of us in CAC that future steps in the long trek forward inevitably would involve economic as well as equal opportunity. Significantly, the theme of the March in Cincinnati became "Jobs and Freedom."

When hearings were begun in the Congress on the nature and extent of poverty in America, a similar investigation was urged on Cincinnati City Council's Public Welfare Committee. The chairman of the Welfare Committee was Theodore M. Berry, then a councilman and a member of CAC and now Director of Community Action Programs in the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. Hearings were held, task forces appointed and reports were made to the Welfare Committee in September 1964 just as President Johnson signed the Economic Opportunity Act.

It was quickly proposed that a Community Action Program be established under Title II of the Act. In a matter of weeks, a non-profit corporation was created, officially sponsored by six agencies: the City Council, Board of County Commissioners, Board of Education, Community Chest, Chamber of Commerce and the Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council.

The head of each organization automatically became a member of the Board of Trustees of the Community Action Commission which, not by coincidence, is known as CAC.

As a starter, these six were empowered to appoint 15 additional trustees, several of whom as it turned out also were members of the board of CAC for Civil Rights. Berry, as Chairman of City Council's Welfare Committee, was one of these. The executive director of the Council of Churches and the representative of the Archbishop were two more. Another was a UAW staffer who serves also as chairman of the Advisory Committee to the Apprenticeship Information Center.

Appointed, too, was a university economist who had been chairman of the Job Training Committee set up in 1962 under the Manpower Development and Training Act and who now heads the greatly expanded Manpower Training Committee of CAC. A representative of NAACP and CORE also were appointed.

Lacking machinery at the time to effectively reach into poverty areas for representation, we appointed the presidents of Residents Councils at two integrated co-op projects located in low-income neighborhoods. With the later development of neighborhood organization and thereafter the establishment of a delegate body known as the Metropolitan Community Action Board, four additional representatives are now elected by the Metropolitan group to serve on the CAC Board.

Although five of the six individuals originally responsible for appointing the 15 additional CAC trustees were associated with a political party that opposed the Economic Opportunity Act, the composition of the total board was such that Berry, a liberal, was elected CAC President. When Berry accepted the OEO post in Washington a few months later, I succeeded him as CAC President.

The Labor Council's role in CAC is in large part an attempt to maintain the liberal-labor-civil rights coalition that was formed in the civil rights CAC and that in fact has served nationally as the informal springboard for the passage of legislation we now seek to implement locally.

We are not content, therefore, with simple recognition and a "place" on the Board of Trustees. Such tokenism is at best protective and defensive; and at worst leaves to established social and political community power the ability to undermine a program theoretically designed to itself shake the foundations of established community power.

Labor has much to offer and much to gain. Who knows better than we how to organize? We have talked about the need to help the unemployed, the

A youngster learns by doing and earns money as well.

AL BILIK is President of the Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council. He served as President of the Community Action Commission in its first year of operation in 1965. He remains on CAC's Board of Trustees and Executive Committee.

underemployed, the underpaid to organize themselves and through community action the opportunity now exists.

In Cincinnati, a member of the State, County and Municipal Employes is president of a neighborhood organization in one of the several low-income areas of the city. An IUE member assisted in organizing another such group in his neighborhood where no organization existed before. A Brewery Worker helps put out a community council monthly newspaper where he lives. These are organizations established initially by Community Action staff and funds or bolstered where previously in existence.

A Hotel and Restaurant Employes Union member is employed by a neighborhood project as a community organizer. He makes house calls, goes tavern to tavern, pool hall to pool hall, corner to corner, spreading the message of organization and services that are available.

And more. Through the neighborhood organizations and their central Metropolitan Community Action Board, issues that formerly erupted into crises now find a ready community-wide vehicle for action. And the power listens. The protest of a community council backed by the Metropolitan Board, regarding a plan to construct a school in an all Negro area, brought quick if not entirely favorable response from the school board. A proposal to build a stadium in a poor residential area drew a demonstration at City Hall and the plan was altered.

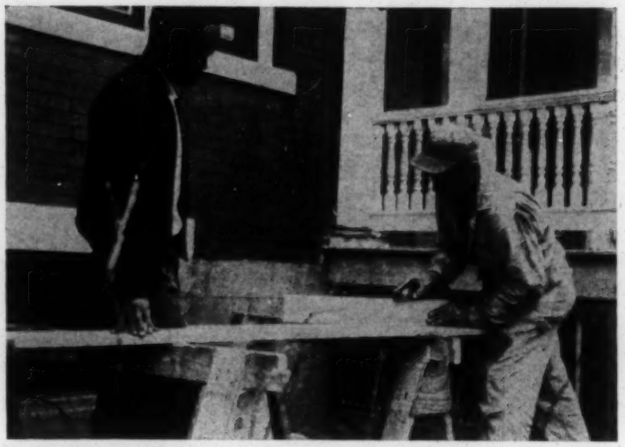
In the past, the only urban renewal program that included affected citizens in the planning process was that which involved downtown businessmen. A recently announced renewal project for a poor neighborhood prominently noted that the community council had been asked to appoint a committee to work with the planners.

The accent is more and more on the positive. Welfare allowances in Ohio today are based on 70 percent of what was needed for bare subsistence back in 1959. Work has started on a movement designed to impress the state legislature to act when it next meets in January. Because it is a statewide problem, local organizing has begun to reach out to similar neighborhood groups in other Ohio cities to form a common front.

Discussion is under way in some community councils on a project to promote voter registration in poor neighborhoods and there is no doubt this task will be undertaken in depth.

With organization and action the theme, we are hopeful that the unorganized working poor will be stimulated to seek out labor organization on the job. AFL-CIO members already involved in anti-poverty community work, backed up by other unionists living in these areas, should be able to launch effective drives among hospital workers, motel employes and others in low-paid employment.

Labor participation in Cincinnati's economic opportunity effort is not confined to the broad outlines of community action. Job training programs directly concern us and we are involved.



Another young man benefits by observing a craftsman.

A Machinist serves on the CAC staff, promoting and coordinating job development and job training projects funded through the OEO and the Labor Department.

The Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council co-sponsors a unique program with the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the City's Urban Rehabilitation Division. This project puts together skilled union craftsmen, crews of youngsters and owner-residents of rundown houses in poor neighborhoods who qualify for rehabilitation grants of up to $1,500 from the Federal Housing Administration. Four local unions—the Painters, Plasterers, Carpenters and Cement Masons—supply craftsmen who, paid at the prevailing union rate, serve as foremen and instructors for crews of boys age 16-22 who receive $1.25 per hour.

This program has worked so well, and has been so well-received by all concerned, that the Labor Department is now being asked to approve an expanded two-year operation. It is the opinion of the program supervisor, who is an executive board member of the Plasterers local, that the project will be an effective source of apprentice referrals for the participating unions.

The rational transition from equal opportunity to economic opportunity is amply demonstrated in this project.

But the overwhelming significance of all that we do rests finally on how well we apply the principles of organized labor to community action. If we view it as just another "do-gooder" operation for the "underprivileged," then we will be content to take our "place" on yet another board, which this time will be dispensing federal charity.

If, on the other hand, we see in community action the simple extension of all that we claim is good in unions—equality, personal dignity, participation, cooperative action, the idea that we are our brother's brother and not merely our brother's keeper—if this be so, then we will be in a position to make a unique and lasting contribution toward the democratization of power in our urban communities.

Richard Fraher listens to George Cottell, who helped him get off welfare and open his own TV repair shop.

From Retirement To VISTA

by Gervase N. Love

Many people facing retirement figure on climbing up on some shore to just while away their time and watch the world go by. But there also are many who find this pretty uncomfortable after awhile and yearn to dive back into the mainstream of things—or at least into one of the eddies along the banks.

That's the way it was with George Cottell, who spent more than 30 years as business manager of Local 437 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Fall River, Massachusetts. He took time out to serve as state director of the Works Progress Administration during the New Deal and also spent four years recently as executive director of the city's Public Housing and Urban Renewal Commission.

After all those years of helping other people, Cottell at 71 might have been expected to find that shore pretty comfortable. Instead, he enrolled as a VISTA Volunteer and kept right on helping other people. Not only that, but when he finished his year of service he promptly signed up for another because "if I were not working now, I'd just be rotting away."

VISTA stands for Volunteers in Service to America and is made up of shock troops in the Office of Economic Opportunity's war on poverty. Its members man the frontlines in the slums, both urban and rural, in the migrant labor camps, on Indian reservations, in the mountain hollows that time and progress have bypassed. They do everything that can be done to help people who need help. They are given an allowance that covers shelter, clothing, food and transportation, get $75 a month for "incidentals"—a word that includes everything from haircuts to medicines—and are paid $50 a month, receiving a lump sum at tour's end.

GERVASE N. LOVE is an Assistant Editor of the AFL-CIO News.

After completing training at Camp Newhope, North Carolina, Cottell was assigned to the city welfare department in Hartford, Connecticut. He quickly established himself among those who needed help as a man who knew all the angles, and how to use them, when it came to finding a job, obtaining welfare services or hospital care, steering people into training opportunities and opening up other avenues of assistance.

In his first year, he located jobs for new-found friends who ranged from a gypsy king to a Puerto Rican who alternated between farm labor and welfare.

The gypsy had tried before on his own account, but it took Cottell's persuasiveness to land him on a payroll. The Puerto Rican, who had never earned more than $1.25 an hour as a seasonally-employed fieldhand, was unable to speak English although he understood it. Cottell got him a job in a rubber factory and a week later he was put on his own machine at $2.25 an hour.

"The boss was happy," Cottell recalls. "He told me: 'Bring me five more like him and I'll put them to work.' Until this job he had just worked in nurseries and done stoop labor in the tobacco fields—three weeks' work at $1.25 an hour and then back on welfare. Now he has a regular job and, more important, he has a future."

Cottell sees as the greatest problem in his work the few people he runs into who have come to regard welfare as a way of life. One of his clients was a woman whose crippled husband had died after they had been on relief for eight years. She applied for relief for herself, but Cottell gently induced her to strike out on her own. Now, after training, she is employed in the Public Library.

He arranged for the money to help an aged pensioner make repairs to his disintegrating house which were demanded by the city building department. He persuaded countless mothers and fathers to enroll their small children in the Head Start pre-school program. He obtained psychiatric care for a father and he visited neighborhood leaders to assure that families moving into their areas would be accepted.

What prompted Cottell to turn to VISTA?

"I have seen poverty . . . I wanted to do something to help people, and people in poverty need help. . . .

"You read books . . . and they tell you of the problem. But they don't give you the solution. I think that if you could take the people out of the slums, out of that environment and into a decent job, you will have licked the problem."

Union Centers for the AGED

by William F. Miller

Every weekday at 10 a.m. men and women in their 60s, 70s and 80s begin arriving at the Beckman Building, a union hall.

They are not looking for work or attending a union meeting. Many of them never belonged to a union.

The same scene is repeated daily on the West Side at Cleveland's new Cudell Recreation Center.

A passing motorist might wonder why these older people were going into the recreation center, the domain normally of young athletic boys and girls.

The two groups of senior citizens have two things in common: They are all retired and they have found interesting places to visit and to pass their time.

These senior citizens and other hundreds of them have the United Auto Workers and its concern over retired citizens to thank.

This concern has led to a pioneering effort on starting 70 retirement centers in the U.S. and Canada.

Cleveland has two successful UAW retirement centers that have operated with little fanfare for four years. The centers are open to everyone in the community. Attendance statistics show that fewer than 15 percent of the retirees who use the facilities ever belonged to the UAW.

The UAW spends nearly $750,000 a year nationally on its retirement centers program. It has a special department in Detroit to supervise the program and to start new centers. Charles E. Odell, who has just left as Director of the UAW's Older and Retired Workers Department to join the U.S. Department of Labor, said cities have found the centers a good way to use expensive facilities full-time.

The UAW centers here, as in many other cities, are financed not only by the union but also by the United Appeal. The city recreation department plays an important role, supplying arts and crafts instructors.

Nearly 800 members take part in such activities as bowling, art and hobby courses, songfests, parties, trips, square dancing, golf lessons, cards, pool, current event discussions and swimming.

But it is not all party and games. The members also work on community service projects.

The West Siders aided the Diabetes Association of Greater Cleveland and the Cleveland Division of Health in sponsoring hundreds of diabetes tests in the neighborhood. East Siders rounded up 300 persons to get X-rays given by the anti-tuberculosis society.

The East Side center uses a section of UAW Local 45's union hall. It is a modern building with large windows overlooking busy St. Clair Avenue. There are comfortable chairs, piped-in music, card tables, a piano, pool table and rooms for handicraft.

The West Side center was recently moved from the UAW Local 486's hall to the modern Cudell Recreation Center, a city facility.

"For many, the centers are the most important part of their retired life," Mrs. Sheila Sklar, director of the centers, commented. "The centers keep them in touch with the world."

The members are very proud of their centers and are quick to praise them.

"If many of us didn't come here we wouldn't know where to go," said 69-year-old Llewellyn Thomas.

At the East Side center, Walter Kateley, 84, is known as the man who likes to get lively discussions started. A retired graphic engineer from the state highway department, Kateley is chairman of the weekly cracker barrel program.

"It's all spontaneous and uninhibited," Kateley said. The debate sometimes gets heated and at times he steps in to cool down the participants.

"It's the best place in town to come to and you couldn't improve on it," added W. S. Hart, 73, a retired member of Local 45. He worked many years at General Motors' Fisher body plant here.

Hart, who has had experience in union matters, is chairman of the East Side grievance committee.

"When members have gripes they come to me and my committee tries to settle them," he explains.

For Walter Mann, 74, a retired postal clerk, the center is "a haven for lost souls."

Songfests are one of the most popular activities in the diversified program at the UAW retirement center.

WILLIAM F. MILLER is a reporter with the Cleveland Plain Dealer. This story is excerptel from an article on the centers.

APPALACHIA: Island of Poverty

by Miles C. Stanley

In an area the size and terrain of Italy, Austria and Switzerland combined, 17 million Americans live in physical isolation and hard-core economic privation.

We call it Appalachia.

Until a few years ago it was an area unnoticed, living with its century-old legacy of exploitation. Then, in the early sixties, the national spotlight swung to this area which cuts across parts of 12 states and Americans realized for the first time that the problems of poverty were much more than tidying up the "wrong side of the tracks" in one's hometown. Here, in Appalachia, it was apparent, a sizable segment of the entire nation was on the "wrong side of the tracks."

The economic and social ills of this 167,000 square mile "pocket of poverty," a 1961 government task force report had indicated, were more widespread and of far greater severity than could ever be met by conventional weapons and conventional methods.

The spotlight of attention had come to Appalachia with the findings of a special federal-state commission appointed by President Kennedy in 1963.

The commission had found that the people of West Virginia and the highlands portion of Alabama, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky and Georgia had much in common. They shared the blight of high unemployment, poverty, lack of education and insufficient tax bases.

At the same time, the commission found a paradox. Here was a land rich in natural resources. Abundantly endowed, much of it was covered with forests while below the surface were fabulous riches in minerals, including the source of almost two-thirds of the nation's coal supply. And, adding to the rich lushness of the area was a yearly rainfall well above the national average.

But these natural gifts, it was apparent, had been the cause of much of Appalachia's woe. These resources had brought exploitation which ravaged the forests, pockmarked the mountains with strip mines, turned mountain streams brown from the acids of pit mines and left endless miles of unpainted shacks where the human residue lived, abandoned to its fate.

Today in Appalachia, one out of every three families has an annual income of less than $3,000 per year—the minimum figure set by the federal government as a poverty level. At the other end of the economic scale, fewer than 9 percent of Appalachian families have incomes above $10,000 per year.

MILES C. STANLEY, Assistant to President George Meany, is in charge of the AFL-CIO Anti-Poverty Office. He also is President of the West Virginia AFL-CIO and serves on OEO's National Advisory Council.

Per capita figures are even more stark. While Appalachia has an average per capita income of $1,400, the average is $1,900 for the rest of America.

The root cause of this wide disparity in incomes is not difficult to trace. For the last century, Appalachia has had the bulk of its wealth extracted and shipped elsewhere.

Early in 1964, President Johnson sent to Congress a bill based on the needs outlined in the commission's report. From Congress came the Appalachian Regional Development Act which was signed into law on March 9, 1965.

"A new experiment in creative federalism," was President Johnson's description of the measure.

Under the Act, an Appalachian Regional Commission was created, made up of the governors from each of the 12 states and a federal co-chairman appointed by the President.

In their first meeting as a commission, the governors declared they would "formulate continuing comprehensive, coordinated plans and programs for the overall development of the region. . .

"The public investments made in the region shall be concentrated in areas where there is a significant potential for future growth and where the expected return on public dollars invested will be greatest."

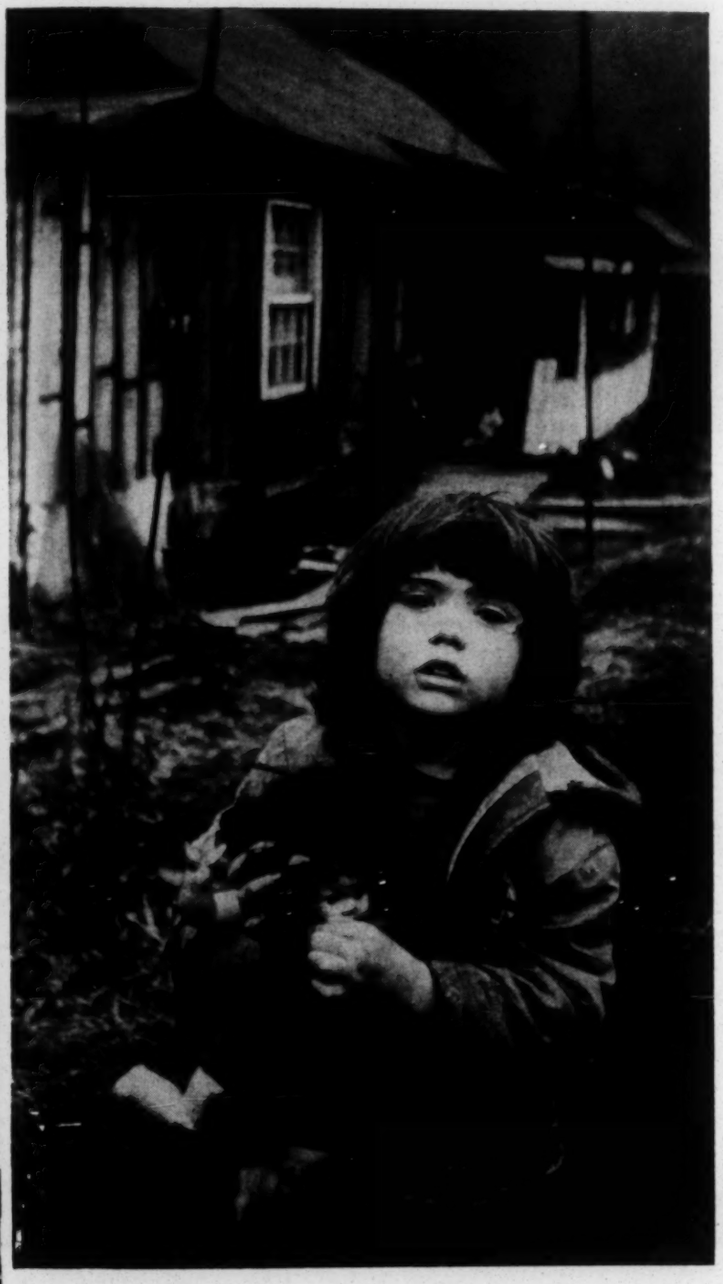
Behind them, then, were the political barriers, the jealously guarded insistence that each state go its own way, working with federal funds where available or on its own where it had to. Here was common cause for the common good.

Congress provided for this common cause $1.1 billion in federal funds, to be spent with state and local monies for a network of development highways, regional health centers, vocational education and sewage treatment facilities. The funds also were to develop land treatment and erosion control as well as timber development and mining area restoration. Also provided was a water resource study and supplements for existing federal grant-in-aid programs.

First to get underway was highway construction, for which 80 percent of the funds were earmarked over a six-year period for 2,350 miles of highways to the "hitherto inhibited" areas.

There was also a timely accomplishment. Three months after the law took effect, the commission joined with the Office of Economic Opportunity to initiate a regional health program. Its first act was to ensure the continued operation of the ten Appalachia regional hospitals founded by the United Mine Workers. The joint effort won a $1.2 million grant which enabled the hospitals to continue operating.

Along with these important and necessary pro-



By Vytas Valaitis

grams, there was a realization among Appalachia's concerned citizens, educators and labor unions that additional approaches would be needed to rally the human resources and talents of the area.

In October 1964, leaders of major unions and AFL-CIO state organizations, in conjunction with West Virginia University, sponsored an Appalachian Trade Union Conference in Charleston, West Virginia.

The conference objectives were to promote a greater degree of understanding of common problems and to explore methods by which the labor movement, working with other agencies, could make a maximum contribution. Out of its three-day meeting came the decision to form the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council. Shortly thereafter, it was formally established with representation from the AFL-CIO state councils of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Kentucky, Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia and South Carolina.

As chairman of the Council, I directed that offices be opened in Charleston to work directly in the area and in behalf of programs that soon became realities under the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

The responsibility of the Council, as well as the entire labor movement in Appalachia, is to work as a regional entity for the development of programs or the stimulation of projects. The labor movement can well use its strength and organizational skills at the community level to develop work training, neighborhood organizations, community health and welfare services, adult education and day-care centers.

To this end, the Council has undertaken the first labor-sponsored national program for the training of community action workers.

Developed in conjunction with the Office of Economic Opportunity, and financed by $270,000 in federal funds, the program provides for the Council to select people from all sections of the area to attend West Virginia University, where they are to be trained to develop community action programs in their home areas.

The 100 people now in training will return to their communities after initial studies are completed. Three times during the year-long program—a week each time—they will return to the University where their problems and successes are to be discussed.

In selecting candidates, each state central body worked with the local central bodies to seek out active trade unionists with a desire to explore new ideas. Among the qualifications necessary were a knowledge of trade union procedures, an ability to work with others and a willingness to make a commitment for the year-long program. The only compensation is for expenses and lost time during the four weeks of university study.

Through this pace-setting, pioneering effort, the Council is hopeful that a shortcut can be made across generations of educational neglect and community apathy to speed along community self-help programs. If successful in Appalachia, the program undoubtedly would be extended elsewhere.

"We would like to have the program in half a dozen different parts of the United States," OEO Director Sargent Shriver told the AFL-CIO convention in December 1965, "—in the Iron Range area, in the northeastern states, in the Ozarks, in the West, in the Rocky Mountains and in the South."

In Appalachia, the hope now is to apply the law of physics that it is easier to keep a mass in motion than to start it. Appalachia isn't moving yet, but it will and when the area overcomes a century of inertia the nation must be ready with programs to push it onward to its deserved position of equality in American society.

FULL EMPLOYMENT
The Major Weapon

The Administration's anti-poverty program—and the operations of the Office of Economic Opportunity—can do only little, in itself, to reduce the prevalence of poverty in America. However, it has focused national attention on this problem. Its emphasis on youth, education and vocational training represents an investment in people and holds out the hope to the impoverished that they can move out of poverty. The Community Action Program makes it possible to mobilize local communities on social issues. But all of these efforts can reduce poverty rapidly only if they are closely meshed with programs to provide jobs at decent wages, adequate social insurance and income-maintenance payments.

About one-half of the poverty problem is distinctly related to the lack of enough jobs at decent wages. The key to the solution of this major aspect of the poverty problem is job opportunities for all Americans who are able and willing to work, as well as effective collective bargaining and adequate minimum wage and unemployment insurance protection.

In this regard, increased public investment is essential—to create job opportunities in the expansion and improvement of public services and low-cost housing that are particularly needed by the poor.

Moreover, the extension of Fair Labor Standards Act protection to millions of low-wage workers—on the farms and in the cities—and establishment of a $2 an hour federal minimum wage are required as rapidly as possible.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL included this statement in its report to the AFL-CIO convention in December 1965.

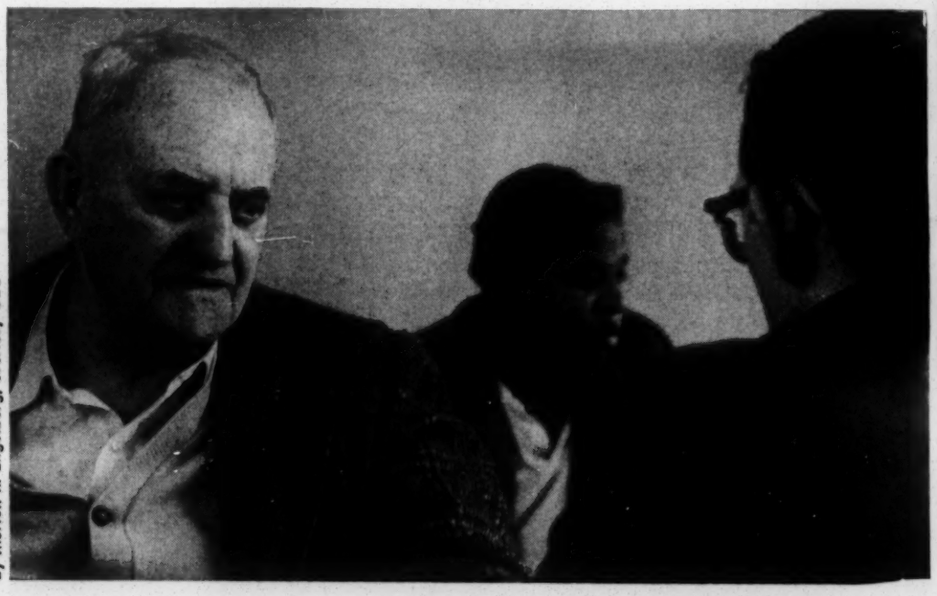
The heads of about one-fifth of the impoverished families, in 1963, were 65 years of age or over. In addition, approximately one-half of the poor who lived alone were in that age group. About 20 percent of the poverty problem, therefore, is related to the aged—most of whom are too old to work.

For the aged poor, adoption of medicare and the 7 percent increase in social security retirement benefits in mid-1965 are of tremendous assistance.

But average monthly retirement benefits of about $132 a month for an aged couple, approximately $91 a month for a retired worker and $79 for a retired widow, are too low for decent living—particularly when about one-half of the recipients receive even lower benefits. In addition, many retired people receive no retirement benefits under social security because they did not work in covered employment.

A substantial boost of monthly social security pay-

By James Foote, courtesy OEO



By Morton R. Engelberg, courtesy OEO

The Citizens' Crusade

by Richard Boone

One of the basic premises of a democratic society requires the active participation of citizens in the formulation of policies and the implementation of programs. Effective government requires an effective constituency.

That is the premise on which the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty is founded. It is designed to enlist the participation of all who are concerned—and no one should be unconcerned—with our nation's war on poverty. Its purpose is the mobilization of our national will in the massive effort that is being made to eliminate poverty in America.

The Crusade was established in convention in New York City on October 13, 1964. It embodies many different groups coming together to fight poverty. These include church and civil rights groups, farm organizations, labor unions, businessmen and student associations.

Three working commissions constitute the main channels into which the Crusade's efforts flow. They are the National Program and Policies Commission, headed by James Patton, former president of the National Farmers' Union; the Community Activity and Organization Commission, led by Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk United Presbyterian Church in the USA; and the Public Information and Education Commission, headed by A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO Vice President and the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Officers of the organization are President Walter P. Reuther of the United Auto Workers, chairman; Rabbi Richard Hirsch, Director of the Religious Action Center of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, secretary; and Jerry Anderson, Acting General Manager, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, acting treasurer.

In its less than two years' activity, CCAP has already some notable achievements under its belt. Planning is well under way on a program to train 1,000 workers to help poor people help themselves to play a more active part in resolving the problems facing them. In being is an information network of more than 4,000 neighborhood block clubs, tenant councils, senior citizen's clubs, church groups and other grassroots organizations in poverty-stricken areas. The materials sent them are helping cut through the cumbersome procedures that inevitably surround governmental programs. The Crusade plans to reach 10,000 such groups by mid-summer.

It is the CCAP's resolve that the war on poverty in America will not fail because, in the words of an ancient historian, "No man was angry enough to cry out." We know that once Americans are aroused and "angry enough to cry out," the poor will find their own voice and the will to help themselves—and the immorality of poverty in America will be ended.

RICHARD BOONE is Executive Director of the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty.

ments is needed to help lift the aged poor out of poverty. In addition, the aged poor require low-cost housing and community facilities, as well as a system of adequate benefits for those who were not covered by social security during their working years.

Among about 30 percent of the impoverished families in 1963, the husband was disabled, dead or absent. In almost all cases these families are headed by women, few of whom are employed.

For these poverty-stricken families, adequate public welfare payments or income-maintenance allowances are essential, as well as low-cost housing. Day-care centers are also needed to reduce the burden on the heads of these impoverished families and to enable them to find jobs, if they are willing and able to work.

A meaningful attack on the causes of poverty must deal effectively with the need for adequate income maintenance when unavoidable hardships destroy a family's ability to be self-supporting. No war on poverty can succeed unless adequate family income protection is provided for those who cannot be self-sustaining.

To provide decent safeguards for the families of those who are injured or killed at work, federal standards are needed to upgrade the archaic workmen's compensation systems of the states. Insurance for the families of breadwinners separated from payrolls by illness, now limited to four states and the railroads, must be improved and extended nationally.

The war on poverty requires a vast increase in the quantity and improvement in the quality of education, vocational training, health care, low-cost housing, consumer counseling and personal guidance services for low-income families. Without such efforts as a base, the avenues toward higher living standards will be blocked.

Adoption of the anti-poverty program, the Educa-

tion Act of 1965 and legislation for health care centers are vital steps toward providing such public services that are especially needed by the poor. But these programs need to be expanded and additional measures adopted, such as a new GI Bill and a stepped-up work-study program.

A successful campaign against poverty will automatically do more for America's Negroes than for the population as a whole because they are such a disproportionate number of the nation's impoverished families; although Negroes are about 10 percent of the population, they are some 20 percent of the poor.

But more than that, by taking the necessary measures to reduce poverty, America will create the environment that can make possible an early end to the ugly fact of discrimination in American life.

In our work-oriented society, the key to solving most of the poverty problem is the opportunity to work at decent wages—the chance for the poor to lift themselves and their families out of poverty through gainful employment at a living wage. For the working poor and the children of all impoverished families, there is no other meaningful alternative.

A highly productive economy can provide full employment at decent wages. It can also provide the social insurance, income maintenance, educational opportunities, low-cost housing, public facilities and social services that are essential to lift the condition of those in need.

America has within its grasp the ability to wipe out poverty from its midst—except for the tiny number of hardcore, clinical cases that require prolonged mental health and medical care, in addition to social and economic measures.

In 1964 and 1965, the nation began new efforts to reduce poverty rapidly. These beginnings will succeed, however, only if they are pursued and expanded relentlessly. The resources for these efforts are amply available in the economy's vast and growing productive ability. And these efforts will pay off by building a broader mass consumption base for the national economy and by reducing the tensions that have been festering in American society.

Progress in Poverty

The Administration's well-advertised war against poverty is, on its first year's showing, a remarkable success. Its achievements already justify a forceful and steady expansion . . . .

It has not worked equally well in every circumstance. The war on poverty is most effective where it involves urban Negroes. It is least effective where it is dealing with white populations. The Economic Opportunity Act, and all of the reforms that it has set in train, are the direct consequence of the long struggle over civil rights.

But among the 30 million Americans defined as impoverished, three-quarters are white. The impact of the Opportunity Act is very largely concentrated upon the most desperately deprived, embittered and volatile slums. They happen to be heavily Negro. Clearly the Office of Economic Opportunity made the right choice. But it is necessary to understand that a choice was made. It was a choice forced by the limitations of the appropriations and lack of time for organization. But it was a choice that has excluded most of the people termed poor.

The poverty programs offer very little to the elderly, although the elderly comprise nearly a third of the poor families in this country. The great weight of the resources have been thrown into the programs for children and young families. Again, a choice was made.

The poverty programs are fully effective only where mayors and school superintendents welcome them. The cities with big, vigorous community action programs are those in which mayors are urgently attempting to work out a new style of city politics. They are the cities where the old ward organizations are collapsing and mayors are looking for new lines of communication into the slums and particularly the Negro slums. While the slums want a hearing at city hall, it turns out that the more alert city halls want to hear from the slums . . . .

The Economic Opportunity Act has set loose the powerful concept of the participation of the poor, as a bloc, in the affairs of the community. The poor used to have at least the advantage of numbers, but now they are the minority in a hugely middle class Nation. The Opportunity Act has not only provided the professional direction and staffing that this inarticulate bloc must have. It has also set off a great process of soul-searching and reorganization among numberless school systems, welfare agencies, colleges, hospitals, government offices and political parties. In the long run, these indirect effects may be the most telling . . . .

—An editorial in The Washington Post, Feb. 13, 1966, following a series of articles on the national anti-poverty program by a Post reportorial team.

Pamphlets and Books on Poverty

The Tyranny of Poverty.

A selected bibliography, 1966. American Jewish Committee, 165 E. 55th St., New York, N.Y. 10022. 18 pages. 25 cents; quantity discount.

A useful listing of poverty literature—books, pamphlets and magazine articles, classified by subject matter.

A Nation Aroused.

1st Annual Report, Office of Economic Opportunity, Wash., D. C., 1965. 96 pages.

A review of war on poverty programs, reinforced with photos and statistics.

Catalog of Federal Programs for Individual and Community Improvement.

Office of Economic Opportunity, Wash., D. C., December 1965. 393 pages.

This extremely useful volume explains the nature and purpose of federal programs, the major eligibility requirements, tells where to apply and lists printed materials available. A valuable tool for unions and others planning anti-poverty programs.

Programs in Aid of the Poor.

By Sar A. Levitan. W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, December 1965. 59 pages. Single copy free through Upjohn Institute, 300 S. Westnedge Ave., Kalamazoo, Mich, or Washington, D. C. office at 1101-17th St., NW; extra copies at 25 cents each from Kalamazoo.

This compact study is part of a larger Institute project evaluating the Economic Opportunity Act on a Ford Foundation grant. Levitan appraises the current welfare system and discusses anti-poverty proposals.

The Role of Wages in a Great Society.

By Leon H. Keyserling. Conference on Economic Progress, 1001 Connecticut Ave., NW, Wash., D. C., 1966. 114 pages. 1 to 9 copies, $1 each; 10 to 99 copies 75 cents; 100 or more, 50 cents.

The subtitle of this study is "Stressing Minimum Wage Gains to Help the Working Poor." Keyserling argues the issue is moral rather than economic—that there are no economic obstacles to a substantial expansion and rise in the minimum wage.

Vocational Education Act of 1963.

Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Available from Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 29 pages. 15 cents.

The vastly expanded flexibility of vocational education programs under the 1963 Act is explained in this reissued pamphlet. The changes taking place in the economy call for a great expansion of vocational training and retraining programs.

"Labor's Goal to End Poverty in Our Time." Publication No. 137. Order from AFL-CIO Pamphlet Division, 815 16th St., NW, Wash., D.C. 10 cents a copy, $7.50 per 100 copies.

The Other America: Poverty in the United States.

By Michael Harrington. Macmillan Co., New York, 1962. Published as Penguin paperback, 186 pages. 95 cents.

This trailblazing book is still pertinent and moving. It helped many to "see" the culture of poverty and understand the need for a massive effort to root it out.

Poverty in America.

Edited by Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh and Alan Haber. University of Michigan Press, 1965. 504 pages. $9.

A far-ranging collection of articles and addresses on various aspects of poverty.

Poverty as a Public Issue.

Edited by Ben B. Seligman. The Free Press, Division of Macmillan Co., N. Y., N. Y., 1965. 353 pages. $9.95.

This book is based in the main on papers presented at a 1964 seminar on poverty conducted in Washington, D. C., by the Institute for Policy Studies. Offers thoughtful analyses of poverty groups and problems.

The Poor Pay More.

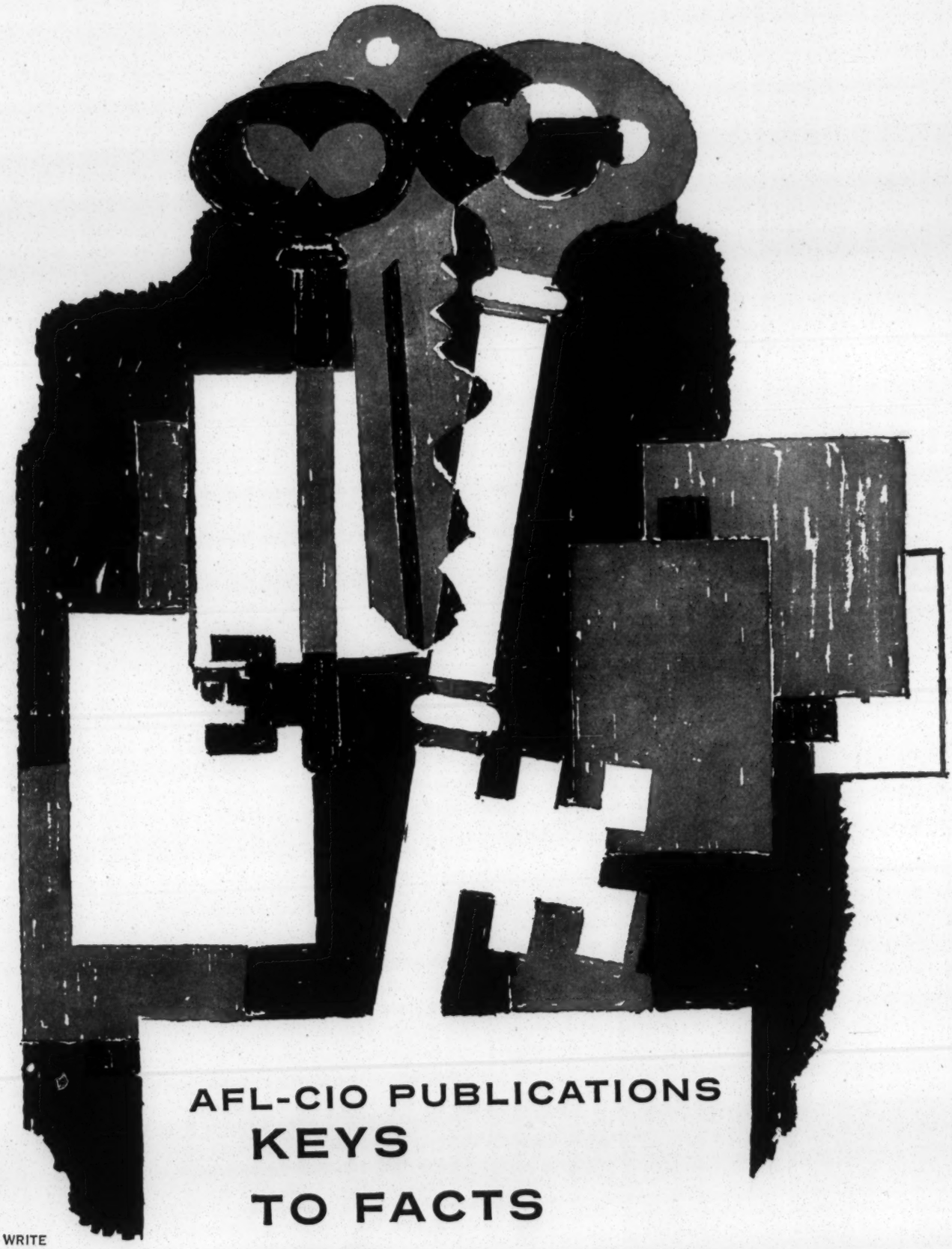
By David Caplovitz. The Free Press, Division of Macmillan Co., New York, N. Y., 1963. 192 pages. $5.50.

The title is backed up by the contents, based on a Columbia University survey of 464 households in low-income public housing units in New York City.

State Child Labor Standards.

U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Standards, Washington, D. C. 399 pages. Single copy free; additional, $1.25 each.

A revised edition of the state by state summary of major child labor and school attendance provisions that affect the employment of minors under 18.



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August 3, 1966

Mr. Rudy Oswald
Research Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Rudy:

I want to thank you personally and on behalf of the Alabama Labor Council for participating in the week end education conference in Sheffield. It was good to have someone of your training and experience to be on hand to handle the session on poverty.

You did a good job in getting the group opened up even though you had a frustratingly short time in which to attempt to piece together all the parts of the puzzle.

It was good to get to see you again. Thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

bcc: Barney Weeks, President, Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO

AFL-CIO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Sponsored by the

Mid-State Labor Council

and the

Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO

in cooperation with the

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Textile Workers Union Hall
(Local 201)
Childersburg, Alabama

August 5-6, 1966

PROGRAM

AFL-CIO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Childersburg, Alabama

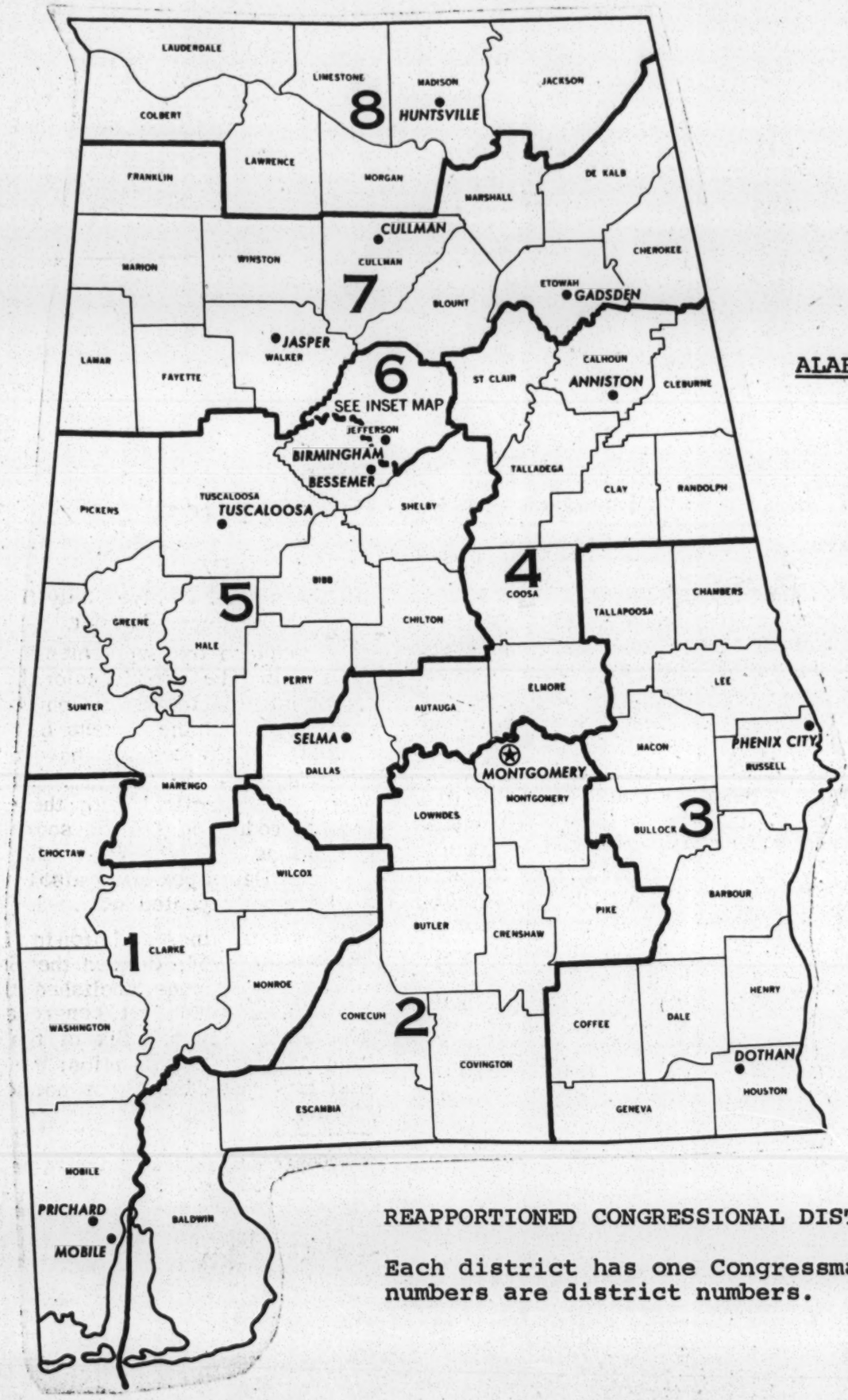
August 5-6, 1966

Friday, August 5:

6:00 p.m.	Registration
7:00 p.m.	Welcome: A. G. Trammell, Secretary-Treasurer, Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO; R. C. Polk, President, Mid-State Labor Council, AFL-CIO; Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
7:15 p.m.	Film showing: THE INHERITANCE. Discussion.

Saturday, August 6:

9:00 a.m.	"The Impact of Reapportionment on State Politics." Ray Jenkins, The Alabama Journal.
10:30 a.m.	Coffee break.
10:45 a.m.	"The Impact of Reapportionment on State Politics" continued.
12:00	Lunch.
1:15 p.m.	"Local Union Administration." Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program Southern Regional Council, Inc.
2:45 p.m.	Coffee break.
3:15 p.m.	"Local Union Administration" continued.
4:15 p.m.	Closing ceremonies.

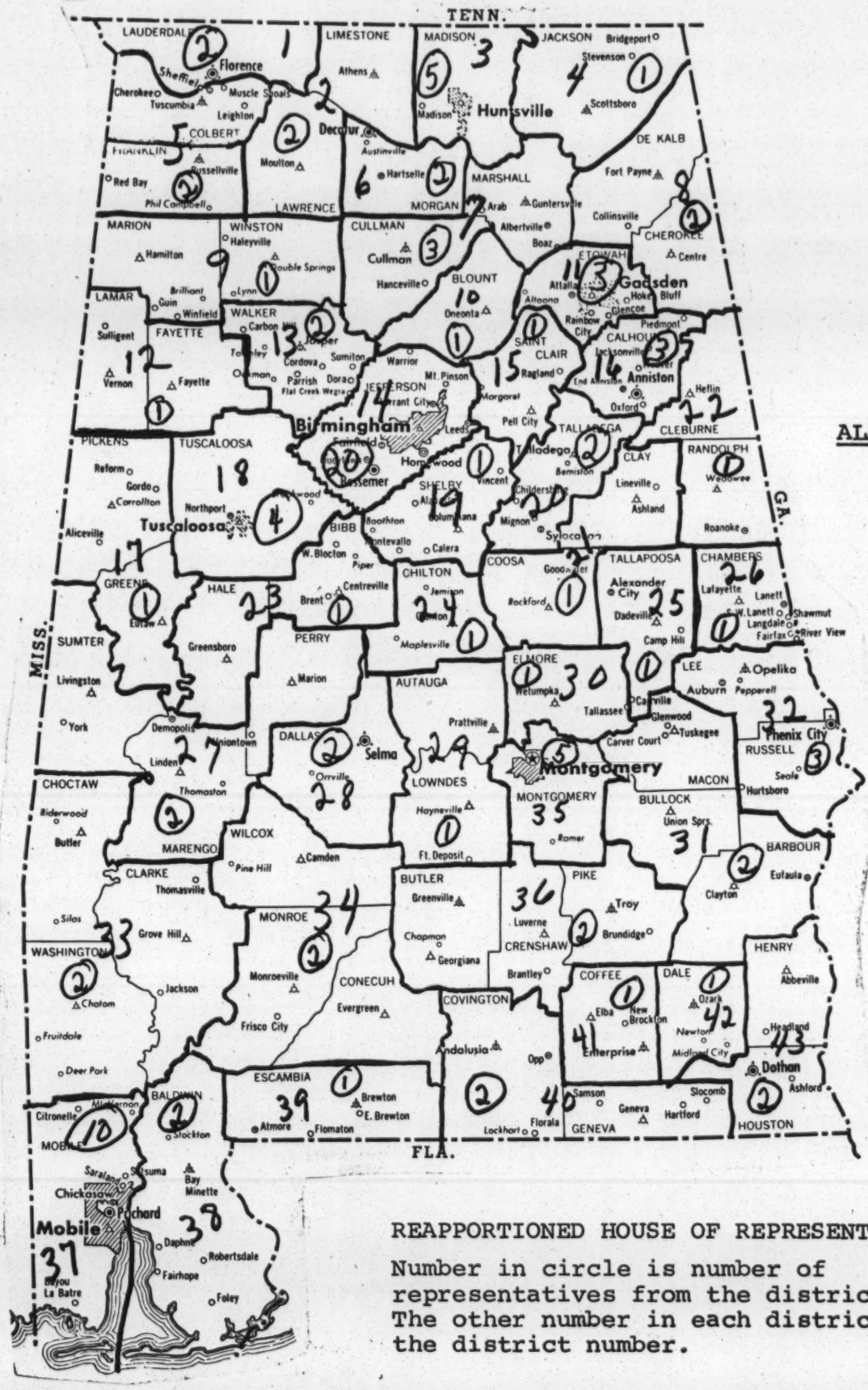


REAPPORTIONED CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

Each district has one Congressman; numbers are district numbers.

REAPPORTIONED SENATE

With exceptions noted by numbers in circles, each district has one senator. Other numbers are district numbers.



ALABAMA

REAPPORTIONED HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Number in circle is number of representatives from the district. The other number in each district is the district number.

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SUGGESTIONS FOR BECOMING A GOOD LEADER

1. Be well informed about your work.

2. Accept criticism cheerfully.

3. Encourage those working under or with you to give suggestions; accept as many of these suggestions as possible.

4. Delegate responsibility widely and wisely. When you give someone a job to do, take time to make very clear what the job it and why it is important to the union.

5. Practice evaluating people.

6. Be tolerant and unprejudiced.

7. Give praise generously where it is deserved for effort and/or accomplishment; avoid flattery.

8. Assume responsibility for your own mistakes; avoid alibis and excuses. Be willing to learn from your mistakes.

9. Give to the other person the intelligent, undivided attention which you want to receive from him. Become a good listener.

10. Make people feel at ease when you are talking with them.

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Atlanta, Georgia 30303

UNION ADMINISTRATION

A Local Union Education Committee

I. What Kind of Education? Both union education and education about the world in which we live. Both learning to understand the contract and the civil rights struggle. Both steward training and becoming a better informed voter.

II. Official Status for Education Committee. This Committee should be officially set up by the Union, having the approval of the membership and a close tie with the Executive Board, with the Chairman of the Education Committee either a member or a non-voting member of the Union's Executive Board.

III. Define the Job of the Education Committee. If the Executive Board has not done so, the Education Committee should thoroughly discuss, then draft such a definition of its scope, taking it to the Executive Board, then to the membership meeting for approval.

IV. Where should the Education Committee Start? Where the members' interests and needs are. Find this out by interviewing them, by a questionnaire, by informal discussions. Might ask each one what they consider the three most important is ues today are, or on hat aspects of the Union's operation they would like more information.

V. Program Planning.

1. Start Small. Only try to do one thing at first, and be sure the Committee succeeds in doing that well. Then tackle another.

2. Set Up Goals for One Year. Establish priorities, starting with the ones you are ready to do first and which are most urgent.

VI. Getting More Participation.

1. Divide up the jobs among all Education Committee members. Someone may want to specialize in one field, study and know more about workmen's compensation, for example, than others.

2. Involve new people, both new members and formerly inactive members, if possible, in different committee projects. Union members who are not yet ready to serve on a committee may be interested in helping on one project.

VII. Union Building Activities.

1. Planning for better membership meetings.

2. Working with new members.

3. Taking the union to the members -- home visiting.

4. Building local union committees.

5. Union Community Services Committee (especially union counselling).

6. Classes in parliamentary procedure, speaking at meetings, union counselling, steward training, union administration, labor history, collective bargaining.

7. One-day institute on crucial union problems.

8. Send delegates to summer institutes, week end conferences.

9. Special labor film show.

10. Put out a shop paper or frequent handbills on Union subjects.

11. Keep a membership card file showing union activities, interests, hobbies.

VIII. Fun and Recreation Ideas.

1. Special film showings -- sports, recreation, travel, conservation.

2. Picnics, outings, ball games and parties for members and their families.

3. Dances and rallies. Education Committee might have a table or display even at a party or picnic.

4. Dance classes for members, hobby shows, white elephant sales.

IX. Other Education Activities.

1. Speakers or meetings on such topics as U. S. foreign policy, the war in Viet Nam, civil rights, the state legislature, how a bill becomes a law -- in our state, or in Congress.

2. Special classes or week end institutes on human relations as applied to union work, how to lead discussions, automation, politics and the Union, the changing South, community relations.

3. Promote reading on issues in cooperation with the City Library.

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

TIPS ON DISCUSSION LEADING

I. Types of Discussion Groups.

This is a simple breakdown of discussion groups based on the role of the leader. There are a lot of other ways discussion groups could be classified. And the three main classifications below might well overlap each other -- indeed, it would be easy for a group to go through phases of all three in one discussion.

A. Leader Oriented -- The discussion leader provides information, directs questions, gives the appearance of being "in charge," may well be in front of the group. The leader combines the role of expert and being the mechanic that keeps the discussion going. Many teaching situations are of this sort.

B. Resource Oriented -- The discussion is built around the information, experience, or even opinion of an expert resource person. The resource person may help conduct the discussion, or the mechanics of the discussion may be left to a chairman or leader. Panel discussions are of this type. In steward training you might wish to use this form when discussing rate grievances or legal problems.

C. Group Oriented -- Naturally, in each of these types of groups we are concerned about the whole group. But in this form of discussion the leader attempts to take as little active part as possible. He doesn't pose as an expert. He attempts to get information and help in running the discussion from the group participants. The leader becomes a kind of human relations mechanic. This can be a useful device in many groups. Sometimes, the nature of the group and the problem is such that this is the best method. It is recommended that you try this approach occasionally for some of the following reasons: (1) to see how it works; (2) to break the routine; (3) to get greater participation from the group; and (4) to improve your observation of what is happening in the group -- understanding both the group and individuals.

II. Some Points Regarding Leaders.

A. The leader is very important -- even when keeping his own expertness (and authority) in check in order to get participation, thought, and the exchange of experiences; his role is the key to successful discussion.

B. Attitude of Discussion Leader

1. Towards People -- friendly, feel that they are important and so their ideas and experiences are important. Similarly, the members of your group are important enough that you want to help them through their problems and over the hurdles of mis-information.

2. Towards Learning -- really appreciate what new knowledge can mean in helping the individual grow; in building a better organization; and in solving problems. Perhaps we should underscore the importance of thinking as a part of learning. The leader should be interested in encouraging thought.

3. Towards Himself -- to understand that you don't lose by getting others to learn, that you may have to back down on being "the authority" in order to get thoughtful participation. You may have to shift from being the specialist and authority to being an educator while leading a discussion. Just remember that both roles are extremely useful.

C. How Does the Leader Handle Himself -- the simple rules of friendliness, courtesy and attentiveness all apply. Few things are more helpful than really learning how to listen so you truly grasp what the other person is saying, or where members of the group are actually disagreeing.

D. Some Things for the Discussion Leader to Do:

1. Prepare the place where you are meeting; make sure that you have the lighting and venilation you need and enough comfortable seats. Arrange the group informally, but so that everyone gets a chance to take part and hear and see what's going on.

2. Prepare the group for the discussion method itself; for your own changed role to discussion leader; for the topic of that session or for a whole series of sessions.

3. Prepare any resource people you use -- Tell them what kind of people are in your group, what they should talk about, that you will have discussion, to limit speech-making to about twenty minutes, what role you will play.

III. Techniques Which Help the Discussion Method Work.

A. Clearly state the problem or topic for discussion.

B. Provide some information or orientation to the problem:

1. From the leader
2. From a resource.
3. From the group
4. From materials given to the group.

C. Make use of questions -- keep in mind that you are more interested in learning and thinking than getting "pat" answers.

1. A question can be asked of the whole group -- make it clear that you want an answer.

2. You can rephrase a question and ask it again if at first you get no response.

3. Suggest a specific application of the question (or point). For example: "Would it work ..."

4. Use a directed question:

a. To a person with special experience or knowledge.
b. To someone who looks as if he is "ready" to answer.
c. And with a great deal of care, to someone who has not been taking part -- perhaps very off-hand: "What do you think of it?"

5. Use written prepared questions -- have some questions to distribute to the group -- let them read, think about it, then discuss.

D. When a question is asked you.

1. Re-direct the question to either the whole group, the person who asked it, or some other person.

2. Or sometimes, of course, answer the question.

E. Sometimes favorable comment, on someone's participation or the whole group, is helpful.

F. From time to time summarize what has been said, agreed to, areas of disagreement.

G. State the still unanswered problems -- you might ask: "Have we discussed ..."

H. Keep the discussion on the topic -- but be free enough to move to a related topic if this is the best way to make use of the group's interest.

I. Introduce new information -- or ask for it.

J. Be aware of when to move to the next point.

K. Make sure that the leader is prepared.

L. Don't let one person monopolize -- apply the "rules of the game"; be tactful, but firm.

M. Remember you can frequently take time to wait for an answer -- not all pauses are awkward. Sometimes it means a group is thinking or trying to get a problem in focus.

N. Make all "speeches" short -- perhaps limit to 10 minutes.

O. Summarize each session.

P. Prepare the group for the next discussion.

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

WORKING WITH NEW MEMBERS

Today's new member is the future active member, steward, or local officer -- or just a card carrier, critic, and problem. Even in the all-union shop, there is a problem: workers must join the union but this fact does not guarantee understanding and participation. Sometimes special problems, such as a feeling of resentment, come from the fact that the worker must join the union.

New members must be made to feel that joining the union is important to them and to the union, that the union is interested in their welfare and that their welfare depends on their own activity in the union. Officers and older members must make it evident that they welcome the new members into the organization.

I. One Approach.

1. A welcoming letter sent to the worker's home -- such a letter could include a welcome, the fact that the union is responsible for the wages and conditions now in the shop, the information that the worker should bring his problems to the union, the name of the worker's steward, and the signature of the local president.

2. Have the steward take an interest in the new member -- introduce him to workers, find his interests, explain the grievance procedure, invite him to meetings and perhaps arrange to take him to one or two meetings. If there is no formal initiation ceremony, the steward can present the new member with his union card and a copy of the by-laws and contract with an explanation of what they are. This type of program could be spread over a period of time and it could be developed as standard procedure in the case of each new member.

II. A More Ambitious Program.

1. Follow the above suggestions with regard to the welcoming letter and supervision by the steward.

2. Give the new member a feeling of importance -- and of the importance of the fact of joining -- by a full-fledged initiation ceremony:

   -- have the steward or an older member pick up and deliver the new member to the meeting

   -- make sure the new member is made welcone, and not lost in the back row

   -- conduct a simple but meaningful swearing-in ceremony, with perhaps the presentation of the union card, contract, and by-laws

   -- perhaps have a short welcoming speech by a union officer or representative

   -- serve refreshments (this might bring out some older members too)

   -- such ceremonies could be held on a regular schedule, or as often as necessary, to avoid excessive conflict with the regular business of the local

3. Send union literature to the new member's home:

   -- leaflets and pamphlets discussing the work of the union and the labor movement (DUES and PROGRESS leaflets)

   -- include a covering letter with one or two pieces at a time, but several mailings at intervals are better than a lot of materials sent at one time

   -- this can be developed as a standard procedure with some effort to follow up to give the new member the impression that he is expected to read the material

4. Send individual invitations to meetings to the new members for the first three or four meetings.

5. Establish some form of "buddy system" according to which each new member is assigned to an older member who is responsible for his education in union affairs and in getting him to meetings.

6. Show union films at meetings where new members are initiated.

7. Run classes for new members at regular intervals or when there are enough new members to make a class worthwhile.

III. New Member Classes -- suggested outline for two-session class:

1st session: Introduction (welcome by local president, explanation of the sessions, stress value of questions and discussion, have each member introduce self);

The Union We Belong To: (the local -- who belongs, when and why organized, how it works, dues and how spent; the national union -- why have one, size, number of locals, how it works, history and accomplishments, main job ahead; how related to parent federation).

2nd session: How the Union Protects You In the Shop (steward system, grievance procedure);

Your Rights Under the Contract (wages, hours, transfers, senority, vacations, holidays, insurance, etc.);

The Union Outside the Shop (meetings, recreation and education program, political action, community service);

There's A Place For You (how the new member can fit into' the union program);

Conclusion (democratic nature of the union, need for participation).

Printed and mimeographed leaflets and summaries can be distributed as they fit in during both sessions. (DUES, PROGRESS, By-Laws, Contract, diagram of grievance procedure, etc.)

A union film could be shown and discussed at each session.

August 12, 1966

Mr. Barney Weeks, President
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Barney:

The expenses for Ray Jenkins' participation in the two week end institutes are as follows:

Sheffield trip:	
plane	17.85
train	2.95
motel	8.32
meals	5.00
total	36.16
Childersburg trip:	
car	15.00
TOTAL	51.16.

You will recall that we are also paying Ray $50.00 per session. So for the two institutes to date we owe him a total of $151.16. This includes honorarium and expenses.

Would you let me know where we will be staying in Mobile for the institute there, where the sessions will be held, and the name of the president of the central body there?

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

August 12, 1966

ALL AFL-CIO UNIONS
IN MOBILE DISTRICT

Fraternal Greetings:

A weekend AFL-CIO Educational Institute for all Central Body and Local Union Officers and members in your area will be held in Mobile, Alabama September 16-17 at the Mobile District Labor Council, 105 North Jackson Street, Mobile, Alabama. Registration will begin at 6:00 p.m. Friday with classes to begin at 7:00. The Saturday session will begin promptly at 9:00 a.m.

The Institute is jointly sponsored by the Mobile District Labor Council and the Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO. The training will be under the direction of Mr. Emory Via, former Professor of Labor Studies at the University of Wisconsin and now Director of Labor Programs with the Southern Regional Council. Among other outstanding instructors will be Ray Jenkins, Alabama newsman.

Some of the subjects to be covered are: "Labor History," "Union Administration," and "The Impact of Reapportionment on State Politics."

Please complete the enclosed registration form and return it to this office, along with a registration fee of $1.00 per student before September 12, 1966.

Fraternally,

A. G. Trammell

A. G. Trammell
Secretary-Treasurer

ek

OPEIU18

Enclosure

2 September 1966

Mr. W. O. Mozingo, President
Mobile District Labor Council, AFL-CIO
105 North Jackson Street
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Mr. Mozingo:

We are shipping today via Railway Express some materials which Mr. Emory Via will use in the educational institute on September 16-17. These are being sent to your office where we would appreciate your holding them for Mr. Via's arrival.

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning

JB

6 September 1966

Mr. Ray Jenkins
Managing Editor
The Alabama Journal
Lawrence and Washington Streets
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Ray:

The Institute in Mobile on September 16-17 will be held at the offices of the Mobile District Labor Council, 105 North Jackson Street, Mobile, Alabama. Mr. W. O. Mozingo is the President of the Mobile District Labor Council.

Registration will begin at 6 p.m. on Friday and classes will begin that evening at 7 and continue the next morning at 9 a.m. This is the same schedule as we've had in the two previous institutes. Your participation will come in the Saturday morning session. Barney Weeks will make a reservation for you at the Battle House Hotel in Mobile unless you indicate otherwise.

You will recall that you had said that you would have your basic pitch on the impact of Reapportionment on Alabama in writing for possible further use. I hope this will be the case by the 17th so that we can begin to think about what next steps to take.

I look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
cc: Barney Weeks

File
Ala AFL-CIO

2026 Commodore St.,
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Emory:-

You asked me to give you my expenses. I wasn't sure whether you needed a breakdown, but it's easy enough to provide.

Sheffield trip:

Plane -----	17.85
Train ------	2.99
Motel ------	8.32
Meals ------	5.00
Total:	36.16

Childersburg Trip

By car ----- 15.00

Total ---------- $51.16

I'll look forward to seeing you in Mobile. Just drop me a line a few days in advance to give me the location, etc. Don't make a reservation for me, as ~~it~~ I have a friend with whom I might stay.

Yours,

Ray

Ray Jenkins.

AFL-CIO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Jointly Sponsored by:

ALABAMA LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO and MOBILE DISTRICT LABOR COUNCIL

Mobile, Alabama - September 16-17, 1966
105 North Jackson Street

****

LOCAL UNION:_____INTERNATIONAL UNION_____

The following members of this local have been selected to attend the AFL-CIO Educational Institute:

NAME	ADDRESS	CITY

This registration form should be returned to the Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO, 604 Lyric Building, Birmingham, Alabama 35203 not later than September 12, 1966.

A check for the registration fee of $1.00 per student must accompany this form. Please make check payable to: Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO, Education Fund.

****

ek
OPEIU18

RECEIVED

SEP 26 1966

Dear Emory:

Here's the speech which I promised to type out. It is unedited, but I gathered you wanted it only for reference.

Also my expenses for the Mobile finale:

My company pays .08¢ a mile for travel, which would come to $34.00 for the Mobile trip. That would cover all expenses. Enjoyed the association and hope to see you soon.

Yours,

Ray

Ray Jenkins

October 5, 1966

Mr. Barney Weeks, President
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Barney:

I now have Ray Jenkins' expenses for the Mobile Institute. He charged only for mileage which came to $34.00. You will remember that we are also paying him $50.00 as an honorarium for his session.

I trust all is in good shape for the convention.

See you soon.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Wisdom

Ala Ed. Inst.

October 6, 1966

Mr. Ray Jenkins
Managing Editor
The Alabama Journal
Lawrence and Washington Streets
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Ray:

We have just today received word from Emory Via regarding your expenses to Mobile for our recent educational institute. I noticed, however, that meals and lodging were not mentioned.

Our check in the amount of $100.00 is enclosed. This will include $50.00 as expenses and $50.00 honorarium.

We are most grateful to you for taking the time to speak to our group. Also, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you upon your recent promotion.

My co-workers, Barney and Bill, asked that I convey to you their best wishes and kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

A. G. Trammell
Secretary-Treasurer

ek
opei18

bcc: Mr. Emory Via

October 24, 1966

Mr. E. L. Abercrombie
Laundry Workers Union
157 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Abbie:

I hope it will be still possible for you to have letters sent from one or more locals to Joe Mire at The National Institute of Labor Education in support of their Education Project for Disadvantage Unionist in the South.
Anything you can do will be most appreciated.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

March 10, 1970

Mr. J. Bill Becker, President
Arkansas AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsamen Park Road
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202

Dear Bill:

It was good to have some time with you yesterday in Little Rock. Thanks so much for sharing ideas and information with me regarding our proposed program there in April. I will be letting you know how things develop.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/km

File:
Arkansas
Institute
1967

A "FREEDOM BUDGET" FOR ALL AMERICANS

This pamphlet is a summary of the complete 80-page "Freedom Budget for all Americans," which is available from the A. Philip Randolph Institute at $1.00 a copy. Quantity rates on request.

A "FREEDOM BUDGET" FOR ALL AMERICANS

A Summary

Prices: 25c per copy
10 or more, 20c
100 or more, 15c
1000 or more, 10c

Additional copies may be ordered from:
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street • New York, N.Y. 10027
Telephone No. 212-666-9510

A "FREEDOM BUDGET" FOR ALL AMERICANS

A Summary

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125th Street New York, N.Y. 10027

A. Philip Randolph, *President*

Bayard Rustin, *Executive Director*

JANUARY 1967

INTRODUCTION

I believe, and profoundly hope, that from this day forth the opponents of social progress can take comfort no longer, for not since the March on Washington has there been such broad sponsorship and enthusiastic support for any undertaking as has been mobilized on behalf of "The Freedom Budget for All Americans."

These forces have not come together to demand help for the Negro. Rather, we meet on a common ground of determination that in this, the richest and most productive society ever known to man, the scourge of poverty can and must be abolished—not in some distant future, not in this generation, but within the next ten years!

The tragedy is that the workings of our economy so often pit the white poor and the black poor against each other at the bottom of society. The tragedy is that groups only one generation removed from poverty themselves, haunted by the memory of scarcity and fearful of slipping back, step on the fingers of those struggling up the ladder.

And the tragedy is that not only the poor, the nearly poor, and the once poor, but all Americans, are the victims of our failure as a nation to distribute democratically the fruits of our abundance. For, directly or indirectly, not one of us is untouched by the steady spread of slums, the decay of our cities, the segregation and overcrowding of our public schools, the shocking deterioration of our hospitals, the violence and chaos in our streets, the idleness of able-bodied

men deprived of work, and the anguished demoralization of our youth.

For better or worse, we are one nation and one people. We shall solve our problems together or together we shall enter a new era of social disorder and disintegration.

What we need is an overall plan of attack.

This is what the "Freedom Budget" is. It is not visionary or utopian. It is feasible. It is concrete. It is specific. It is quantitative. It talks dollars and cents. It sets goals and priorities. It tells how these can be achieved. And it places the responsibility for leadership with the Federal Government, which alone has the resources equal to the task.

The "Freedom Budget" is not a call for a handout. It is a challenge to the best traditions and possibilities of America. It is a call to those who have grown weary of slogans and gestures to rededicate themselves to the cause of social reconstruction. It is a plea to men of good will to give tangible substance to long-proclaimed ideals.

A. Philip Randolph

President,
A. Philip Randolph Institute

October 26, 1966

FOREWORD

After many years of intense struggle in the courts, in legislative halls, and on the streets, we have achieved a number of important victories. We have come far in our quest for respect and dignity. But we have far to go.

The long journey ahead requires that we emphasize the needs of all America's poor, for there is no way merely to find work, or adequate housing, or quality-integrated schools for Negroes alone. We shall eliminate slums for Negroes when we destroy ghettos and build new cities for *all*. We shall eliminate unemployment for Negroes when we demand full and fair employment for *all*. We shall produce an educated and skilled Negro mass when we achieve a twentieth century educational system for *all*.

This human rights emphasis is an integral part of the Freedom Budget and sets, I believe, a new and creative tone for the great challenge we yet face.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference fully endorses the Freedom Budget and plans to expend great energy and time in working for its implementation.

It is not enough to project the Freedom Budget. We must dedicate ourselves to the legislative task to see that it is immediately and fully achieved. I pledge myself to this task and will urge all others to do likewise. The Freedom Budget is essential if the Negro people are to make further progress. It is essential if we are to maintain social peace. It is a political necessity. It is a moral commitment to the fundamental principles on which this nation was founded.

Martin Luther King Jr.

October 26, 1966 *Martin Luther King*

A "FREEDOM BUDGET" FOR ALL AMERICANS

The Freedom Budget is a practical, step-by-step plan for wiping out poverty in America during the next 10 years.

It will mean more money in your pocket. It will mean better schools for your children. It will mean better homes for you and your neighbors. It will mean clean air to breathe and comfortable cities to live in. It will mean adequate medical care when you are sick.

So where does the "Freedom" come in?

For the first time, everyone in America who is fit and able to work will have a job. For the first time, everyone who can't work, or shouldn't be working, will have an income adequate to live in comfort and dignity. And that is freedom. For freedom from want is the basic freedom from which all others flow.

This nation has learned that it must provide freedom for all if any of us is to be free. We have learned that half-measures are not enough. We know that continued unfair treatment of part of our people breeds misery and waste that are both morally indefensible and a threat to all who are better off.

As A. Philip Randolph put it: "Here in these United States, where there can be no economic or technical excuse for it, poverty is not only a private tragedy but, in a sense, a public crime. It is above all a challenge to our morality."

The Freedom Budget would make that challenge the lever we can grasp to wipe out poverty in a decade.

Pie in the sky?

Not on your life. Just simple recognition of the fact that we as a nation never had it so good. That we have the ability and the means to provide adequately for everyone. That simple justice requires us to see that everyone—white or black; in the city or on the farm; fisherman or mountaineer—may have his share in our national wealth.

The moral case for the Freedom Budget is compelling.

In a time of unparalleled prosperity, there are 34 million Americans living in poverty. Another 28 million live

just on the edge, with income so low that any unexpected expense or loss of income could thrust them into poverty.

Almost one-third of our nation lives in poverty or want. They are not getting their just share of our national wealth.

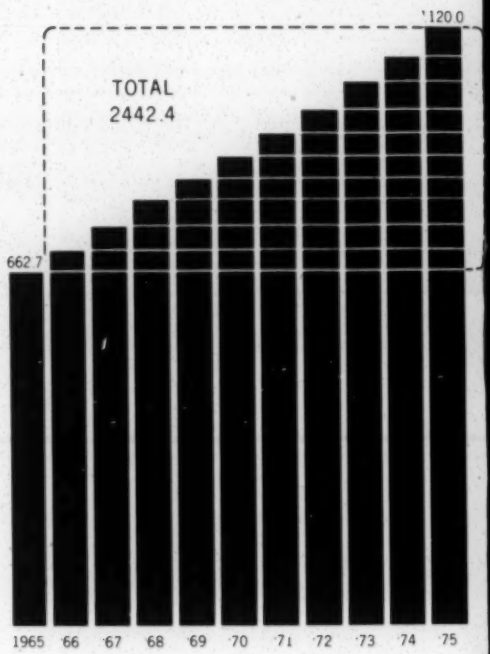
Just as compelling, this massive lump of despair stands as a threat to our future prosperity. Poverty and want breed crime, disease and social unrest. We need the potential purchasing and productive power the poor would achieve, if we are to continue to grow and prosper.

In short, for good times to continue—and get better—we must embark immediately on a program that will fairly and indiscriminately provide a decent living for all Americans.

The Freedom Budget provides seven basic objectives, which taken together will achieve this great goal within 10 years. They are:

1. To provide *full employment* for all who are willing and able to work, including those who need education or training to make them willing and able.
2. To assure *decent and adequate wages* to all who work.
3. To assure a *decent living standard* to those who cannot or should not work.
4. To *wipe out slum ghettos* and provide decent homes for all Americans.
5. To provide *decent medical care and adequate educational opportunities* to all Americans, at a cost they can afford.
6. To *purify our air and water* and develop our transportation and natural resources on a scale suitable to our growing needs.
7. To unite sustained full employment with sustained *full production and high economic growth.*

WHAT WE HAVE TO WORK WITH
Gross National Product in Billions of 1964 Dollars



The Freedom Budget shows how to do all this without a raise in taxes and without a single make-work job—by planning prudently NOW to use the economic growth of the future, and with adequate attention to our international commitments.

The key is jobs.

We can all recognize that the major cause of poverty could be eliminated, if enough decently paying jobs were available for everyone willing and able to work. And we can also recognize that, with enough jobs for all, a basic cause of discrimination among job-seekers would automatically disappear.

What we must also recognize is that we now have the means of achieving complete employment—at no increased cost, with no radical change in our economic system, and at no cost to our present national goals—if we are willing to commit ourselves totally to this achievement.

That is what the Freedom Budget is all about.

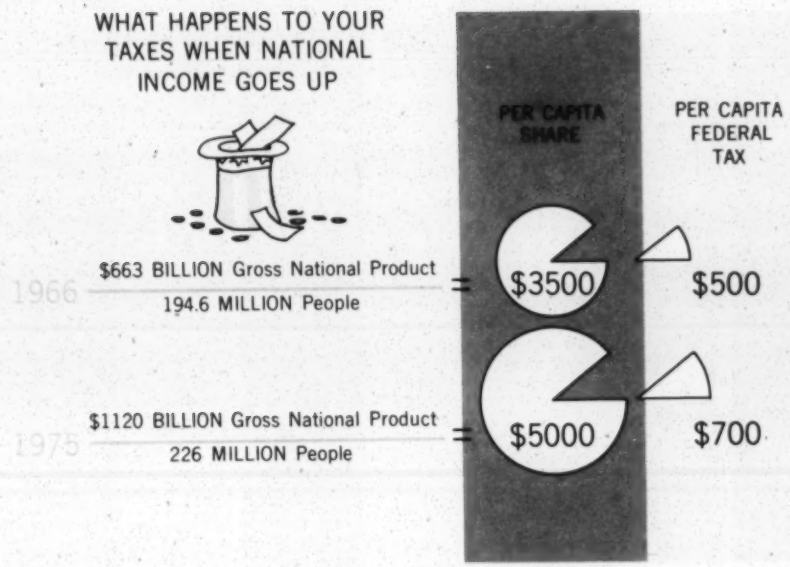
It asks that we unite in insisting that the nation plan now to use part of its expected economic growth to eliminate poverty.

Where will the jobs come from? What will we use for money?

If all our nation's wealth were divided equally among all us Americans, each share would be worth roughly $3,500. Of this, we grant to the Federal government a slice equal to roughly $500 in the form of taxes, leaving us an average of about $3,000 to spend on our other needs.

If our nation's productivity continues growing at the same rate as in recent years—and it will if the Freedom Budget is adopted—each share will grow to about $5,000. Thus, the Federal government's slice will grow to $700, with the present Federal tax structure, and we will still have $4,300 left for our other needs.

What the Freedom Budget proposes is this: Budget a fraction of the $200 increase in Federal tax revenues to provide jobs for all who can work and adequate income of other types for those who cannot.



No doles. No skimping on national defense. No tampering with private supply and demand.

Just an enlightened self-interest, using what we have in the best possible way.

By giving the poor a chance to become dignified wage earners, we will be generating the money to finance the improvements we all need—rich and poor alike. And we would be doing it by making new jobs with new money, so that no one who is now earning his own living would suffer.

The Freedom Budget recognizes that the Federal government must take the lead in attaining the eradication of poverty.

The Federal government alone represents all 200 million American individuals. It alone has the resources for a comprehensive job. And it has the responsibility for fulfilling the needs which are the basis for the Freedom Budget plan.

First, here's where the jobs would be coming from:

—Right now, the nation should begin budgeting to replace the 9.3 million "seriously deficient" housing units that make living in them a misery and form slums that are a blight upon our land.

The housing program contained in the Freedom Budget would have practically all Americans decently housed by 1975—while providing a wide range of jobs for the unemployed in housing construction and urban redevelopment.

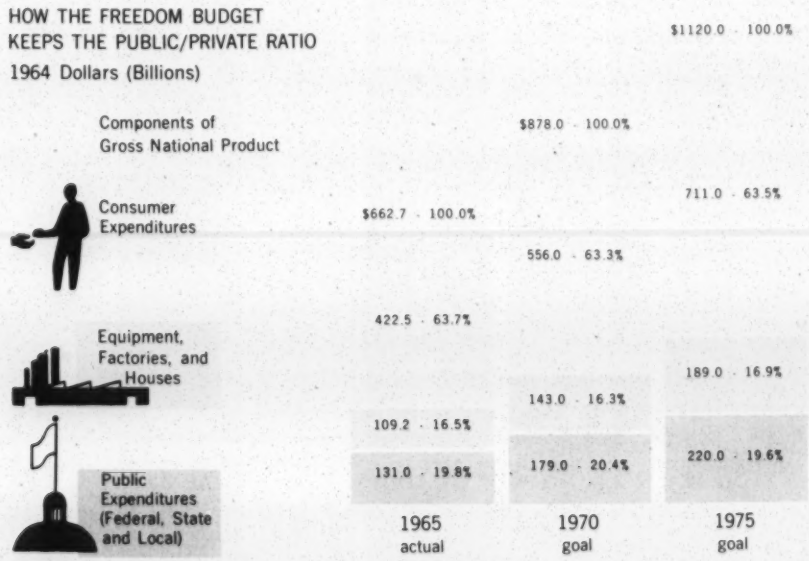
—Critical shortages of water and power persist in many highly populated areas. Air and waters remain polluted. Recreation facilities are unavailable for those who need them most.

The Freedom Budget proposes the creation of millions of jobs in a program that will correct these pressing problems.

—We need, at a conservative estimate, 100,000 new public classrooms a year for the next six years, as well as considerable expansion of our institutions of higher learning.

Only the Federal government can meet the largest share of these needs, as well as providing for the hundreds of thousands of new teachers who also will be needed.

—We must double our rate of hospital construction if we are to keep up with our minimum requirements in this field, and we must expand rehabilitation and outpatient facilities.



As these and other programs swell the number of productive workers, cut down unemployment and increase consumption, the private sector of our national economy will inevitably grow also.

The Freedom Budget recognizes that full employment by itself is not enough to eradicate poverty. Therefore, it also proposes — and budgets for — a $2-an-hour Federal minimum wage covering everyone within Federal jurisdiction; a new farm program to provide adequate income to the 43 per cent of farm families who now live in poverty; and immediate improvements in Social Security, welfare, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation and other programs designed to support those who cannot or should not work.

Where will the money come from?

The Freedom Budget recognizes that we cannot spend what we do not produce. It also recognizes that we must spend wisely what we do produce.

It proposes that a portion of our future growth—one thirteenth of what can reasonably be expected to be available —be earmarked for the eradication of poverty. The Freedom Budget proposed outlay of $185 billion in 10 years sounds like a great deal of money, and it is a great deal of money.

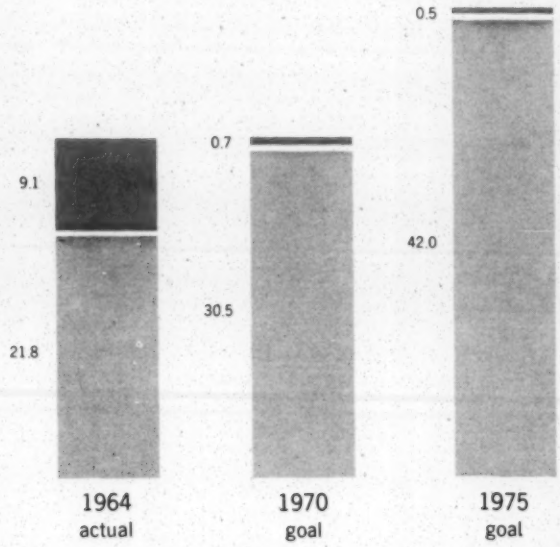
But it will come from the expansion of our economy that will in part be the result of wise use of that very $185 billion. It will build homes and schools, provide recreation areas and hospitals. It will train teachers and nurses.

It will provide adequate incomes to millions who now do not have them. And those millions will in turn buy goods they cannot now buy.

So the wage earner of today will benefit as well. His earnings will go up and his enjoyment of life will be increased. The opportunities for private enterprise will increase.

The breeding grounds of crime and discontent will be diminished in the same way that draining a swamp cuts down

WHAT THE FREEDOM BUDGET MEANS FOR FAMILY INCOMES
Number of Families (millions)



the breeding of mosquitoes, and the causes of discrimination will be considerably reduced.

But the Freedom Budget cannot become reality without a national effort. It requires a concentrated commitment by all the people of America, expressed in concrete goals and programs of the Federal Government. These goals and programs must encourage to the utmost the efforts of state and local governments and private enterprise.

It is not lack of good-will that has prevented the achievement of these great goals in the past. All of us, 200 million strong, are united in our willingness to share the abundance of America in equal impartiality with our fellows, and to grant equal opportunities to all.

What we must do—and what the Freedom Budget provides—is to express that will in the most direct, quickest and fairest way.

The Freedom Budget, then, is a new call to arms for a final assault on injustice. It is a rallying cry we cannot fail to heed.

THE "FREEDOM BUDGET": QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1. Aren't We Making Progress in Eliminating Poverty Through the Kind of Sharp Economic Growth We've Had in the Past Two Years? What New Dimensions Does the "Freedom Budget" Add?

There is no evidence that the economic growth of the last two years has significantly dented poverty. Economic growth is a precondition for abolishing poverty, but it is not sufficient by itself. To it must be added programs that reach toward a more equitable distribution of our abundance. This is the dimension added by the "Freedom Budget."

2. Will Programs to Help the Poor Really Enable Them to Break the Cycle of Poverty?

Of course. The overwhelming majority of the poor don't want to be poor. They have been kept in poverty, in some cases for two or more generations. They are the victims of technological changes, of wrong-headed economic policies, of political powerlessness, of discrimination, of the environment of poverty itself. Their despair and demoralization can be dispelled only by the opening of genuine economic opportunity. When such opportunity is provided, along the lines suggested in the "Freedom Budget," the cycle of poverty can and will be broken.

3. How Many of the People in Poverty Are Capable of Handling Jobs and How Many Would Take Jobs if They Were Offered?

First of all, 20% of those in poverty are in families whose breadwinners already work full-time but at wages below the poverty level. Another 40% are victims of unemployment or underemployment; their problem is not unwillingness to work but the absence of jobs. Thus, fully 60% of the poverty problem could be eliminated if we achieved full employment at decent wages.

The remaining 40% of those in poverty either cannot or should not be working. Included are the physically disabled, the elderly, women with young children, etc. For them the "Freedom Budget" demands improved public assistance, social security and other payments, culminating in a guaranteed annual income.

Our past experience shows that federal programs such as the progressive income tax, social security, protection of collective bargaining and others have raised the income level of millions of people.

4. Won't the Spending of So Much Money Mean the Creation of More Government Agencies and Just Expand Bureaucracy?

The expansion of bureaucracy results from the effort to solve problems in a haphazard, piecemeal way. A coordinated national plan, such as the "Freedom Budget" does not call for new agencies; it calls for new levels of economic performance. People who are fully employed at decent wages do not need bureaucracies; the poor and disadvantaged do.

5. Will Taxes Have to be Raised to Provide the Money to Implement the Freedom Budget Programs?

Our current tax structure is very responsive to economic growth. If total output expands—and it will if Freedom Budget proposals are enacted—revenues to the federal government will rise by $10 billion each year. For the ten years, the cumulative effect will be to add in excess of $400 billion to our present tax revenue.

6. Where Will All the Money Come From?

From what the "Freedom Budget" calls the "economic growth dividend." If we put all of our resources to work, the country's total production will jump from $663 billion in 1965 to roughly $1.2 trillion in 1975. To reach this figure, the gross national product would rise each year by an average of $244 billion. Thus, over a ten-year period, the aggregate increase in the gross national product would be $2.4 trillion higher than if the economy remained at its present level. (See graph, p. 10) This is what is meant by "economic growth dividend." At present tax rates, such a dividend would result in an additional $400 billion or more in Federal revenues over the next decade. It is from these *additional* revenues that the "Freedom Budget" proposes the allocation of $185 billion to meet our critical social needs.

7. Aren't We Asking the American Public to Devote a Tremendous Amount of Money to Help Just a Small Group Within Our Society?

While it is true that poverty afflicts only a minority of Americans, it reflects a malfunctioning of our national economy which affects all Americans. The persistence of unemployment and underuse of resources detract from our total wealth. Had there been maximum employment and production between 1953-65, as would have been achieved under programs such as those proposed in the Freedom Budget, our gross national product would have been $550 billion higher, total private consumption would have been $364 billion higher, and public revenues would have been $135 billion higher. All Americans would have shared in this greater abundance.

Thus, we have all been deprived of the contribution the poor can make, as producers and consumers, to our economy. Moreover, nobody is untouched by the spread of slums, the decay of social services, and the human waste that lead to violence, crime and chaos. Every American suffers from outmoded urban transit, air and water pollution, inadequate schools and hospitals.

This is a "Freedom Budget" for *all* Americans.

8. Would Not a $2.00 Minimum Wage, Particularly in Agriculture, Reduce the Number of Jobs?

This is a standard argument against higher minimum wages, but it has no basis in fact. There was no increase in unemployment when minimum wages were raised in 1961 and again in 1963. On the contrary, because a $2.00 minimum wage would boost consumer purchasing power, total employment would probably rise.

Government programs should be established to help small enterprises achieve greater efficiency and to tide them over while they are adjusting to payment of a living wage.

9. Won't $185 Billion More in Spending Create Such High Demand for Goods and Services That Sharp Inflation Will Be Inevitable?

There is no evidence of serious shortages in goods at present. Should such shortages develop, however, or if tendencies toward inflation threaten, the "Freedom Budget" contends that the Federal Government has sufficient fiscal and monetary tools to deal with the problem, without scuttling our commitment to abolish poverty.

10. Does the "Freedom Budget" Assume That National Defense Expenditures Would Not Rise?

No. For national defense, space technology and all international outlays, the federal budget in 1967 was $64.6 billion. The "Freedom Budget" assumes this figure would rise to $87.5 billion in 1975.

In making this estimate, the Freedom Budget neither endorses nor condemns present military spending policies. It relies on the judgment of informed experts. Obviously, if the international situation improves and a reduction in military spending is in order, so much more money will be available for social needs. But even if military spending increases faster than now envisioned, the Freedom Budget proves that we can afford to carry out the necessary programs. But the abolition of poverty is too precious a goal to be made *contingent* on such a reduction.

SIGNATORIES OF "FREEDOM BUDGET"*

The "Freedom Budget" embodies a fundamental approach to the elimination of poverty for all Americans, regardless of color, and has other essential purposes. While not necessarily endorsing every detail, I am in broad agreement with its basic objectives and broad outlines.

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Katie E. Whickam, President
Natl. Beauty Culturists League

Elizabeth Wickenden
Social Welf. Consultant
Natl. Social Welfare Assembly

Roy Wilkins, Executive Director
Natl. Assn. Advance. Colored People

Robert E. Will
Prof. Economics, Carleton College

Pearl L. Willen, President
Natl. Council of Jewish Women

Robin Murphy Williams, Jr.
Prof. Sociology, Cornell Univ.

Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr., Exec. Dir.
United Presby. Com. Relig. & Race

William Wolpert, President
United Hebrew Trades

C. Vann Woodward
Prof. History, Yale Univ.

Jerry Wurf, President
Amer. Fed. St., Co. & Munic. Employees

Whitney M. Young, Jr., Exec. Dir.
National Urban League

Charles S. Zimmerman
Natl. Trade Union Cncl.
Human Rights Jewish Labor

WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. The objectives outlined in the "Freedom Budget for All Americans," can only be achieved when all those who advocate its adoption are registered voters. Carry on a voter registration campaign in your area and demand that candidates for office tell you where they stand on the Freedom Budget.

2. Order copies of this summary for members of your club, trade union, neighborhood association, fraternal and religious groups.

3. Order copies of the expanded, "A Freedom Budget for All Americans," for your local public and school libraries, keep several on hand for reference work.

4. Hold meeting for the general public about the Freedom Budget.

5. Set-up small study groups to relate the demands of the Freedom Budget to the needs of your community.

6. Write to the Randolph Institute if you need help in planning meetings, if you need a speaker, or if you would like a field secretary help you organize activities in behalf of the Budget.

7. Write to your congressmen and senators and let them know that you support the Budget; ask them to introduce legislation incorporating the proposals in the Budget.

8. Contact your city and state officials to let them know the needs of your community; demand that they pressure Washington for its enactment.

9. Contact youth groups and involve them in work in behalf of the Budget.

10. Please send copies of your correspondence, replies from government officials and other material to the Randolph Institute, 217 West 125th Street, New York, New York 10027.

Arkansas State AFL-CIO

1408 REBSAMEN PARK ROAD
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72202 MOHAWK 3-4164

J. BILL BECKER
President
GEORGE H. ELLISON
Vice-President
E. J. JACOBS
Secretary-Treasurer

March 17, 1967

TO: All Local Unions in Phillips, Lee, Monroe and St. Francis Counties

SUBJECT: Special Educational Institute
"Eastern Arkansas: Its Unions, People, and Problems"

Dear Sir and Brother:

In cooperation with the Southern Regional Council, we are planning to hold an Educational Institute this coming April 21st and 22nd at the Holiday Inn in Forrest City, Arkansas. The program will begin Friday evening at 7:00 p.m. and run through Saturday.

All local union officers, Executive Board members, Stewards and other leadership in your local union are invited.

This program is designed to bring local union leaders important information about the problems and possibilities in a changing South and in a developing Eastern Arkansas. The state's tax needs and tax problems will be discussed -- especially as they relate to working men and women. Also important issues concerning consumer protection, including such matters as credit and garnishment, will be considered.

This institute will help bring new insight to problems facing Arkansas and suggest constructive ways that unions and other groups can work cooperatively for better life for all of our people.

Outstanding experts and labor educators will be on hand to work with us on this fine program. Your union should make plans now to have a good delegation attend these sessions.

We will be looking forward to seeing you then.

Always with a good wish, I remain

Fraternally yours,

Bill Becker

J. Bill Becker
President

JBB:jm

REGISTRATION BLANK
SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Mr. E. J. Jacobs, Sec.-Treas.
Arkansas State AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsamen Park Road
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Sir and Brother:

The following delegates from Local Union _____

at _____ will attend the Special Educational Institute at the

Holiday Inn in Forrest City, Friday, April 21 and Saturday, April 22, 1967.

1. _____ 8. _____

2. _____ 9. _____

3. _____ 10. _____

4. _____ 11. _____

5. _____ 12. _____

6. _____ 13. _____

7. _____ 14. _____

Fraternally yours,

REGISTRATION FEE OF $2.50
PER DELEGATE WILL BE PAID
AT TIME OF REGISTRATION.

_____
(Name of Officer)

_____
(Title of Officer)

_____
(Address)

Date: _____

(BLANK SHOULD BE RETURNED TO THIS OFFICE NO LATER THAN APRIL 19, 1966)

REGISTRATION BLANK
SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Mr. E. J. Jacobs, Sec.-Treas.
Arkansas State AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsamen Park Road
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Sir and Brother:

The following delegates from Local Union _____

at _____ will attend the Special Educational Institute at the

Holiday Inn in Forrest City, Friday, April 21 and Saturday, April 22, 1967.

1. _____ 8. _____

2. _____ 9. _____

3. _____ 10. _____

4. _____ 11. _____

5. _____ 12. _____

6. _____ 13. _____

7. _____ 14. _____

Fraternally yours,

REGISTRATION FEE OF $2.50
PER DELEGATE WILL BE PAID
AT TIME OF REGISTRATION.

_____
(Name of Officer)

_____
(Title of Officer)

_____
(Address)

Date: _____

(BLANK SHOULD BE RETURNED TO THIS OFFICE NO LATER THAN APRIL 19, 1966)

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Friday, April 21

7:00 p.m.	Registration
7:30 p.m.	"Perspectives on the Changing South" "A New Look at Eastern Arkansas"
9:30 p.m.	Adjourn

Saturday, April 22

9:00 - 10:30 a.m.	"Understanding Arkansas Taxes"
10:30 - 12:00	Consumer Problems: What Can Be Done?
12:00 - 1:30 p.m.	Lunch
1:30 - 4:30 p.m.	Cooperative Programs for a Better Arkansas
4:45 p.m.	Adjourn

REGISTRATION FEE: $2.50 (Actual cost of lunch)

ARK TRIP

LEGAL AID BUREAU OF PULASKI COUNTY

ATTORNEYS

BURL C. ROTENBERRY, DIRECTOR
L. HOBSON MAHON
DELECTOR TILLER
HUBERT E. GRAVES

718-A WEST MARKHAM STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201
TELEPHONE: AREA CODE 501 FRANKLIN 6-3423

BRANCH OFFICE

815 EAST 14TH STREET
NORTH LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72114
TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 501
FRANKLIN 6-2791

April 10, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Re: Eastern Arkansas Labor Educational Institute

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for your letter of April 3 outlining my role on the program.

I probably will not be able to arrive in Forrest City until Saturday morning, April 22. Therefore, I would appreciate it if you could advise me at what hour Saturday morning my discussion is to begin so that I can be sure to get there on time.

Yours very truly,

Burl C. Rotenberry

Burl C. Rotenberry

BCR/ew

April 3, 1967

Mr. Burl Rotenberry
Leggl Aid Bureau of Pulaski County
718-A W. Markham St.
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Mr. Rottenberry:

At long last I am getting a confirming letter to you regarding the program we discussed for Eastern Arkansas. A copy of the announcement from the State AFL-CIO is enclosed.

Your participation will come on Saturday morning, April 22. We would be happy for you to be on hand for the evening of the 21st and for you to stay until the end of the day on Saturday, but this is not required.

We want you to discuss consumer problems. More specifically we want a discussion of those problems that relate to state legislation. This would include the complex of subjects revolving around interest rates, usury, credit, and garnishment. Also if there is legislation on weights and standards and "sharp" practices in general this would be helpful.

Could you state what the laws provide succinctly and then discuss the problem of needed legislation, administrative procedures, and the relation of the courts to consumer problems? We are not asking you tp push specific reforms or legislation, but an indication of the gaps, or existing problems which legislation or changed practices would cure would be most helpful.

You may find that a good approach is to use a few case examples as illustrations. I realize that all of this sounds like a big order for an hour and a half, but we are mainly trying to provide a meaningful orientation so that the union leaders can grasp the importance of this area to them and others. We

do hope for discussion as a means to determine whether or not we are making effective contact with the group.

In general, we try not to underestimate the intelligence of our groups or overestimate their actual knowledge. I think you should count on the educational level as being a little less than high school graduate.

Don't hestitate to call me collect if you have any questions. We very much look forward to having you with us for this program.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

(AC 501)

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

ARKANSAS VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
REV. BEN GRINAGE, DIRECTOR

April 10, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Director, Labor Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory,

Here is a list of a few names of persons who may be usefull in your workshop in the Forrest City area.

Phillips County:

Mr. James Gray
623 Plaza St.
West Helena, Arkansas

Mr. John Hamilton
Rt. 1 Box 302B
Marvel, Arkansas

St. Francis County:

Mrs. Catherine Clay
104 Water Street
Forrest City, Arkansas

Mrs. Willean Tabrun
723 Hodge Rd.
Forrest City, Arkansas

Mr. Roscoe A Sharp
Principal
Lincoln High School
Forrest City, Ark.

If there is any thing else that we might help in, please let us know. I plan to be in that area during that time. If you would be able to come in to Little Rocke a day earlier or stay an extra day it might be possible to do some radio and press interviews. Let us know if you feel that this might be of some help.

Sincerly,

Ben

Rev. Ben Grinage
Director
Arkansas VEP

OFFICERS – FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN
REVEREND A. M. ROBERTS, JR., TREASURER • MRS. FRANK N. GORDON, SECRETARY
STAFF – NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

April 13, 1967

Mr. Burl C. Rotenberry
Legal Aid Bureau of Pulaski County
1718-A West Markham St.
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Mr. Rotenberry:

I am sorry that you will not be able to be with us on Friday evening, April 21. Since you will be coming in on Saturyday morning why don't we set your session for the latter half of the morning. If you were on hand at 10:00 o'clock I think this would be in good time.

I trust that this is satisfactory and I look forward to meeting you in Forrest City.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

April 13, 1967

Mr. Roscoe A. Sharp, Principle
Lincoln High School
Forrest City, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Sharp:

Our organization is cooperating with the Arkansas State AFL-CIO in an education program for union members to be held in Forrest City on April 21 and 22. The meetings will be in the Holiday Inn. The group will not be large, about 30-40 persons, for a true education program.

On Saturday afternoon, April 22, (1:30-4:30), the discussion will be on the possibilities and problems in getting cooperation between unions and Negro action or civil rights organizations- or simply between local labor leadership and local Negro leadership.

We are inviting you and severalgother Negro leaders to attend the afternoon session and to take part in the discussions. Will it be possible for you to be with us? We have also invited Rev. Ben Grinage, Director of the Arkansas Voter Education Project to be with us and he plans to attend. We have worked cooperatively with The Arkansas Council on Human Relations in setting up the program.

The local union leaders will meet on Friday evening to discuss the changing South and the changing east Arkansas. On Saturday morning they will be in sessions on Arkansas tax problems and consumer education problems. If you are free, we would be pleased to have you attend the Saturday morning session simply to watch the union members in an education session and to get some idea of their interest in the matters being discussed.

I hope you will return the enclosed card right away telling us if you can join us. If you have any questions whatsoever about your participation in this program would you please call me collect in Atlanta (office phone: 522-8764; home phone: 636-5829). We will pay for any expenses you incur in attending this meeting.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

April 13, 1967

Mrs. Willean Tabrun
723 Hodge Rd.
Forrest City, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Tabrun:

Our organization is cooperating with the Arkansas State AFL-CIO in an education program for union members to be held in Forrest City on April 21 and 22. The meetings will be in the Holiday Inn. The group will not be large, about 30-40 persons, for a true education program.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

April 13, 1967

Mr. James Gray
623 Plaza St.
West Helena, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Gray:

Our organization is cooperating with the Arkansas State AFL-CIO in an education program for union members to be held in Forrest City on April 21 and 22. The meetings will be in the Holiday Inn. The group will not be large, about 30 40 persons, foras true education program.

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We are inviting you and several other Negro leaders to attend the afternoon session and to take part in the discussions. Will it be possible for you to be with us? We have also invited Rev. Ben Grinage, Director of the Arkansas Voter Education Project to be with us and he plans to attend. We have worked cooperatively with the Arkansas Council on Human Relations in setting up the program.

The local union leaders will meet on Friday evening to discuss the changing South and the changingeast Arkansas. On Saturday morning they will be in sessions on Arkansas tax problems and consumer education problems. If you are free, we would be pleased to have you attend the Saturday morning session simply to watch the union members in an education session and to get some idea of their interest in the matters being discussed.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

April 13, 1967

Mr. John Hamilton
Rt. 1, Box 302B
Marvel, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

Our organization is cooperating with the Arkansas State AFL-CIO in an education program for union members to be held in Forrest City on April 21 and 22. The meetings will be in the Holiday Inn. The group will not be large, about 30-40 persons, for a true education program.

On Saturday afternoon, April 22, (1:30-4:30), the discussion will be on the possibilities and problems in getting cooperation between unions and Negro action or civil rights organizations- or simply between local labor leadership and local Negro leadership.

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The local union leaders will meet on Friday evening to discuss the changing South ~~and~~ the changing east Arkansas. On Saturday morning they will be in sessions on Arkansas tax problems and consumer education problems. If you are free, we would be pleased to have you attend the Saturday morning session simply to watch the union members in an education session and to get some idea of their interest in the matters being discussed.

I hope you will return the enclosed card right away telling us if you can join us. If you have an questions whatsoever about your participation in this program would you please call me collect in Atlanta (office phone: 522-8764; home phone: 636-5829). We will pay for any expenses you incur in attending this meeting

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

April 25, 1967

Mr. Ben Grinage
Arkansas Voter Education Project
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Ben:

I want to thank you on behalf of the Labor Program and the Arkansas State AFL-CIO for both your participation in the Institute at Forrest City and your assistance in working out the arrangements with some of the local Negro leaders. You played an important role in the undertaking.

I hope that by some happy accident that either you or Mr. Hamilton picked up my Institute notedbook. After the final panel session I could not find it anywhere. It does have some notes which I took on the Institute itself and copies of the correspondence between you and me and with the local Negro leaders. If you do not have it could you determine if Mr. Hamilton has it? Although I loose a number of things usually nothing of that sort. I would be most grateful to have it returned. I just hope that in the last minute shuffle to pick things from the table that it was in fact one of you who got my note book.

We are tentatively thinking of either July 7-8 or July 14-15 as the dates for a second institute to be held in Jonesboro. Could you tell me if you would be available for either or both of these dates? You might want to start thinking about local leaders who could be involved in this one too.

Please give my good regards to Howard Himlebaum. I am glad to know of his interest in the labor field.and pleased that he was able to be with us.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

April 25, 1967

Mr. Daniel A. Powell
Area V
C.O.P.E.
AFL-CIO
5298 Revere Rd.
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Dan:

First let me thank you for your participation in the Forrest City Institute. Your assistance in planning, instructing, and in seeing the institute through in general was most welcomed.

Could you shortly check your calendar to see if you could keep both July 7-8 and July 14-15 open for a possible institue at Jonesboro? I would like to keep both dates open until we can be sure which one will be the easier to staff.

As to Sunday, I am personally most appreciative for the opportunity to have had such a fine day with you. It was good fun and I trust we will get a chance for another trip. It is true that I have more bites from the mosquitoes than the two of us together got from the fish.

Thanks,too, for getting me to the airport in good style and on time.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jsd

April 26, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman, Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 WrightsAvenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Elijah:

This is just a note to express appreciation to you, Father Clancy and the Arkansas Council on Human Relations for your assistance in setting up our recent educational institute in Forrest City in cooperation with the State AFL-CIO. Your and Father Clancy's suggestions were most useful. Also, we got good service from Ben Grinage.

I am sure that Ben can fill you in on some of the details. By in large we feel that it was a successful undertaking. We may be having a second institute sometime in July.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

April 26, 1967

Mr. Bill Becker, President
Arkansas State AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsamen Park Rd.
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202

Dear Bill:

This is just a note to express my appreciation for your cooperation in our recent joint educational institute in Forrest City. On balance, I think it went quite well.

Will you check your calendar to see if either or both July 7-8 or July 14-15 are convenient dates for an institute in Jonesboro? Is this still what you would like to do. If so, we can certainly find the time to put our heads together for a more detailed planning session.

Eventually, Dan and I decided it was dry enough to fish, cancelled my early plane and headed for the alake. We showed great restraint in not knocking on your door. Dan caught what he described as a six ounce bass - twice as big as yours.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

April 26, 1967

Mr. E. T. Kehrer, Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
Southern Office
40 Marietta St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

I want to thank you on behalf of the Labor Program and the Arkansas State AFL-CIO for your participation in the recent Educational Institute held in Forrest City. As usual I have enjoyed the cooperative relation with you in planning and working out the details of the program. I especially appreciate your willingness to undertake the session on Arkansas taxes.

Will you check your calendar and let me know if either or both July 7-8 or July 14-15 would be convenient for a second institute to be held in Jonesboro?

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jsd

LEGAL AID BUREAU OF PULASKI COUNTY

ATTORNEYS

BURL C. ROTENBERRY, DIRECTOR
L. HOBSON MAHON
DELECTOR TILLER
HUBERT E. GRAVES

718-A WEST MARKHAM STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201
TELEPHONE: AREA CODE 501 FRANKLIN 6-3423

BRANCH OFFICE

815 EAST 14TH STREET
NORTH LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72114
TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 501
FRANKLIN 6-2791

April 27, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Re: Eastern Arkansas Labor Educational Institute

Dear Mr. Via:

In accordance with your suggestion at the Institute in Forrest City on April 22, I am writing to request reimbursement of auto expenses in attending this Institute. The distance between Little Rock and Forrest City is 100 miles and at 8¢ per mile round trip this would amount to $16.00. I will appreciate reimbursement of this expense at your convenience.

I enjoyed participating in this program and again thank you for the opportunity.

Yours very truly,

Burl C. Rotenberry

Burl C. Rotenberry

BCR/ew

May 3, 1967

Mr. Burl C. Rotenberry, Director
Legal Aid Bureau of Pulaski County
718-A West Markham Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Mr. Rotenberry:

We greatly appreciate your effective participation in our education institute in Forrest City. I am grateful for your willingness to participate and the preparation for a job well done.

Enclosed is our check for $51.00 which will ocover your expenses ($16.00) and a modest honorarium.($35.00).

We are tentatively planning a second institute. Would you be available for either July 8 or July 15? Would you please let me know at your earliest convenience your availability for those dates.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

June 5, 1967

Mrs. Willean Tabrun
723 Hodge Rd.
Forrest City, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Tabrun:

On April 22 you participated in an Institute sponsored by us and the Arkansas State AFL-CIO. Unfortunately, the correspondence with your address on it was misplaced for some time. This is a very tardy thank you for having been with us that day. We greatly appreciate your willingness to join us then and for your participation.

I trust that there will be some further opportunity for us to work together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

June 6, 1967

Mr. John Hamilton
Rt. 1, Box 302B
Marvel, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

On April 22 you participated in an Institute at Forrest City which was sponsored by us and the Arkansas State AFL-CIO. Unfortunately, the correspondence with your address was misplaced and I am just now getting to write you to thank you for your participation in that program.

All of us were most appreciative of your willingness to take the time to be with us that day and to share some of your thinking with us. I trust that the future will provide further oppertunities for our working together.

Did you incur any expenses in connection with your taking part in our meeting? If you did, will you please be sure to let me know what they were so that we can pay you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

June 6, 1967

Mrs. Clara Chissom
443 N. Morengo
West Helena, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Chissom:

On April 22 you participated in an Institute sponsored by us and the Arkansas State AFL-CIO. Unfortunately, the correspondence with your address on it was misplaced for some time. This is a very tardy thank you for having been with us that day. We greatly appreciate your willingness to join us then and for your participation.

I trust that there will be some further opportunity for us to work together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

P.S. If you incured any expenses because of your participation in our meeting will you please let me know what they are so that we can pay you.

make file
htble.

AFL-CIO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Sponsored by the

ARKANSAS STATE AFL-CIO

in cooperation with the

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Holiday Inn
Jonesboro, Arkansas
July 14-15, 1967

File

PROGRAM

AFL-CIO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Jonesboro, Arkansas

July 14-15, 1967

Friday, July 14:

7:00 p. m.	Registration
7:15 p. m.	Welcome: J. Bill Becker, President Arkansas State AFL-CIO Emory F. Via, Director Labor Program, Southern Regional Council
7:30 p. m.	"Perspectives on the Changing South and a New Look at Eastern Arkansas" Emory Via
9:30 p. m.	Adjourn

Saturday, July 15:

9:00 a. m.	"Understanding Arkansas Taxes" E. T. Kehrer, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, Southern Office
10:30 a. m.	"Consumer Problems: What Can Be Done?" Burl C. Rotenberry Legal Aid Bureau of Pulaski County
12:00 Noon	Lunch - Holiday Inn
1:30 p. m.	"Cooperative Programs for a Better Arkansas" Panel Discussion
4:30 p. m.	Closing Remarks
4:45 p. m.	Adjourn

The Financial Crisis Of State and Local Governments

At the very time that federal tax cuts—recent and anticipated—enjoy great popularity, 50 state governments and 90,000 local ones are grappling with the critical problem of how to raise more money to meet urgent public needs. In fact, this crisis has been plaguing state and local governments during all the postwar period and no respite can be expected in the years immediately ahead.

It is true that the current business boom—due in large part to the stimulus of the federal tax cut—is raising the revenue yield from state taxes already on the books. Nonetheless, as the Wall Street Journal has pointed out, most states view this good fortune to be "a momentary thing and expect rising costs and citizen demands for more and more services to land them back in the financial soup."

It also is true that the flow of federal grants-in-aid to help the states and localities finance urgent public services—public assistance, urban renewal, highways, health facilities, education and the like—has been increasing rapidly. However, this welcome aid from Washington is still too little to narrow the gap between the revenue available to the states and localities and the skyrocketing cost of the public facilities and services their citizens need and demand.

Over the last quarter century, the sums collected and spent at the federal level naturally have focused public attention on Washington. The increasingly urgent state and local revenue problems, on the other hand, have been pretty much obscured.

In 1963, the latest fiscal year for which census figures for all governments—federal, state and local—are available, the general federal expenditures reached $100 billion. This federal outlay was the highest for any peacetime year and it excludes disbursements by the Social Security and other insurance trusts.

Labor's **ECONOMIC REVIEW**

Prepared by Department of Research
Reprinted from October 1965
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

It should be noted that, out of this total, the lion's share—about $72 billion—was spent to meet national defense and related costs, including veterans' benefits and interest on the largely war-incurred national debt.

When it comes to providing for the civilian public services the American people need, it is the states and localities—not Washington—that shoulder most of the load. In 1963, these governments by themselves raised and spent $56.5 billion for this purpose, compared to the $28.5 billion for civilian needs spent by the federal government.

Actually, of the $85 billion total spent in 1963 by government at all levels purely for civilian purposes, the states and localities themselves raised two-thirds.

What the states and localities have been managing to do, despite great and growing odds, is an impressive achievement:

- In the ten years alone from 1953 to 1963, annual state-local outlays to meet general needs soared from $28 billion to $65 billion. This 132 percent expenditure rise—half of which went for education, health and highways—reflects what actually was spent, not what might have been spent if money had been available to provide services consistent with need.

In 1965, state-local expenditures are expected to reach $75 billion.

Reflecting this rise, state-local payrolls increased from 4.5 million employes in 1953 to 7 million by 1963; they are expected to approximate 8 million this year. By way of contrast, the number of federal employes—about 2.5 million in 1965—has risen by only 200,000 since 1953. On the basis of employment growth, state and local government is the fastest growing "industry" in the United States.

- Most of the $37 billion state-local expenditure rise from 1953 to 1963 was financed by these governments themselves from increased general taxes and charges. These collections rose by $30 billion, from $24 billion in 1953 to $54 billion in 1963—a 125 percent rise. Moreover, most of this money came from regressive taxes imposed on property owners and consumers, the kind of levies that bear most heavily on those least able to pay.
- Federal grants-in-aid to states and localities rose 200 percent, from $2.9 billion in 1953 to $8.5 bil-

lion in 1963. Yet even this much-needed increase in revenue-sharing by Washington wasn't enough to close the state-local revenue gap.

• To meet their mounting needs, the states and localities had to borrow again in 1963, as they have during every postwar year. State-local debt stood at $34 billion in 1953; it reached $87 billion by 1963, a rise of almost 160 percent. This is a far more rapid increase than the rise in the federal debt.

By the end of 1965, state-local debt outstanding is expected to exceed $100 billion.

• By 1970, state-local expenditures may well reach $105-110 billion, according to competent observers. This would be a near-300 percent rise from the $28 billion outlay of 1953. By 1975, when it is predicted the population may well reach 225 million, some forecasters predict that state-local outlays will approach $150 billion. These expenditure forecasts, it should be noted, are not based on what should be spent but on likely outlays on the basis of existing trends.

• Although the number of dollars spent at the state and local level has risen so spectacularly, it is important to note that state-local tax levies in proportion to the value of all goods and services produced in the United States (the Gross National Product) went up only from 5.8 percent in 1953 to an anticipated 8 percent in 1965, a rise of barely 40 percent. Federal taxes as a percent of GNP, on the other hand, actually will have gone down about 18 percent between 1953 and 1965.

Why Expenditures Rise

The growth of state-local expenditures reflects no "wild spending spree." Almost everywhere, civilian public service needs far outpace the financial ability of the states and localities—and particularly the metropolitan areas—to cope with them. Part of the urgency grows out of the explosive postwar population rise. In large measure, it reflects spectacular changes in the places and the way Americans now live.

Back in 1940, before World War II, this was a nation of 132 million. Today there are 195 million Americans and, by 1970, there will be over 210 million. This astronomical population rise alone—an expansion approximating 3 million persons each year—has confronted the states and localities with a staggering increase in public service demands. Moreover, the public facility construction lag during World War II and the Korean War further intensified the problem.

What is more, the age groups that require the costliest government services—the old and the young—have expanded much faster than the rest of the population. While between 1953 and 1963 the total population increased 19 percent, persons over 65 increased 35 percent and the school-age population went up 40 percent.

It is no wonder that, from 1953 to 1963, total annual government outlays for public education—elementary, secondary and higher—soared from $10 billion to nearly $25 billion.

Most of this financial burden is still shouldered by local governments. Furthermore, if the quantity and quality of public education is to improve sufficiently to meet the need over the next five years—at the end of which nearly 5 million more young people will be enrolled in public schools—another tremendous increase in educational outlays will be required. In the 1969-70 school year, some $43 billion should be spent on public education alone, according to AFL-CIO Department of Education projections based on U.S. Office of Education findings.

The recent passage of the Education Act of 1965—which provides federal grants for elementary and high schools, with emphasis on the special needs of low-income school districts—will help to meet a part of the revenue gap. However, a far more substantial increase in aid will be required if the public school systems are to meet present revenue needs and the mounting requirements of the years ahead.

Clearly, then, to merely expand civilian public services in direct proportion to the population rise just isn't enough. Because of the far more rapid rise in the numbers of the young and the old, educational and social welfare services have had to increase faster than the average population rise.

But the general population increase, the shift in age distribution and the increase in government construction, equipment and salary costs are not the only reasons why total state-local outlays have risen so dramatically. Rapid changes in where Americans now live—and in the way they live—have compounded the expenditure problem.

The United States has gone through two great shifts in its living patterns. In the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th, it evolved from a basically rural nation to a basically urban society. Inevitably, the growth of the cities rapidly increased the burden of traditional local public facilities and added new ones—for education, police and fire protection, sanitation, health and recreation and the like.

With the second great change in American life—the shift from an urban to a basically metropolitan society—the demand for expanded local services has become overwhelming.

The Metropolitan Area Crisis

According to the latest census, by 1960 two-thirds of all Americans—113 million in all—were crowded into 212 metropolitan areas occupying less than 9 percent of the entire surface of the United States.

Furthermore, this concentration of human beings is accelerating as more and more rural, and often destitute, Americans—displaced by the technical revolution in agriculture—seek better opportunities in town. Indeed, all of the nation's population growth is occurring in the metropolitan areas. While in 1955 less than 60 percent of our citizens lived in these areas, the total now has reached about 70 percent. Life in a metropolitan area—a central city with its suburbs and satellite towns, all compacted together

Government Spending and Where it Goes*
1963
(in billions of dollars)

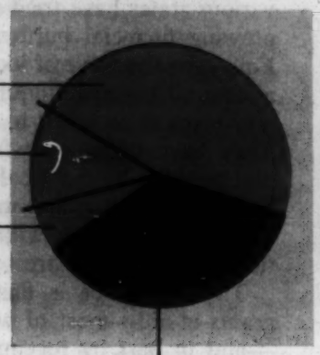
ALL GOVERNMENTAL EXPENDITURES: $157 BILLION

Federal:

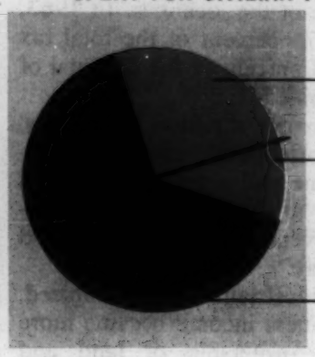
National security, present and past	$ 72.0
Direct services for civilians	$ 20.0
Grants to states and localities	$ 8.5
Total	$100.5

State and Local:

Raised from own sources (and spent for civilian services)	$ 56.5



SPENT FOR CIVILIAN PURPOSES ONLY: $85 BILLION



Federal:

$20.0	Direct
$ 8.5	Grants to states and localities
$28.5	Total

State and Local:

$56.5	Direct

*Refers to the fiscal year. Excludes outlays for government insurance trusts and state and local publicly-owned utility and liquor store expenditures.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

in one vast interdependent community—multiplies the cost of traditional local public services and adds a growing list of new ones as its boundary becomes extended year by year.

For example, the crisis of transportation—of moving goods and people into and out of the core city—must be met. The never-ending task of finding enough revenue to meet educational and recreational needs, provide adequate water for human and industrial consumption, cope with air pollution, combat delinquency and crime, clear slums and assure decent housing and neighborhoods besets every metropolitan area.

The public as well as private financial outlays needed to secure proper housing alone are enormous.

According to the 1960 census, almost 16 million dwelling units—most of them in the metropolitan areas—are substandard; they are either dilapidated or badly deteriorating or lack running water or other basic plumbing facilities. Between 1960 and 1975, it is anticipated that another 6 million dwelling units will have become badly deteriorated and another 5 million will be lost as a result of fire, floods and public construction. Adding the housing needs of the 14 million additional families that the government estimates we will have by 1975—and subtracting the 7.5 million housing units started between 1960 and 1964 and about 5 million deteriorating homes that probably can be rehabilitated—the nation needs about 29 million new dwelling units by 1975.

This need could be met over the next ten years, but to do it home construction would have to be nearly doubled over the recent rate. Moreover, if low-income families, and many moderate-income ones as well, are to be decently housed, greatly expanded government financial aid will be required. The Federal Housing Act of 1965 will go part of the way to meet this need, but much more aid in the form of grants and guaranteed loans will be necessary. What is more, in addition to home building costs, billions of dollars of public investment in supporting services—sewage systems, water lines, streets, fire protection and the like—is required every year.

Aiding the impoverished, as central cities become the home of increasingly larger numbers of the aged, the poor and of minority groups, has alone become a staggering financial problem. It is no wonder that expenditures for public services associated with metropolitan living now run 2½ times more per capita than in localities outside these areas.

There are two major metropolitan area issues which are basic to solving these problems.

One of these is how to coordinate efficiently the public service efforts of the 18,000 separate but interdependent local governments—counties, municipalities, townships and school and special districts—that now exist within the 212 metropolitan areas. Back in 1960, the boundaries of over 100 of these areas already extended over two, three or even four counties; many, in fact, are now merging into each other. In 32 metropolitan areas, the intergovernmental coordinating effort will require cooperation across state lines; their boundaries are now interstate.

The second major issue, of course, is how to raise enough revenue to meet ever-growing local needs.

Many years ago, when America was dominantly rural, the public service requirements of most Americans were few—essentially schooling, the maintenance of law and order and road building—and local governments provided for them. Although civilian service needs have gradually multiplied, by 1913 the localities still were paying for as much as 75 percent of them. State governments accounted for only 16 percent of the cost. Most of the expenditures of the federal government—then as now—were related to

its constitutional responsibility to "provide for the common defense."

By 1963, local tax collections totalled $22.2 billion and the local property tax accounted for $19.4 billion of that total. It has been, and it still remains, the almost exclusive tax resource of the localities. In 1963, the property tax provided 73 percent of the total tax revenue of the cities and 88 percent of the tax total of all local governments combined.

When America was primarily a nation of farmers, the ownership of land substantially reflected an individual's wealth and income and a property tax was a reasonably equitable way to share the tax load. Besides, it yielded enough revenue to meet the limited local needs of an earlier day.

As the country became industrialized and urbanized, however, personal and business income became more and more divorced from ownership of land and buildings, so that today property no longer accurately reflects "ability to pay." The property tax burden is most unfair to low- and moderate-income home-owners and, particularly, the aged. Moreover, its yield now is totally inadequate in relation to current local revenue needs.

As local revenue requirements became more acute —particularly those of the central cities at the heart of the metropolitan areas—the states began to sanction supplemental types of local levies, generally in the form of local sales and payroll taxes. These two taxes have the special attraction of collecting substantial sums from suburbanites who work, and may shop, in the central cities. These commuters are thereby charged for some of the city services they use. Even so, sales and payroll taxes have two decided disadvantages.

First of all, they are exceedingly regressive; proportionately, they bear most heavily on families whose incomes are the lowest.

The flat-rate sales tax extracts its yield from the first dollar spent, even by the very poorest; in many cases, even purchases of food and clothing are taxed.

The similarly flat-rate payroll tax generally allows no personal exemption to meet basic family needs; but it usually exempts non-wage and non-salary income entirely—the kind mostly enjoyed by families with the greatest ability to pay.

In addition, local sales and payroll taxes create group conflicts and economic dislocations—among local residents and commuters who pay taxes elsewhere and merchants in adjoining and competing taxing districts.

Already six states (Alabama, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio and Pennsylvania) sanction the use of local payroll taxes and ten of the 43 largest American cities now levy them. In addition, 17 states have already sanctioned local sales tax use. Although considerable revenue is often raised by these levies—and pressures for higher property taxes may be temporarily forestalled—they not only make the local tax structure even more regressive and create dissension between adjoining political jurisdictions; they are inadequate to meet soaring large-city revenue needs.

The Burdens of the States

Depending on their own resources and inclinations, various states have tried in various ways to relieve the growing financial burden of their local subdivisions. Following the wave of local bankruptcies of the 1930s, almost all began relinquishing their own use of property taxes in an effort to help their local governments. They have taken over functions formerly performed and paid for by the localities, such as welfare services and road building and maintenance. Many now share state-collected funds with their local jurisdictions, particularly with hard-pressed school districts.

This assistance is financed in part by the federal grants-in-aid—most of which go directly to the states —and in part by revenue raised by the states themselves from taxes and charges of their own.

The amount of assistance the states can give, however, is limited by many factors.

The states, too, are under great pressure to increase their outlays for statewide public services as their populations grow and new needs emerge. Demands for more and better roads and highways, mental health services, recreational facilities and increased support for higher education mount year by year.

Between 1965 and 1970, for example, the total enrollment in public institutions of higher learning is expected to increase by 1.3 million—a five-year rise of over 40 percent. Accommodating this burgeoning growth, and accompanying public service demands, is primarily a state responsibility.

The ability of the 50 states to meet their direct burdens, and to help the localities meet theirs, varies widely. Because of great variation in wealth and incomes from state to state, their tax bases and public revenue potentials differ accordingly. As a consequence, public service expenditures usually are least adequate where the needs happen to be greatest.

In 1963, the five states with the lowest per capita income spent $262 per capita for all state-local services while the five wealthiest spent $417—and this despite the fact that the poorest received more federal aid per capita than the richest. In 1964, public school outlays per pupil ranged from $241 in Mississippi to $705 in New York. These figures refer to statewide averages; the expenditure range in localities within particular states—even the wealthy ones—is often more extreme.

A low level of state or local expenditures for public services doesn't by any means indicate that a poor effort is being made. On the contrary, the poorer states and localities are taxing their citizens far more rigorously on the whole—as measured by the ratio of state-local general revenues to personal income—than the wealthier ones.

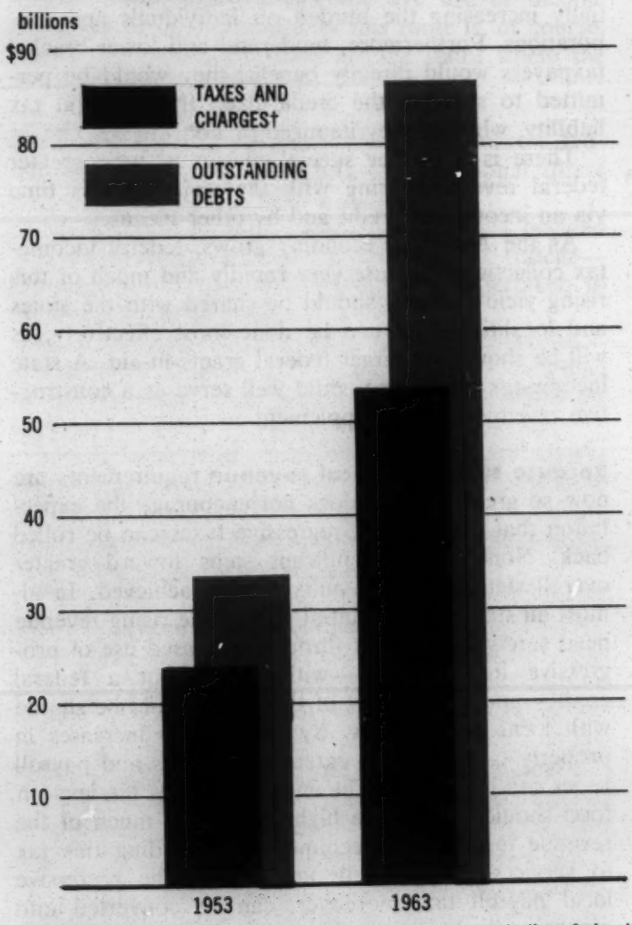
The major revenue source of the states is the yield from taxes levied on consumers. In 1964, when state tax collections totaled $24 billion, nearly 60 percent came from general retail sales taxes and selective sales levies on the purchase of gasoline, cigarettes, alco-

holic beverages and other items. Taxes on individual income raised only 14 percent of the total and corporate income taxes yielded only 7 percent. The remainder came from estate and gift taxes, motor vehicle and other license fees, severance taxes and the like.

From Wisconsin's adoption of the first individual income tax in 1911 and for many years thereafter, as one state after another put this kind of levy on its books, it seemed reasonable to assume that progressive taxes on income would become the revenue mainstay of the states. The income tax accorded with the concept of tax equity and it finally had been declared legal under the Constitution of the United States. A levy based on actual income, with deductions of expenses in securing it and with personal exemptions for dependents, and tax rates that graduated upward as incomes rose, clearly related the tax burden to ability to pay. Moreover, a new broad-based revenue source was needed by the states as taxes on property gradually were being relinquished.

How State and Local Debts Are Outpacing Tax Collections*

1953-1963 (in billions of dollars)



*Refers to taxes and charges from own sources, excluding federal grants.

†Excludes revenue from publicly operated utilities, liquor stores and insurance trust systems.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

In the early 1930s, however, resort to general retail sales taxes quickly spread. The bankruptcy of many local governments and their urgent need for help, as well as the depression-induced decline in individual and business income, triggered this movement. In most states, the sales tax rate initially was only 1 or 2 percent. Often it was enacted to meet a specific and dramatic emergency like paying the salaries of school teachers; almost always it was intended as a temporary levy.

Since the mid-1930s, in fact, sales taxes—general and selective—have been bringing in more than half of the total tax revenues of the states. As for the individual income tax, not a single new state enacted one between 1937 and 1960. There are several reasons. Use of a progressive income tax was declared to be in violation of the constitutions of several states. Opponents often argued successfully that levies on income and profits would drive business from their states. The increased federal income tax burden during and following World War II was also cited as sufficient reason not to support its further use by the states. Perhaps most effective, it was relatively easy to raise more revenue merely by raising existing sales tax rates.

In the frenzied postwar effort to find new state revenue sources, taxes on consumers again have received the greatest play. In 1947, 23 state revenue systems included a general retail sales tax. By July 1, 1965, 16 more states had adopted it and 19 of the original sales-tax states had raised their rates, some two or three times. In eight states, the rate had already gone up over 3 percent. In 28 of the 39 general sales tax states, the levy applies even to food.

By way of contrast, at the beginning of the postwar period 30 states taxed personal incomes, but by 1965 only three more had been added to the list. What is more, although a few states have been raising a third or more of their tax revenue from the individual income tax—notably Alaska, Delaware, New York, Oregon and Wisconsin—several wealthy ones like Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey and Pennsylvania levy no tax at all on individual income. In Ohio, Texas and Washington, no income tax is imposed on individuals or on corporations. Moreover, in many income-tax states the exemptions sometimes are so high or the rates are so low, little revenue is collected. Although some state income tax rates have risen, generally they have increased most at lower income levels and the degree of overall progressivity has declined.

The Major Dependence on Regressive Taxes

Because progressive individual and corporate income taxes play a minor overall role in state revenue systems—and none at all at the local governmental level—their contribution to the great rise in state-local tax collections from 1953 to 1963 was small. Of the $30 billion increase in state-local revenue collections from their own resources, $23 billion of the 1953-63 rise was obtained from higher tax yields. Of this total, 78 percent was provided by increased

levies on property and consumers. Less than 13 percent came from progressive taxes on individual and corporate income, related in some degree to ability to pay.

In the effort of the states to help themselves and their localities meet soaring revenue needs, a fresh look at the too frequently neglected potential of state income taxes is in order. There are compelling reasons of economics, equity and even politics for doing so.

While every tax increase involves a risk for political leaders who support it, the time may well have come in many states when failure to meet pressing public needs is fully as hazardous as the risk in seeking more tax revenue with which to pay for them. What is more, there may now be no greater political jeopardy —and perhaps less—in supporting income taxes based on ability to pay than in supporting further levies on property, payrolls and consumers. This would be particularly true where the sales tax is already so high the time-worn claim that "it only costs a few pennies" has become a mockery. It is also true wherever property taxes already impose an insufferable burden on low-income families, the aged and small businesses.

According to a U. S. Treasury study, regressive state and local taxes are extracting $650 million yearly from the very poorest citizens—families with incomes of under $3,000 and individuals with less than $1,500—on whose behalf governments are supposed to be waging a war on want. Because of the burden of these regressive taxes on the neediest—and on millions of moderate- and lower-income families as well—a more favorable climate for the increased use of state income taxes seems to be emerging. The three new ones enacted since the end of World War II were all placed on the books during the course of the last four years.

Public officials increasingly are realizing, in addition, that as national production and income go up, the revenue yielded from income taxes shows the fastest growth. Since public service costs are mounting so rapidly, the tax with the greatest automatic revenue-growth potential has very much to recommend it.

Perhaps of most importance, a part of the burden of all income taxes levied by the states—on individuals and corporations alike—can be passed on to the federal government. This comes about because all those who itemize their deductions under the federal income tax law—upper-bracket individuals and corporations do so as a matter of course—are allowed to deduct their state income tax payments before computing what is due the federal government. Thus Washington stands ready to sacrifice a part of its own income-tax potential to help the states increase theirs. In effect, as the state tax goes up, the federal tax goes down. States with weak income-tax laws, or with none at all, are forfeiting the advantage to themselves of this indirect federal revenue-sharing device.

As far back as the 1920s, when competition to attract wealthy residents was undermining effective death and gift taxation by the states, the Congress did something constructive about it. It decided to grant a generous federal death tax "credit," of up to 80 percent of the federal levy, if an estate tax also had been adopted by the state. This federal credit had the effect of reducing or eliminating entirely the burden of the state tax, since the revenue gain to the state tended to become a federal loss rather than an added cost to the taxpayer.

As a consequence, all states except Nevada adopted estate or inheritance taxes and these, together with state gift taxes, are now raising over two-thirds of a billion dollars. The spur of the federal credit not only ended the shortsighted competition to attract wealthy residents; it also helped the states increase their revenue significantly. At the same time, it helped make state tax structures somewhat more equitable.

The Need for Wider Use of Income Taxes

To further advance the same ends, it now would be timely for the Congress to consider allowing a state income tax "credit," similar to the one allowed against the federal death tax, when comparable taxes are levied by the states. A federal income tax credit inevitably would encourage all states to seek considerable revenue from income taxes, yet without substantially increasing the burden on individuals and corporations. Furthermore, moderate- and lower-bracket taxpayers would directly benefit; they would be permitted to subtract the credit from their federal tax liability, whether they itemized or not.

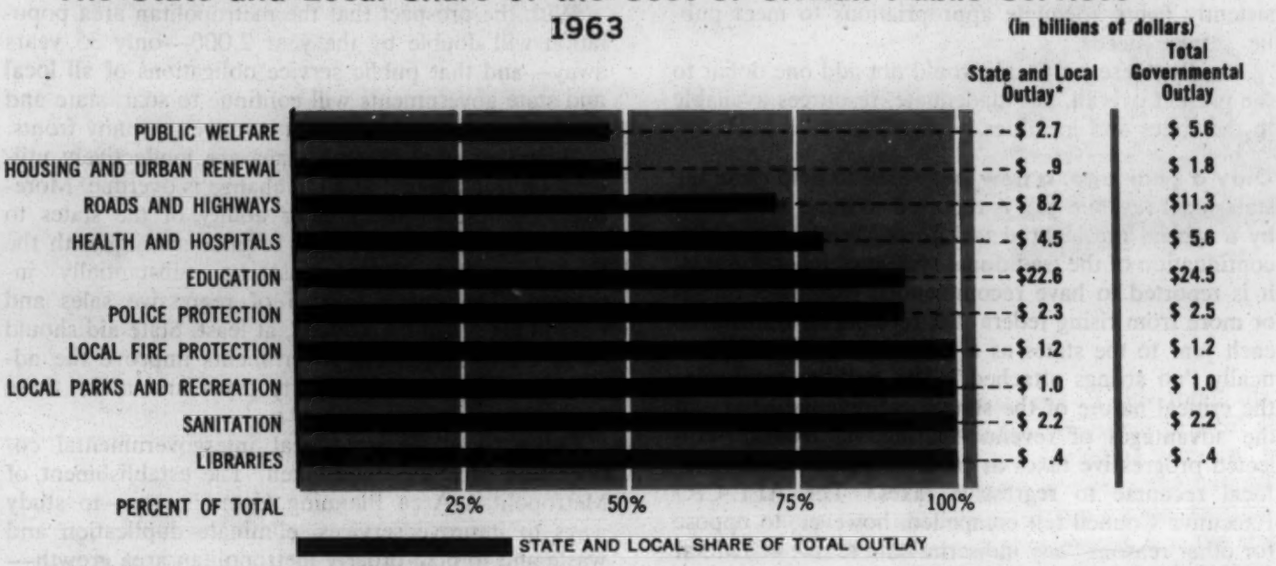
There is a further special reason to urge greater federal revenue-sharing with the states at this time via an income-tax credit and by other means.

As the American economy grows, federal income-tax collections increase very rapidly and much of this rising yield can and should be shared with the states and localities. This can be done most effectively, as will be shown, by larger federal grants-in-aid. A state income-tax credit also could well serve as a constructive revenue-sharing supplement.

Because state and local revenue requirements are now so great, realism does not encourage the expectation that, as a whole, regressive taxes can be rolled back. Nonetheless, significant steps toward greater overall state-local tax equity can be achieved. In almost all states, a substantial part of the rising revenue need surely can be met through increased use of progressive income taxes—with or without a federal credit—and a large part of the yield should be shared with local governments. By this means, increases in property taxes and the extension of sales and payroll levies can be stayed. The end of the sales tax levy on food should receive the highest priority; much of the revenue loss can be recouped by extending this tax to services, now largely uncovered. The regressive local payroll tax, moreover, can be converted into a progressive local income tax; this can be done if the cities adopt a local income tax as a percentage of what their citizens pay under a graduated state income tax. And the states can well be the collecting agents.

The State and Local Share of the Cost of Civilian Public Services

1963



*Federal grants are excluded.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

While even the poorer states could increase their revenue collections through effective use of income taxes, the revenue potential of this route is, of course, limited for them. Yet these are the states where the revenue need is the greatest.

To aid all states, but particularly the poorest, federal tax sharing by expanding the traditional direct federal grant-in-aid also is imperative.

Since Civil War days—when the Congress decided to help every state establish a land-grant college—these federal aid programs have been undertaken to achieve two major ends.

First, they seek to encourage states and localities—through the stimulus of available federal matching funds—to initiate or expand public services which the Congress views to be vital to the national welfare.

Second, they seek especially to help the poorer states and hard-pressed local governments achieve minimum standards in the performance of important public services which could not otherwise be financed from their own resources alone.

Federal grants help to finance the construction of highways, hospitals and airports; assistance for the needy aged, orphans and the blind; vocational education and rehabilitation services for the handicapped; urban renewal and public housing; aid for chronically distressed areas; improved child welfare services; low-cost hot lunches in the schools and other programs.

Although the $8.5 billion in federal grants received by states and localities in 1963 was 200 percent higher than in 1953, the increase accounted for only 16 percent of the $35 billion rise in state and local general revenues over the ten-year period. Close to $30 billion —84 percent of the revenue rise—had to be raised by the states and localities themselves.

In 1965, total grants will exceed $11 billion, and in 1966 over $13 billion, as new federal aid programs like those for education, health services and Appalachia get under way.

This, indeed, is a trend in the right direction; yet much more can and should be done. The mounting revenue needs of the states and localities—and particularly of the poorer states and the metropolitan areas—require the massive assistance that only a more rapid expansion of federal grants can provide. Fortunately, as the growing national economy brings in more federal tax receipts, the means are at hand to divert substantially more revenue via federal grants to hard-pressed state and local governments.

The Role of Federal Grants-in-Aid

In the face of this long-emerging and evident need, two proposals already have been made to cut the federal grants-in-aid.

During the Eisenhower Administration, it was seriously proposed that several grant programs be terminated and the states themselves finance them through the adoption of certain excise taxes which the federal government would forego. Another alternative, sometimes still heard, is that Washington should reduce its grants-in-aid and instead return to each state a fixed portion of the federal taxes collected from them.

Both proposals have been conceived, purportedly, to safeguard "states' rights;" had they actually been enacted, however, a serious wrong would have been perpetrated.

In the first place, under these schemes the poorer states—those which now receive proportionately the largest share of the federal grants—would be the obvious victims. The wealthiest states—those which need aid least—would reap the benefit.

Secondly, it couldn't be taken for granted that even in the better-off states those services now federally aided would continue. The absence of the stimulus of federal matching funds would in all likelihood strengthen the

reactionary bloc in all state legislatures which consistently fights adequate appropriations to meet public service needs.

Finally, these proposals would not add one dollar to the present overall, but inadequate, resources available to the states and localities.

Only a year ago, a new proposal to help close the state-local revenue gap is reported to have been made by a special presidential task force. While supporting continuation of the traditional system of federal grants, it is reported to have recommended that $2-3 billion or more from rising federal tax receipts be transferred each year to the states as a "block grant," with practically "no strings attached." The authors emphasize the critical nature of the state-local revenue need and the advantages of revenue-sharing via federally-collected progressive taxes as preferable to further state-local recourse to regressive taxes. The AFL-CIO Executive Council felt compelled, however, to oppose for other reasons "any indiscriminate rebate of federal taxes to the states with no restriction on the use of such funds."

This position was taken for the following reasons:

- While the time-tested federal grant programs help finance specific high priority public service needs, unconditional grants might be spent for any purpose—even to finance efforts to lure plants from other states.
- Since unrestricted grants would go into the general accounts of the states, for any purpose, the enforcement of federal standards which now apply to federally-supported expenditures—anti-discrimination and minimum labor standards, for example—could no longer be assured.
- The long-established federal grant procedure encourages the states and localities to increase their own revenue-raising efforts, but the receipt of unrestricted cash grants could well result in a relaxed effort on the part of some states.
- While the traditional federal grants are fashioned particularly to help poorer states and increasingly to aid local governments, the alternative block grants—like the two proposals already discussed—would go only to the states and proportionately too much would go to those states whose needs are least. The revenue-starved core cities of metropolitan areas—where the crisis is most acute—would be completely bypassed.
- Federal grants increasingly aid projects which cross state lines—to meet mutual water and transportation needs, for example. Block grants to the states hardly would stimulate the growth of this kind of essential interstate cooperation.
- Finally, any federal revenue allocated via block grants inevitably would retard the far more desirable growth of the traditional federal grants-in-aid.

Two major federal formulas for helping the states and localities have been particularly emphasized here: (1) an outright federal tax credit against income taxes paid to the states and (2) a substantial increase in federal grants-in-aid. But it also should be reiterated that state and local governments have a responsibility to show far more initiative in helping themselves, too.

With the prospect that the metropolitan area population will double by the year 2,000—only 35 years away—and that public service obligations of all local and state governments will continue to soar, state and local efforts to meet them must move on many fronts.

Wherever state income taxes are ineffectively utilized, or aren't levied at all, a change is overdue. Moreover, because of the greater ability of the states to levy and collect taxes, state revenue-sharing with the hard-pressed localities must be substantially increased. The unfair burden of regressive sales and payroll taxes can be reduced, at least. State aid should be given to help local governments improve the administration of their property taxes and make these levies more fair.

Other forms of state-local intergovernmental cooperation must be undertaken. The establishment of Metropolitan Area Planning Commissions—to study ways to improve services, eliminate duplication and waste and to plan orderly metropolitan area growth—should be encouraged by the states. The consolidation of political subdivisions—particularly the smaller school districts—should be spurred. Coordinated resource conservation and development programs that mutually affect and will serve many localities—to assure an adequate and unpolluted water supply, for example—must be supported by the states. Many other constructive ideas have been advanced. For example, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has proposed that each state establish a permanent Office of Local Affairs to continuously seek better forms of state-local cooperation.

The success of almost all of these undertakings depends essentially on leadership by the states. What too often has been lacking is not forward-looking ideas, but the will to implement them.

Hopefully, as state legislatures become reapportioned and cities and suburbs gain a louder voice, state responsibilities as well as states' rights may become increasingly a major legislative concern.

Just as the states cannot ignore the obligation to use their full powers to help their local subdivisions, the federal government, too, must use more of its great resources to aid the state and local governments. Increased federal revenue-sharing is not the only need. New forms of federally-initiated cooperation to help solve interstate problems—like the recently-enacted program to aid the 11-state Appalachian region—are increasingly important. Likewise, a greater cooperative effort to aid the metropolitan areas is a critical need; creation of the new federal Department of Housing and Urban Affairs points the way.

The rapid increase in these forms of intergovernmental action—between the states and their localities and between them and the federal government—will do more than help resolve financial and other specific problems. This kind of cooperation can be a major factor in strengthening the traditional American system of separate federal, state and local functions.

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SAMPLING OF PRESS REPORTS

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE of BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council

DECEMBER 11-14, 1968
DINKLER PLAZA HOTEL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

LIBERTY — BROWNSVILLE TEXAS NEWS — Freedom Justice Equality

Fort Worth, Texas — Vol. III, No. 71 BRONZE TEXAN NEWS December 14, 1968 — Price Ten Cents

Over 200 Black Elected Officials To The Southern States Are Gathering For Future Stratogy

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ATLANTA, Georgia — The first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials will be held Dec. 11-14 in Atlanta, it was announced today by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Main speakers for the four-day conference will include U. S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York, State Rep. Julian Bond of Atlanta, and newly elected Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm of New York.

In addition to the general sessions, the black elected officials will attend a number of workshops and panel discussions arranged by the Voter Education Project to enable them to fill their offices more effectively. Between 200 and 300 of the 380 black elected officials in the South are expected to attend.

Rep. Bond will deliver the opening address at an 8 p.m. dinner Dec. 11. During last summer Rep. Bond gathered case histories for a soón-to-be-published VEP booklet on how black candidates in the South conduct their campaigns.

Attorney General Clark will speak at a banquet Dec. 13. John Wheeler of Durham, president of the Southern Regional Council, will preside and VEP Director Vernon E. Jordan Jr. will introduce the speaker.

Mayor Hatcher will speak at a public forum Dec. 12 at Clark College. Students from the Atlanta University complex and the public will be invited to attend and pose questions for Mayor Hatcher and a panel of four other black officeholders.

Richard Hatcher

Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, will highlight The Southern Regional Council, for Southern Black Elected Officials in Atlanta, Georgia, December 11-14, 1968. Some 300 parsons from across the South are expected to attend.

Dr. Clark, noted New York psychologist and president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, will speak at a luncheon Dec. 12. Speaker that morning will be Dr. Samuel D. Cook of Duke University, chairman of the VEP advisory committee, who will trace the history of Negro political participation in the South.

Mrs. Chisholm, who won election Nov. 5 in New York's Bedford - Stuyvesant area, is the first Negro woman to be sent to Congress. She will address the conference's concluding luncheon Dec. 14.

With the exception of the Friday at Clark College and the Dec. 13 banquet at which Attorney General Clark will speak, all sessions will be held at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel, which will be conference headquarters. The Dec. 13 banquet will be held at the American Motor Hotel.

A luncheon panel Dec. 13 will feature five Negro candidates who recently mounted major campaigns in the South and lost. The five and the offices they sought are Maynard Jackson, U. S. Senate in Georgia; Reginald A. Hawkins, governor in North Carolina; Charles Evers, U. S. House in Mississippi; George A. Payton, U. S. House in South Carolina; and A. W. Willis, mayor in Memphis.

Three black experts on finance and taxation will appear on a panel on the morning of Dec. 13. They are Gerald Lamb, Connecticut state treasurer; Theodore Jones, Illinois director of revenue; and Alfred Pelham, chairman of Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company, Detroit.

Appearing on the panel with Mayor Hatcher will be State Rep. Robert Clark of Holmes County, Miss.; City Councilman Henry Marsh of Richmond, Va.; State Rep. J. C. Daugherty of Atlanta; and John McCown, newly elected commissioner from Hancock County, Ga.

A panel discussion will follow Dr. Cook's Dec. 12 address. Members of the panel will be State Sen. Barbara Jordan of Houston, Texas; Lawrence T. Guyot Jr., chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Dr. C. G. Gomillion, school board member from Tuskegee, Ala.; and Joseph A. Jordan Jr., city councilman from Norfolk, Va.

Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen will greet the officeholders at the first morning session on Dec. 12.

The officials will divide into five groups for workshops on the afternoon of Dec. 12 and of Dec. 13, and the morning of Dec. 14.

Purpose of the four-day meeting, which is wholly sponsored by VEP, is to bring the elected officials together to discuss mutual problems, to share experiences, and to receive information designed to help them serve more effectively.

Only those officials holding elected public offices are being invited. The list includes 151 city officials, 78 law enforcement and judicial officials, 72 school board members, 55 county officials, and 26 state legislators, all from the 11 states of the Old South.

VEP has employed the Rev. John Morris, former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, to handle planning and arrangements for the conference. VEP has held somewhat similar conferences for newly elected Negro officials in Mississippi and Louisiana during the past year.

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., supports projects of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in the 11 Southern states.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit nonpartisan organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Ramsey Clark

RAMSEY CLARK

Pictured above, Attorney General Ramsey Clark — Key-note speaker for Black Southern Regional Conference meeting which takes place December 11-14, 1968, in the "Heart of Dixie."

Editorials = pages 6-8
HATCHER = page 5
CLARK = page 10

The Chattanooga Times

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., 37401, MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1968.

BLACK OFFICIALS TO HOLD MEETING

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — The first "Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials" will be held here December 11-14 by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

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See Page Six, Column One

From Page One

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1968

ELECTED NEGROES STUDY PROBLEMS

Louisiana Official Depicts Trouble With U.S. Agency

By WALTER RUGABER

ATLANTA, Dec. 14—Grand Coteau is a little town in south-central Louisiana with no sewers few paved streets and a rickety water system that breaks down every once in a while and leaves the pipes dry for two or three days.

Peter Smith, who was born in Grand Coteau 39 years ago, remembers some of the former Councilmen there as nice enough men. But, he explains earnestly, "they just met and paid the bills and went home."

Now Mr. Smith and two other negroes control the five-member governing body, and they have worked out a plan to improve conditions in Grand Coteau. But its implementation has proved frustrating.

Mr. Smith, who also serves as Mayor pro tem, spent four days in Atlanta this week with about 200 of the 385 Negroes who hold elected public offices in the 11 states of the former Confederacy.

The gathering, sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, was tangible evidence of Negro political advance in the region. But the difficulties, such as Mr. Smith's, are widespread.

Three years ago, after Mr. Smith's election to the Council, Grand Coteau hired a consulting engineer to draw plans for sewers, paved streets, a reliable water system and a natural gas network to permit town growth.

The engineering plan was sent to the Department of Housing and Urban Development with an aplication for 80 per cent Federal financing and 20 per cent local matching funds.

"I wouldn't know of anybody in Grand Coteau that would try to block that program," Mr. Smith said. "We're all for it. We all need it."

Grand Coteau could not get a clear response from the Federal agency, Mr. Smith said. There was talk of a shortage of funds for "small towns," he went on, but aparently the department found nothing wrong with the plan itself.

For three years, the councilmen said, letters have gone back and forth to Austin, Tex., where the regional offices are situated, and to Washington. Different bureaus and sections have been involved.

"It's like a man's house is on fire and you call the fire department and they say the fire truck is out on somebody else's house, and you call someone else and it goes on to somebody else and your house is burned down by then," Mr. Smith said.

Exchange of Letters

Mr. Smith insists that despite an exchange of 25 to 50 letters, he still does not know the cause of the delay. Experts at the conference here were unfamiliar with the case and unable to suggest a reason.

Recently, Mr. Smith said, the city of Lafayette, 12 miles away, received a $55,000 Federal grant to air-condition its bus system. This development, he remarked, was hard to explain to the people of Grand Coteau.

"It was fun to be making these plans and spending the extra time getting them ready and all," Mr. Smith said. "But now it's getting to the stage where, you know, it's getting discouraging when you get no results out of it."

Several organizations are moving to reduce the uncertainty that often confronts inexperienced new officeholders. Whites in some communities have denied advice or misled Negro officials.

The voter project said "service centers" for black leaders would go into operation next month at predominantly Negro colleges in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Jackson, Miss., Daily News
Dec. 5, 1968

Negro Officeholders Meeting Is Scheduled

12-5-68

JACKSON DAILY NEWS

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP)—Negro officeholders from throughout the South are being invited to a conference here next week to discuss mutual problems.

Principal speakers for the Dec. 11-14 conference include U.S. Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark and four top Negro officials.

Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind.; Rep. - elect Shirley Chisolm of New York, first Negro woman elected to Congress; Georgia State Rep. Julian Bond, and Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York, a psychologist who heads the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, are among the Negro officeholders scheduled to address the conference.

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project the Southern Regional Council, said Tuesday in announcing the conference, "The idea is that we are dealing with an elected offi- legally, arbitrarily and syste- officeholders face antagonism matically excluded from the political processes."

Jordan contended that Negro and prejudice which often makes their task more difficult than similar posts are for white officials.

The project, which conducts voter registration and educational projects in 11 Southern states, expects 200 to 300 of the South's 380 Negro officeholders to attend the session.

According to the project's figures, there are 151 Negro city officials, 78 law enforcement and judicial officeholders, 72 school board members, 55 county officers, and 30 state legislators in the South.

The conference will also include discussions of finance and taxation by three Negro experts and a panel session with five Negroes who were defeated in their bids for major posts.

2.

New York Post 12-17-68

The Negro Politicians Assess Their Situation

By PAUL W. VALENTINE

ATLANTA — Lawrence T. Guyot Jr., a bullishly-energetic Mississippi man, pointed a finger at his fellow black politicians in the hotel meeting room.

"The political bitch that spawned southern politics," he warned, "is in heat again."

Guyot, a functionary of the Missi[illegible]ppi Fre[illegible]m Dem[illegible]

if-youthful Georgia legislator, warned them in a keynote speech that the incoming national administration is being formed by a man "against whom 90 per cent of you voted last November." President-elect Richard M. Nixon has no favors to repay the black man, he said.

No Favors to Repay

A [illegible]nsistent [illegible] thre[illegible]

New black officeholders to learn from veterans

By Robert P. Hey
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta

Suppose politicians never let you take part in politics, even shooed you away when you tried to vote.

Then one day you could run for office, and you won. Would you know how to do your job, or even what it was—especially if colleagues hindered you, instead of helping?

Sounds improbable, doesn't it?

But it's precisely the situation several score black politicians in the South face today. Last month 107 black candidates won political office throughout the South. Some are politically sophisticated; most aren't.

It's to help this unschooled majority understand their jobs, and learn how best to do them, that a first-ever conference is being held later this month in Atlanta. It's called the first Southwide conference of black elected officials and is being held by the Voter Education Project of the privately financed Southern Regional Council.

In the past two years the Voter Education Project has held several smaller conferences to instruct newly elected black officials in the precise duties of their jobs. Most have been statewide conferences.

The fascinating aspect of this Southwide conference is that, for the first time, newly elected black officials will be learning from black officials who have already been on the job a year or two.

This is another benchmark in the political progress of the black Southerner. Heretofore there were next to no experienced black officials—nobody able to help neophytes with the many problems black officials face that white one's don't. Today there are quite a few.

The Voter Education Project figures there are about 385 black elected officials in the 11 Southern states now. (In November, 1965, there were only 70.) Between 220 and 250 are expected at this conference.

Much of the "meat" of the four-day affair Dec. 11-14 will be in the workshops. They'll be divided by general job category

★ Please turn to Page 3

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December 6, 1968

—school-board members in one hall, city officials in another, and so forth.

No one will make speeches in the workshops. After the sessions are called to order, the new officeholders will quiz veterans. (How did you tackle this problem, and that one?) At each session there'll also be a special resource person.

Not all answers known

Surely new officials will bring up the many problems unique to black officials, such as: How do you stop white school-board members from conducting their real business in a private session at a club (without inviting you, naturally), then holding only a pro forma legal meeting? How can a black justice of the peace get white legal officials to cooperate, instead of ignore him?

For the first time, this year newly elected black officials will get answers from experienced black officials, men who have faced the same problems. If they haven't solved them, at least they have thoughts on dealing with them.

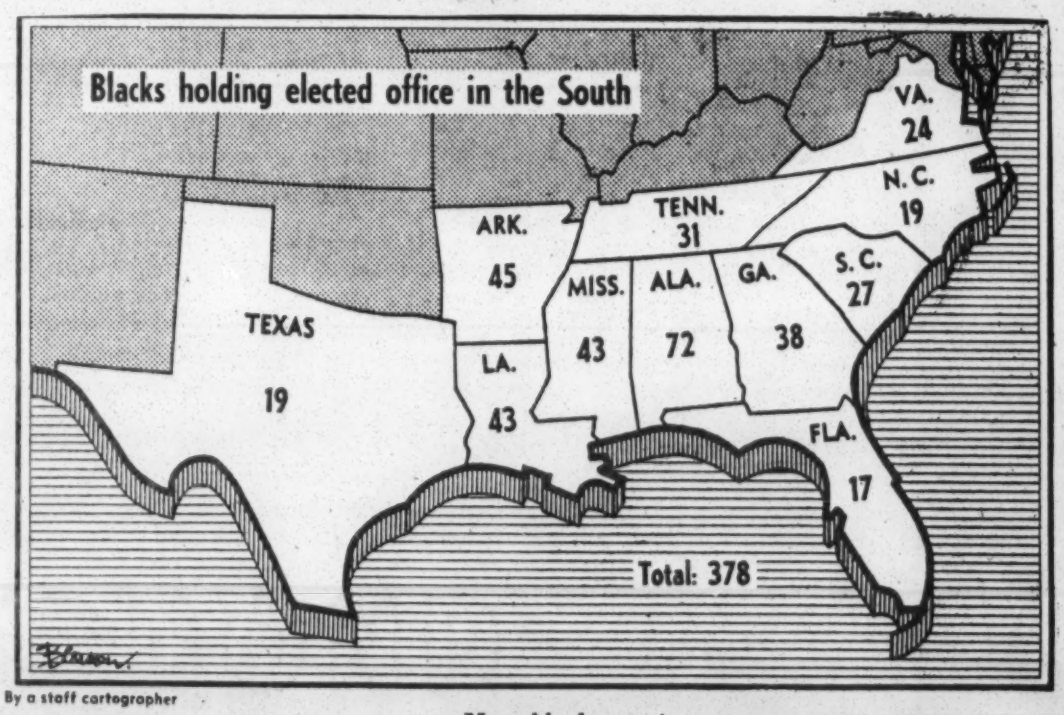
Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project, says the political sophistication of black Southern officeholders varies greatly. Most state representatives are quite sophisticated; he points out that "half of the 14 black members of the Georgia Legislature are lawyers."

But most black officials hold city or county office. And many of these are unsophisticated. Especially in rural areas, many are lamentably uneducated, the inevitable consequence of an inept educational system. It is with these officials that discussions will be most elementary — and essential.

A number of nationally prominent black Americans will appear on panels or deliver speeches during the conference: State Rep. Julian Bond of Georgia; Lawrence T. Guyot Jr., chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, noted psychologist and president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, New York City; Richard G. Hatcher, Mayor of Gary, Ind.; Robert G. Clark, the only black member of the Mississippi House of Representatives; Charles Evers, most influential black political leader in Mississippi; Mrs. Shirley Chisholm of New York City, the nation's first black congresswoman-elect.

Ramsay Clark, Attorney General of the United States, will address the conference banquet.

The Voter Education Project is footing the bill for transporting, housing, and feeding the conference participants. It would like to make the conference an annual event. For the foreseeable future, at least, it would seem greatly needed. But whether the Voter Education Project can do so depends on whether it can raise enough money to pay such a big bill every year.



By a staff cartographer

Growing numbers

More blacks are in government today in the South than ever before. Since it is the first real venture into politics for many of them, experienced black politicians will meet with them shortly in Atlanta to offer advice on their new jobs.

Birmingham, Ala., News
Dec. 7, 1968

33 Negro officials will attend parley

At least 33 of Alabama's 68 Negro public officeholders plan to attend the first Southern Conference of Black Elected Officials in Atlanta next week.

Speakers for the four-day event that begins Wednesday will include U.S. Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark; Richard Hatcher, the Negro mayor of Gary, Ind.; Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York; Georgia State Rep. Julian Bond, and newly elected Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm of New York.

IN ADDITION to speeches, participants will attend workshops and panel discussions planned to let them discuss mutual problems and share experiences, and to help them do their jobs better.

Conference spokesmen said invitations have gone to the 151 city officials, 78 law enforcement officers and judges, 72 school board members, 55 county officials and 30 legislators from the 11 states of the Old South.

The meeting is being sponsored by the Southern Regional Conference.

3.

Federal Help Near Limit, Negroes Told

Officials Hear Dr. Henderson Stress Local Level Work

By ACHSAH NESMITH

Negroes have "just about got all we are going to get from the national level," Dr. Vivian Henderson told the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials Thursday.

"If the Nixon Cabinet appointments last night are any criteria, I know we have," the President of Clark College said. He added that he hoped "we're wrong about this," but stressed that Negro public officials must depend on their own political ability and backing from the community to achieve future gains.

Many of the gains of the past "have come in spite of ourselves," Dr. Henderson said, both because of national policies and "because of the power of the racial ghetto rather than political astuteness."

POLITICAL PERSONALITIES

"Politics among Negroes in Atlanta has been almost wholly oriented toward personalities. Atlanta desperately needs issue-oriented politics," he said.

The South's great strength in seeking to get into the economic, social and political mainstream of the nation is its lack of rigidly segregated housing patterns, allowing a "realistic opportunity to avoid the mistakes of the North and build a truly open society," as the South rapidly moves toward urbanization, he said. Atlanta and Houston, however, are plagued with segregated housing patterns, making them the two major exceptions in the South.

"We have yet to see in the South the kind of initiation of public policy measures at the local level" to bring about major improvements in the most serious social problems facing the nation, particularly urban areas, Dr. Henderson said.

CITES GHETTO SCHOOLS

"The issues are clear," he said, citing the poor quality of ghetto schools, delivery of services to the poor, inability to reach certain levels of government, the absence of minimum wage laws at the state and local level, and discrimination and gerrymandering in redistricting.

"We must re-examine the strategy of racial blocs," he declared. "I'm not too sure we can rely on racial solidarity to accomplish our goals," stressing again that President-elect Richard Nixon's Cabinet appointments indicate that this need is crucial.

"The only appeal of the incoming administration to the brothers and sisters is to call for black capitalism. I want all the Negro businessmen we can get, not just in Harlem but on Fifth Avenue, not just on Hunter Street and Auburn Avenue, but at Five Points; but it is an illusion to think this approach will transform the lives of the majority of brothers and sisters from poverty and destitution to minimum standards of living," he declared.

"This is the one carrot I've heard from Nixon." Henderson said. "Nixon didn't compete for the Negro vote," considering it a sure thing for his opponent, and "it suggests Negroes are left out and will be left out. We've had to depend on the national scene to get things done at the local scene. . . . We've got to rethink our strategy. It can't be done running in 40 different directions."

"I'm not a black nationalist or a black power advocate according to the rhetoric you hear," he said. "We're not at the point where we can abandon racial consciousness under the facade of color blindness. You have to represent all the people, but keep in mind that in 99 per cent of the cases those who elected you were black. Represent all the people, but give some special attention to the black brothers and sisters . . . the consequences of racial segregation can't be removed "with careful colorblindness," he added.

PART OF STRATEGY

"Color consciousness must be part of our political and urban strategy," he said, declaring there was nothing new about building black political power and self-respect, "but it does not mean building racism, hate, or a separate society. Negro life needs to be strengthened for intelligent integration into a pluralistic society, with respect for individuals and without the loss of identity of black institutions, not for establishing some mystique of black power or separatism but for achieving our rightful place in a multiracial society."

Henderson also said he was "deeply distressed as a college president over our failure" to help black officials to examine proposed legislaiton and formulate strategy and policy.

Earlier, Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook of Duke University's political science department told the conference of over 200 Negro elected officials from the South:

"You're here because the black man has the initiative for the first time except a brief period during Reconstruction. Because black men have power. The crucial question is what are you going to do with your power? History contains the tragic element of irreversibility."

The Atlanta Journal
Dec. 14, 1968

Bond Says Negroes' Outlook Is Bleak

By BOB HURT

State Rep. Julian Bond dismissed the potential of Richard M. Nixon's new administration with a bitter prediction Wednesday night that Negroes "who still have faith in the democratic process" are facing four years of "severe disappointments."

In a speech that brought an audience of elected Southern Negro political leaders to a standing ovation, Bond said that white liberals and moderates "have deserted us" and Negroes in America must look for "new friends."

Bond, 28, who was swept into national prominence during the Democrtic National Convention in Chicago, was the keynote speaker of the first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials which opened Wednesday at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel.

SEES 2 CRISES

He urged his audience to face what he termed the two greatest crises in America—"racism and militarism," and issued an icy-voiced condemnation of people who see "black capitalism" as the best tool for improving the lot of the Negro.

That plan is no more than "exchanging the race of the people who have been exploiting us," he said.

Instead, Bond said "we ought to become interested in—now here's a terrible, dirty word—community socialism. We should be interested in the kind of economic development in our community that will not only give us jobs but will give the community a profit as well."

CHARGES DESERTION

Bond said "Those on whom we used to depend have deserted us."

The support once given by organized labor vanished during the presidential campaign of George Wallace, who Bond described as a "hill-billy Hitler." The support of white liberals and moderates has wained because "the terrible war has attracted all of their attention."

In the speech, filmed by two national television networks, Bond said that liberals in Atlanta have failed Negroes when they were asked to "give us justice."

The Negro-moderate coalition in Atlanta "is wearing thin," he said, and is best illustrated by talk by whites who want to extend the city's boundaries to take in white suburbs.

MUST LOOK

The Negro must look to other minorities — Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and American Indians — to form a new political coalition in the United States, Bond said.

Bond, who was once denied his seat in the General Assembly because he said he admired the courage of draft-card burners, said that the "American imperial war in Vietnam" is a major obstacle to racial harmony at home.

Negroes who go with whites and "burn down the huts of some Vietnam village" may return home and react to discrimination to the point that he "may be motivated to burn down the huts of some American village."

Bond's address came at the opening session of the three-day meeting of Negro elected officials, sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Clark Urges Extended Use Of U.S. Voting Examiners

(FULL TEXT of CLARK'S TALK ATTEND of FOLIO 4.)

By The Associated Press

Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark says the use of federal voting examiners should be continued beyond 1970.

Clark told the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials Friday night that the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 expires in August 1970.

He warned that the states will then have the opportunity to reinstate voter qualifications suspended by the act.

"State legislatures will be empowered to prescribe new standards, new procedures for voting throughout the land," Clark said.

The attorney general said the voting act has led to widespread increases in Negro voter registration and political gains for blacks.

FOUR YEARS ago, we could have held this meeting in a telephone booth in the lobby and not have interfered with anybody that wanted to make a telephone call," Clark commented.

He spoke to more than 200 Negro officeholders and told them that blacks and whites must prove they can live together because: "It's survival. It really is, you know."

Clark expressed disapproval of any type of racial separatism and called for pursuing efforts to end school segregation and "vast discrimination . . . in employment."

EARLIER, three Negro panelists discussed taxes and revenues. Gerald A. Lamb, Connecticut's treasurer, told the Negro officeholders, "We can excell in this field."

Others on the panel were Theodore A. Jones, director of the Illinois Department of Revenue, and Alfred M. Pelham, former Detroit comptroller who now is chairman of the board for Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Co.

Panel members agreed that taxation in this country has created inequitable burdens upon lower income groups, but warned higher taxes lie ahead.

Negro Politicians Watched, Voter Project Director Says

By HARMON PERRY

The letter to the Southern Regional Council from the Clarksdale, Miss., Negro who had taken office as justice of the peace was not in the best form and contained many misspelled words, but it told the story of many of the Negro men and women who have entered the political ring in the Deep South in recent years.

"I am grateful for the great service you gave the Negroes that were elected to office, you has (sic) helped many burdens roll away," the Negro wrote. "The things we are enduring are many but I am not discouraged at all, I am going to fight to finish whatever it may be."

Stories of harassment, intimidation, and lack of cooperation echoed throughout the first day of the Southwide conference of Negro elected officials meeting in Atlanta. The sessions are designed to help Negroes elected to a wide range of offices in 11 Southern states perform their responsibilities more effectively.

"THIS IS WHY we're here," said Vernon Jordon, SRC's Voter Education Project director, as he spoke at the banquet Wednesday night which got the four-day conference under way. The upsurge in tne number of Negroes elected to office since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is one of the more significant developments in Southern politics, he said.

"The Negro officeholders, most of whom carry into office the extra burden of inexperience because they had been denied living in the political process, are being observed by both races and are measured more exactly than are white officials," Mr. Jordon explained. "The conference hopes to solve some of the problems these black officials face."

State Rep. Julian Bond had a bit of encouragement for the 200 officials attending the conference. "I want to bring a little culture to you, but it's difficult to address you because we come from so many different backgrounds."

Rep. Bond, who devoted much of his address to an attack on the Vietnam war and President-elect Nixon and his incoming administration, said there were three things he and his audience had in common, "We're politicians, we're black, and we were elected largely by black constituents."

The young Georgia legislator was cool to proposals for black capitalism in black communities, saying it only ends up as white capitalism that hires and trains Negro workers.

He called for Negroes to seek out allies among other colored minorities and poor whites who have been blinded by racism. "We ought not turn anybody down."

REP. BOND also said black people should control their communities, become aware of the things that turn them against their own interest and develop concern in community socialism.

"We need fast action, but we must look at it with care; we

Charlie Jones Talks About His Victory

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Charlie Jones caught a plane for the first time Wednesday to come to Atlanta to the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials from his home in Coahoma, Miss.

Elected justice of the peace there over a white incumbent of over 20 years who had originally decided not to run, and then did after Jones announced, Charlie Jones observed that he had never been away from Coahoma for more than 20 days at a time, though his travels have taken him to Florida, Canada and many Northern cities.

"I've known the white man I beat for 50 years," the genial father of 12 said.

He explains the political realities of his area in Mississippi simply. There are roughly 1,300 Negroes and 300 whites (Charlie can tell you to the man in each precinct). "There wasn't hardly no way he could beat me, lessen I was a mighty bad fellow."

Jones is a sharp contrast to young Negro politicians at the conference such as Julian Bond in style, background and fame, but he is as typical of one segment of the men and women who have come into political office in the South as a result of civil and voting rights legislation, registration campaigns and the first true "black power" at the ballot box.

"When Moses needed to get across the Sea of Galilee God didn't dry up the earth or clear away the whole sea. He just cleared a path. That's all Moses needed, just a path," Charlie Jones told a reporter as he ate lunch in the ballroom of a hotel that a few years ago would have refused to serve him.

"A path always leads to the highway," he added, "not the other way around, just like a stream leads to the ocean of you follow it. If it wasn't for all the little creeks and ponds and bayous and rivers the ocean would dry up," Charlie Jones added.

"When I went to school, we didn't have school but three months. White folks would keep you out of work, but I sent my children through 12 grades and some two years of junior college. If they'll just do the same thing for their children—" he said, leaving the obvious conclusion unsaid. But he added, "You don't learn all you know from books, and you don't learn all you read in books. You've got to experience some things to understand it."

He used to drive people to Memphis, he said, and when he took them to a place to eat, they would go in and a waiter would bring him something outside.

Now he can go in those places, but he generally goes down the road instead, to places where

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ought to consider an attack made on one of us as an attack on all of us," Rep. Bond advised.

AT THE FIRST general session Thursday morning, Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook told the conferees their presence was the result of black men having power, and the power to have more power.

The question is, "What are you going to do with it now that you are elected?" Dr. Cook asked.

Speaking on "From Subject and Victim to Citizen and Official," Dr. Cook said the liberation of black people is the key to Southern liberation.

"Racism has dominated and controlled the minds of the white South," he said, "so the South will be fully free only when the black man is fully free."

"Once freed from the yoke of racism, the South—and the nation—will take wings," Dr. Cook said.

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he had been always welcome. "The way biscuits taste best is like your Mama made 'em," he explains.

He adds of his dealings with white people in his community, "I'll give anybody the time of day and say good morning. I owe him that as a human being. But I don't stand around and talk with him unless he's got something to say worth hearing. I don't owe him that.

"I saw a terrible thing in Chicago," he said. "People have to lock their car doors to ride on the streets or they're liable to have somebody in there with them. I wouldn't want to live there, having to lock doors. It would be as bad as being a millionaire's child and having to have guards everywhere you go and be afraid. My children run free. That's how it ought to be."—ACHSAH NESMITH

Mayor Hatcher Says:

SRC

Black Power Brings Only Limited Gains

Atlanta Daily World 12/14/68

By PORTIA SCOTT

"Black Power can only bring limited gains. It can not eliminate poverty, poor housing, poor education or give us a portion of economic control of nation," Mayor Richard Gordon Hatcher told a capacity audience at Clark College Thursday night.

Black Power, Student Power and violence as has occurred here, said Hatcher cannot be dismissed from achieving power, yet this type of power has not payed off very much. "It has just made whites talk better," he added.

The Mayor of Gary, Ind., explained that he supported all Black Power that helps to "capture its heritage and exert ability to meet its demands," but the type of power that was really needed was "a coming together in State Militancy or People's Power."

The occasion was a public forum at Davage Auditorium that climaxed the Thursday session of the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials, sponsored by the Southern Regional Council, which will continue through Saturday at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel.

The speaker continued that he could accept the possibility of "separate states, but what Blacktown wants Whitetown will not confer." Hatcher pointed out further that even in Blacktown there still would not be utopia because Blacks can be expected to exploit Blacks as whites have.

Also, he said that he could understand a return not only spiritually, but physicially to our African culture, but that he himself did not choose to leave. "A good portion of these United States we own not just physicially, but morally," he asserted.

The speaker, soft in his tone, yet firm in his speech, said that search for power isn't new, but today, "we have combined pride with being Black with the search."

There are many forms of Black Power that can meet the needs of Black people, he stated.

"Whites have assigned to us the role of being strangers within his village. But being ourselves will make us less a stranger.

"We cannot nor wish to reject our Blackness," he continued.

Hatcher explained that it was fortunate that our history and culture is rich enough to find pride to make us less a stranger in the white man's village.

He pointed out that the world is not white any longer and never will be again. He warned that "we must establish power of people in the world which none are strangers."

Without this, he continued, "dark nights and despair" are ahead. He added, Blacks have less to loose but most to gain."

Other speakers included Robert Clark, Representative from Mississippi; Henry Marsh, City Council, Richmond, Va.; and John McCown, County Comm., Hancock County, Ga., who were part of a panel discussion on the Mayor's address and the issues of the conference as a whole.

President Vivian Henderson (Clark), presided over the session.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
For 101 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

RALPH McGILL, Publisher

REG MURPHY, Editor
Editorial Page

PAGE 4 THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1968

Editorial Comment on the Conference

The Use of Black Power

"Black power" is a much used and often misused slogan in black Americans' drive for justice and equal opportuunity.

But what happens when black power is achieved—when Negroes are elected to office? Then the focus of interest must shift from power to responsible use of power.

Then black officials must become concerned with taxation, federal aid programs, law enforcement, administration . . . in short, the same concerns as white officials.

Just such practical matters will be the subjects of discussion at a four-day Southwide conference which opened at the Dinkler Plaza here last night under the sponsorship of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project.

Racial matters, of course, will be much in the minds of the participants, for this is an historic gathering. Thanks largely to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, there are now nearly 400 black elected officials in the South. About half of them are here for the meeting.

Not only will they discuss problems among themselves, but they also will hear from fellow Afro-Americans from other regions who hold such offices as mayor, state treasurer and state director of revenue.

Among the many notables attending are Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind.; Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark; Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center; M. Carl Holman, vice president of The Urban Coalition; Congresswoman-elect Shirley Chisholm of New York, and Mississippi civil rights leader Charles Evers.

It is noteworthy that Atlanta not only is the site of the conference, but that it has many black persons in political office and other positions of importance to act as hosts and panelists. These range from the director of the Voter Education Project to federal officials, an alderman, businessmen, a college president and several state legislators.

THE ATLANTA INQUIRER DECEMBER 14, 1968 2

ON GUARD For Human Rights 24 Hours A Day

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"To seek out the Truth and report it without Fear or Favor"

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We Commend Vernon Jordan And Black Elected Officials

Between 200 and 300 of the South's black elected officials are converging here this week for their first Southwide Conference. The Conference, sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, features some outstanding speakers including U. S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York, Rep. Julian Bond of our fair city and the nation's first Negro Congresswoman, Mrs. Shirley Chisholm of New York.

It should be an interesting, productive conference. We hope the officials enjoy Atlanta hospitality and will return again for either business or pleasure.

More significantly, we hail the meeting because it represents the power of education. With some die-hards trying at every turn and utilizing every hook and crook to "hold us down," the officials meeting here are living examples of the fact that politics will be the great beneficiary of education.

Many of the elected officials are members of school boards and, consequently, even more significance is attached because they are in positions to rid this country of its unfair dual system of education. Its abolition would mean even greater advancement through education for all of our people.

We welcome the Conference and its members and gleefully urge, "Giddyap" for the job ahead.

The INQUIRER salutes Vernon E. Jordan, director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, for his wisdom and foresight in instituting this first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials.

Mr. Jordan believes the "dramatic increase of black officials represents one of the more significant developments in Southern politics today. Not even the fact," he says, "that five Southern states gave George Wallace his only electoral votes can overshadow the deepening involvement of black Southerners in the region's political process."

We hope, as he and the officials hope, they will be able to establish at this conference some machinery for dealing with the problems on a continuing basis in the future as the number of black elected officials continues to grow.

We hope further that they will find it imperative to continue these conferences so that they might be able to grandly produce in behalf of their constituents.

We highly commend Mr. Jordan and the officials meeting here who seek the means to work toward that end.

6.

The Atlanta Journal

"Covers Dixie Like the Dew"

Since 1883

Jack Tarver, President • Jack Spalding, Editor

The South and the Law

ONE OF THE strong undertones at the Southwide Conference for Black Elected Officials, which ended over the weekend in Atlanta, was frustration approaching bitterness about what is expected of the Nixon administration.

Is it exaggerated? It may be. But it is significant that this view is prevalent among men and women who have fought great odds and often endured great hardship and intimidation to win a toehold in Southern political life. They know they had to do it against the toughest kind of state and local opposition. They know they had to rely upon the federal government's enforcement of the Constitution of the United States.

That enforcement often has faltered. Indeed, for a century even the federal government ignored the 14th Amendment (requiring "equal protection of the laws" and requiring that a state's representation in Congress be reduced if it disfranchised people because of race) and the 15th Amendment (further guaranteeing that states could not deny people the right to vote because of race).

* * *

WHY WAS THE law of the land ignored? This sad chapter in the nation's history began with the compromise of 1877, in which reactionary Southern power changed a presidential race's outcome in exchange for agreement that the law would not be enforced.

Most of the 225 Negro officials who gathered in Atlanta were elected for this reason only: The defenders of Southern wrongs, fighting under a false banner of states' rights, finally failed to prevent the federal courts from applying the Constitution and failed to prevent passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

In short, these officials were here because the federal government finally renounced the wicked compromise of 1877.

The rights that have been restored, after a century's neglect, are not firmly fixed. An administration has just been elected which has talked weak enforcement. Many white people may not know what that means. But the black officials who assembled here know what it means.

* * *

ATTY. GEN. RAMSEY Clark, in an extemporaneous speech obviously coming from deep conviction as an official and as a white Southerner, called attention to another ugly compromise required by the defenders of the worst in the South. To get the Voting Rights Act through Congress, it was necessary to accept a cutoff date in the effectiveness of some of its main provisions. Mr. Clark referred to "the expiration of some of the most important sanctions and controls in what seemed a long time then but now seems no time—Aug. 8, 1970." Will it be extended?

State and local governments at that time may return to the devices which many have used to keep Negroes outside working democracy, such as discriminatory use of literacy tests. The Department of Justice no longer will be able to rectify local abuses by sending in voting examiners (registrars).

Further, Mr. Clark noted, the most effective federal device for requiring enforcement of the Constitution on school segregation—guidelines and their enforcement—now may be gutted.

* * *

FEW SOUTHERN spokesmen in Congress stood up for the Voting Rights Act. (Two who did, Congressmen Charles Weltner and James Mackay from the two Atlanta districts, have been defeated, as have some others). Is it any wonder that Negroes who finally have gained a small place in Southern democracy are deeply disturbed about what will happen if the Nixon administration is in effect weak on the Constitution?

This was only a conference. The President-elect may not have taken note of it. But he must not ignore the sentiment it represented, or the fact that the South's best sons white and black (of whom Ramsey Clark is one) do not want any subtle slipping back to the ugliest part of its past.

RALPH McGILL

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

12-12-68

Southerners At Their Best

Pre-Christmas traffic was heavy along Atlanta's streets and darkness was coming on when I turned into a hotel entrance. It was with a feeling of expectancy and some excitement that I entered and went to the table where the first Southwide conference of black elected officials was being registered. More than 200 of some 385 such officials, all chosen in local, county and state elections, were in attendance.

This conference, surely unique, certainly a first, unquestionably historic, was sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the privately financed Southern Regional Council.

For me, as well as many others, the fact of the conference was an emotional experience. I stood there recalling the winter of 1944—almost a quarter century ago. In that time meetings were held discussing the merging of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919, with a new organization of broader scope and potential.

The Problems

The old commission had concerned itself, necessarily and realistically, with the immediate problems of the time—lynchings, which were many and brutal, justice in the courts — and with providing a bridge across which the separated races of the South might find a way to meet, talk and work together toward ends that would make for a better South and nation.

The new organization was called the Southern Regional Council. Its board included 80 Southerners from both races, representing major religious faiths and 13 states in the region. It set about to collect facts, to learn what the real conditions were, what the people wanted, thought, believed.

In 1951 the Council officially committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society—not a society in which the Negro became "like" a white man, but one in which he had his own pride and identity as a black-skinned American.

It was not always easy. But the Council persisted. It demonstrated merit. It was fortunate in executive directors and staff.

Now, as I stood, remembering, it was December 1968.

In 1944 there was a comparative handful of Southern Negroes registered to vote—most of them in a few of the larger cities, Atlanta included. The number of Negroes holding public office could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The offices held were all minor ones.

Elected Officials

Now, in 1968, due in considerable measure to the Council's Voter Education Project, there are some 385 elected black officials. (In 1965 there were only 70.) The number of registered black voters in the 13 states today is 3¼ million. In 1944 it was approximately ¼ million.

The conference in Atlanta brought together the Negro officeholders-elect for political "schooling." What has happened has been, and is, one of the miracles of the democratic process. The black Southerner could not really everywhere freely register to vote until the congressionally enacted voter rights laws of 1964. These did not become truly effective until 1965.

In this historic conference the school board members meet in workshops, the city hall officials in another, county officers in still another, and so on.

These newly elected black men—most of them recall being denied the ballot—come from many segregated backgrounds. They lack political education and sophistication. Some, from rural areas, are products of segregated schools and, therefore, lack education. A few will be subjected to sabotage through noncooperation and opposition.

It gave one a feeling of pride in his region and country to see the Southerner and the South at its best.

After all, it is not so long from 1944 to 1968! And there is more to be done. Much more.

7.

FREEING THE WHITE SOUTH? ATLANTA JOURNAL 12-13-68

Some Black History-Makers Talk About It

By REESE CLEGHORN

"I WAS WHITE once," said the black man from Virginia. He was as white as anybody could be, he continued, deadpan, a Stars-and-Bars white Southerner. He had changed, he said, because of drinking a lot of bad, black coffee, with very little cream and sugar.

"When I was white we had many discussions about you people," he said, and the appreciative snickers in his largely Negro audience became a rush of laughter. "We had many fears about you people," he went on. "We feared one day you might decide there was some place to meet besides the church—that you might meet at the ballot box."

This was City Councilman Joseph A. Jordan Jr. of Norfolk, Va., speaking to some 225 fellow black office-holders from throughout the South.

They are a majority of the 380 Negroes who have been elected (107 of them last month) in this region. They have come to Atlanta for a four-day conference, under auspices of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, to discuss their common problems, the duties of their offices and current issues.

The fear that Councilman Jordan talked about having, before he drank all that black coffee, are very real among large numbers of white Southerners.

* * *

THAT IS ONE OF the obstacles the black office-holders have to overcome. They are, of course, a diverse lot with diverse ideas about how to play their history-making roles.

An open discussion of their concerns revealed the diversity.

Black office-holders should play broad roles of leadership, said Lawrence Guyot, leader of the Freedom Democratic Party in Mississippi. They should not just discharge the duties of local offices; they should speak for their once-voiceless communities in an aggressive and wide-ranging way. They should consider themselves the leading spokesmen of black people.

* * *

BUT, SAID A MAN from Arkansas, it is not as simple as that. He had been elected not mainly by Negroes but mainly by whites. "If this conference is to be relevant," he said, "it must include situations like that."

Nothing can be accomplished by Negroes, said a man from South Carolina, "until we realize we are all black." He seemed to suggest that aggressive representation of Negroes was the first duty.

* * *

A COUNTY COMMISSIONER from Virginia interjected. He is one of five commissioners, he said, and the other four are "rednecks if you want to call them that." His job, he said, is to make friends and win allies on that commission. "I couldn't get a second for a motion, much less a road or a teachers' raise, if I didn't do that," he said.

"I had been an extreme radical," he went on. "After I was elected, I learned I had to be effective. A lot of people brainwashed by the more radical elements call us Uncle Toms."

* * *

THERE WAS A STIRRING in the room. This is the kind of talk sometimes heard from timid men, and most Negroes do not fancy that they are electing people these days to be timid. But it also could be the talk of a determined but practical man, one who wants to be an effective politician. Which was it in this case? Probably nobody at this conference would ever know. It would depend upon that man who shortly would go back to do his job, against the odds, in rural Virginia.

That is the way it is for many of these new office-holders, who have won a place in the democracy at last because of voting laws opposed by almost all the Deep South's congressmen and senators. Many serve in lonely places. At this conference, they could get a feeling of common endeavor with others in similar situations across the South.

* * *

WHAT IS THE BROADER significance of their situation? Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook, former Atlantan who now teaches at Duke University, spoke to them as a political scientist and as a fellow black man.

". . . The black man, because of the tyranny of racism over the mind of the white South, has been able, without intention or knowledge, to dominate Southern political and governmental life . . .," he said. "Whites fell into the trap they had so cleverly and determinedly made for blacks: absolute dominion. . . . The Negro, like a fearsome ghost, has haunted and driven the white man."

Now, he said, Negroes have gained a toehold. What will it mean?

* * *

"NEGROES CAN HELP REDEEM the past of the Southern political process. They can be liberating and redemptive agents. Just as the Negro was the key to Southern political enslavement, he is the key to Southern political emancipation.

"The Southern genius has been exhausted in the 'race problem.' Black men, working with whites of reason, goodwill, and a sense of justice can largely free the South from the chains and illusions of the past. The chief problem is racism.

"Freed from the prison of racism, the South will be freed from the heavy yoke of deceit, hypocrisy, negativism, obstructionism and provincialism. . . . It will be freed of the exhausting and painful efforts to maintain a closed corporation. . . . Freed of the Atlas burden of racism, the Southern political process will be able to say, ironically, with Martin Luther King: 'Free at last!' "

Welcome To Southern Elected Officials

ATLANTA DAILY SRC WORLD 12-14-68

The meeting in Atlanta this week of nearly 400 Negro elected officials from various sections of the south is a good omen of a sincere effort to seek for a consensus of opinion to meet the problems confronting us today. Such a meeting is indeed appropriate and imely. 12-14-68

We congratulate these officials and the Southern Regional Council for its sponsorship. The session started Wednesday night and runs through part of Saturday.

We hope such a meeting is held at least once a year from now on. Atlanta Daily World

In the light of the role the Negro voters in this region and the nation as a whole, we believe it would be most timely for these officials, in a closed door session, give some time to discussing the merits of bi-partisan action in certain elections.

Through the years we have emphasized the importance of intelligent political action as an effective means of solving racial problems and opening new opportunities.

We also recognize the necessity for the preservation of a strong two-party system in our nation if the democratic process is to survive.

If this current meeting of Negro elected officials could have been held prior to the recent balloting for president, perhaps a consensus of opinion could have been reached which would have prevented candidate George Wallace from carrying a single state. The Negroes had the votes to do it.

Our officials should try to take a broad bi-partisan view of issues and problems, rather than the narrow partisan view, and they can strive to be statesmen, instead of mere politicians.

Again, we congratulate and commend the efforts of this conference.

8.

Blacks in Office

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1968

'One of the Miracles of the Democratic Process'

ATLANTA—More than 200 of the South's 385 Negro elected officials gathered in Atlanta last week, and the most remarkable thing to many of those who saw it was that it had occurred at all.

"Four years ago," Attorney General Ramsey Clark said in a speech Friday, "we could have held this meeting in the telephone booth in the lobby—and not interfered with anybody who wanted to make a phone call."

The black officials, who included state legislators such as Julian Bond of Georgia and law enforcement officers such as Sheriff Lucius D. Amerson of Macon County, Ala., plus holders of many humbler posts, actually filled a fair-sized banquet hall. In this alone, Southerners with sharp memories found a monument.

Bi-Racial Communications

Ralph McGill, the columnist who is publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, recalled some of the first tentative and almost timid moves toward bi-racial communications in the region nearly 25 years ago.

"For me, as well as many others, the fact of the conference [last week] was an emotional experience," Mr. McGill wrote. "...what has happened has been, and is, one of the miracles of the democratic process."

The assembled officeholders did more than dramatize the impact of the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the registration campaigns which together have increased Negro enrollment to more than 3.1 million.

Their first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials, sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, also brought out some differences in outlook and approach. "These guys don't all think alike," said Vernon E. Jordan Jr., the project director. "They've all got their own ideas, their own approaches, and their own special political problems."

Black Underrepresentation

Negroes remain under-represented in the South and most of those who hold public office find themselves pressed to assume broader responsibilities for blacks outside their immediate area and jurisdiction. While some argued for a more activist role, involving devices such as "extra-legal hearings" to pressure white conservatives, others insisted that the Negro should take pains to do their own jobs well.

At the conference, most of the officials appeared to concentrate on more specific problems such as detailed legal matters and the bewildering complexities of obtaining money from Washington. As representatives of some of the most poverty-stricken areas of the country, they displayed an intimate sense of local shortcomings on everything from street lights to housing projects.

Many of the officials are inexperienced and some are poorly educated. To help out, the voter project disclosed plans to establish "service centers" for black leaders in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia.

Mr. Jordan, who indicated that centers would begin operating next month in connection with predominantly Negro colleges, said they will provide information and supply student interns to work in the more demanding offices.

Some participants complained that in emphasizing the more specific problems, the conference had failed to generate ideas for over-all programs to help Negroes on a regional or even national basis. "They're so broken apart in so many little pieces it's terrible," one critic said. "Somebody ought to be filling out a national perspective. They're supposed to be advocates, but I haven't met anybody who's mad yet."

Practically all the Negro officials lead lonely lives in their dealings with white colleagues. The lone Negro on a Louisiana city council observed sadly: "If I argue for it, everybody gets real quiet."

But they appear to be learning the ropes. A constable from Mississippi calmly explained to a law-enforcement seminar that he had the right to chase lawbreakers out of his district and even out of the county.

The stocky, slow-talking lawman explained that he receives fees for each task he performs, and he obesrved whimsically that "the farther I run him the more money I stand to make."

—WALTER RUGABER

Associated Press

SOUTHERN EVENT: Sheriff Lucius D. Amerson of Macon County, Ala., above, and Georgia state legislator Julian Bond, below, were among the elected Negro officials of the South who met in Atlanta last week to confer on past progress and future plans. Mr. Bond is shown at hearings at which his right to the seat he won in 1966 was challenged.

United Press International

9.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Yes, We Can Bring Equal Justice

ATLANTA JOURNAL 12-26-68

Voting Rights Act of 1965 Slowly Opens Many Doors

By ATTY. GEN. RAMSEY CLARK

We are here tonight because we are a democracy and a democracy that will ultimately extend equal justice to all of its people. We are here tonight because we are making progress toward that end. We are making progress because we care.

I well remember the long nights in the Department of Justice in the winter of 1964 when we were trying to find the legal techniques for a voting rights act. I well remember President Johnson's deep personal commitment to liberating the Negro, the minority in America; to bring the vote to all Americans.

As the principal federal officer in charge of the enforcement of the federal court order under which the march from Selma to Montgomery took place in the Spring of '65, I had the privilege to see great men—brave men, men who believed in America—march that we might be here tonight. Dr. Martin Luther King was in the front rank.

* * *

THEN THERE was that moment, August 6, 1965, when the rotunda of the nation's Capitol was filled with the nation's great and the President of the United States signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and it became the law of the land.

I know there are thousands and thousands of people in these United States who have come to doubt and some who do not believe, that this nation has either the purpose or the capability to bring equal justice to all of its citizens.

You demonstrate better than anything perhaps, that this is not so; that the system, however awkward, however slow, can work; that our purpose as a people and the purpose of our laws is equality and justice for all.

About the Forum Writer

U. S. ATTY. GEN. RAMSEY CLARK recently addressed some 225 of the South's 380 elected Negro officials attending the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials. The conference at Atlanta was under auspices of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. This is part of that address.

Mr. Clark, who shortly will leave office, is a Texan, the son of retired Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark. He has served as attorney general since 1966.

• The Voting Rights Act is a bold experiment in democracy. It has made a difference. Four years ago we could have held this meeting in the telephone booth in the lobby and not interfere with anybody who wanted to make a phone call.

* * *

THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT of 1965, like every contested piece of legislation, has compromises. One compromise was the expiration in five years of many of the most important sanctions and controls in what then seemed a long time and now seems no time. On Aug. 8, 1970, there will be the opportunity for jurisdictions to reinstate qualifications to vote through subjective tests such as literacy.

Then, unless something is done, the power of the Department of Justice to place examiners and obervers in places where they are needed to protect the fundamental right of a demoratic people will expire. Then state legislatures may prescribe new standards, new procedures, for voting throughout this land.

* * *

IT SEEMS IMPERATIVE to me that we redouble our efforts today to enlist in the support of democracy, under the auspices of the Voting Rights Act and this great Voter Education Project, all of our people; that we provide for the future by extending the sanctions of the Voting Rights Act of '65 for years to come. Their necessity, to me, seems clear.

* * *

I WILL NOT be fair if I say that voting, the right to vote, the exercise of that right, is the entire solution. We must go forward, seriously, on many fronts and with rare courage: the rare courage that you black elected officials have shown us and of which I am grateful. We know the areas. We sometimes think that because the struggle is so difficult perhaps, the road isn't clear; but it is. Separate-but-equal was never so; could not be; will never be. There can be no equality with separation in any society, least of all in a highly urban and complex nation of 200 million such as ours. Separation must be ended, and all of its manifestations, to bring equality. The task is terribly difficult.

* * *

ONE AREA is education. Start with the children. Education is America's greatest industry. One in three in this country is engaged, full time, in education as student, teachers or administrator. In 1954, May 17, the Supreme Court said that as to public schooling there can be no separation. For nine years, through litigation in the courts of the South, the constitutional rights of our citizens were litigated.

* * *

IN SEPTEMBER, 1963, those who knew saw one per cent of the Negro children in the public schools of the 11 states of the Confederacy in schools that were desegregated. "All deliberate speed" meant nine centuries. People with vision saw this.

People of determination changed it, in large measure, because of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, because of Title VI, because of the much-maligned guidelines of the Office of Education promulgated in conformity with law thereunder.

One per cent in '63 became 16 per cent in '67 and when the returns are in, this will surely be over 20 per cent in '68. This law that has had barely three years to work its way has made a major difference and has shown that the constitutional rights of our citizens in the South can be fulfilled.

* * *

BUT BECAUSE of the immensity of this nation, while we concentrated here where the need was so great we barely noticed the new segregation building up steadily and swiftly in urban America.

In five short years, 1950-1955, the percentage of Negro children in the public schools of Baltimore increased from 50 to 61. In St. Louis, it was from 49 to 60. In Chicago from 42 to 50. A profound change reflecting patterns of living meant a new segregation in Central City America unless we awoke.

Slowly the resources of the law are brought to bear and now four suits, outside the South, are brought to desegregate our schools there. Soon we must recognize, among other things, that the litigations that take so long and the guideline techniques that can work so well must be brought to bear elsewhere. And soon we must recognize that segregation in schooling is incompatible with our principles and I believe with the Constitution, whatever the cause.

* * *

ON THE FOREFRONT today, we are moving in the area of employment; and only beginning. There is vast discrimination in employment: the opportunity to get a job, to keep a job, to improve in your job, to get a better job.

The '64 Act, Title VII promised to remedy this. It is essential that we enlist all of our energies, as a people, to do it. Today, we have brought finally 34 suits. When you think of the immense industry of the United States, you see how very slow the beginning is. Twenty-four this year, with so far to go.

* * *

ONE REASON you must understand. For all the might of the federal government, the resources that we, as a peo- have provided there are terribly inadequate.

• The Civil Rights Division as devoted a group a people to the principles of this country that has ever been collected in one place—with one mission, in my judgment—is fewer than a hundred lawyers. Their average age is under 30.

• Their burden is to enforce the Voting Rights Act to litigate school desegregation in perhaps 30,000 school districts over the U. S.; to bring Title II of the Act, promising open accommodation, to a reality; to enforce all of our civil rights laws.

• This small resource would be inadejquate for one state. It would be inadequate for one single law throughout the U.S.

* * *

THE REASONS that black and white in America must show the world that they can live together with respect, with stability and with love are many.

One is human dignity—my dignity, your dignity. Another is to remove this gross imperfection from our national character: to show that we can be what we say we are.

* * *

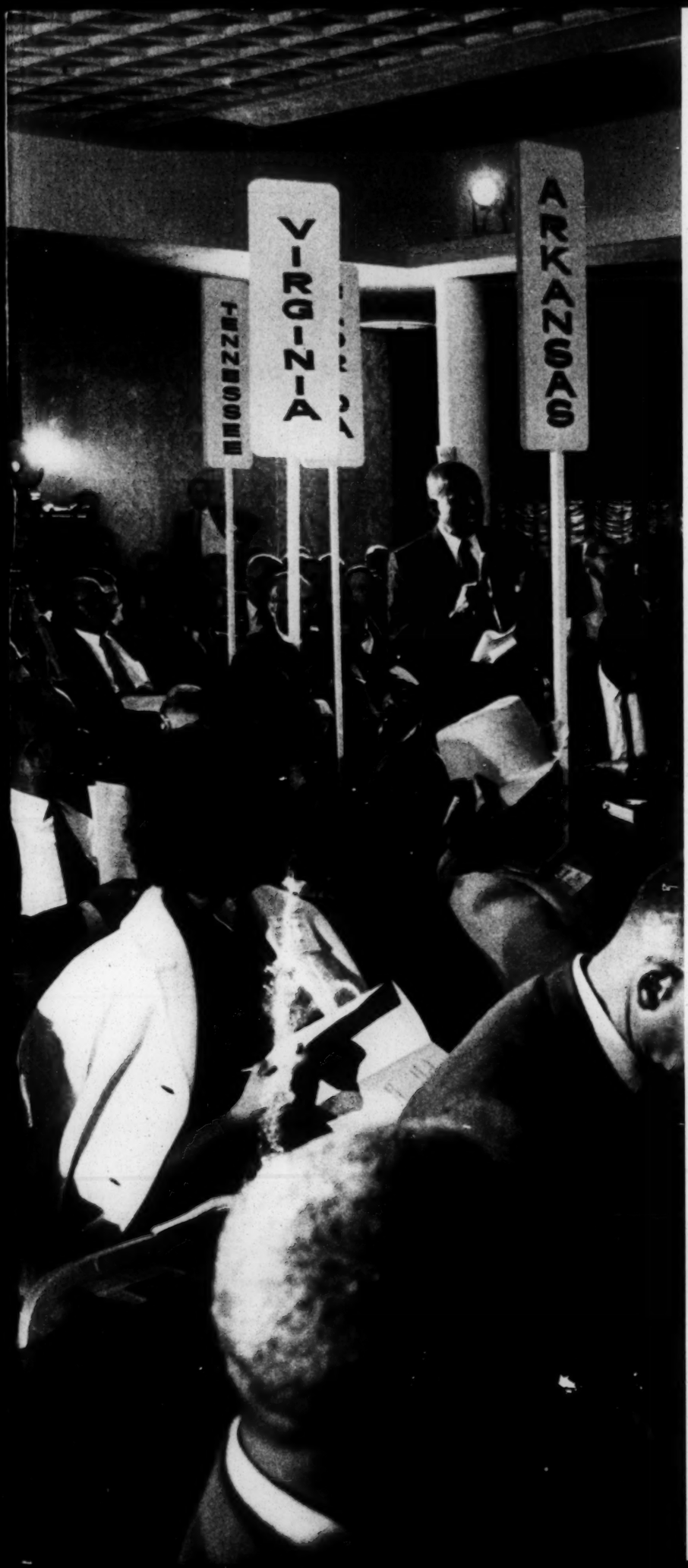
BUT THERE IS another. It is survival. It really is, you know. We will add on this planet, in the next decade, one billion souls and most will be blacks, and browns and yellows. Millions will starve. And millions will live in more than affluence; amidst surfeit, then will have more than they can use.

* * *

SCIENCE and technology—with 90 per cent of the scientists who ever lived working today—and population explosions compel now equality.

And if we do not demonstrate that it is possible, here in America, black and white together with love and strength, then this poor, tired world has more ahead than it can handle.

10



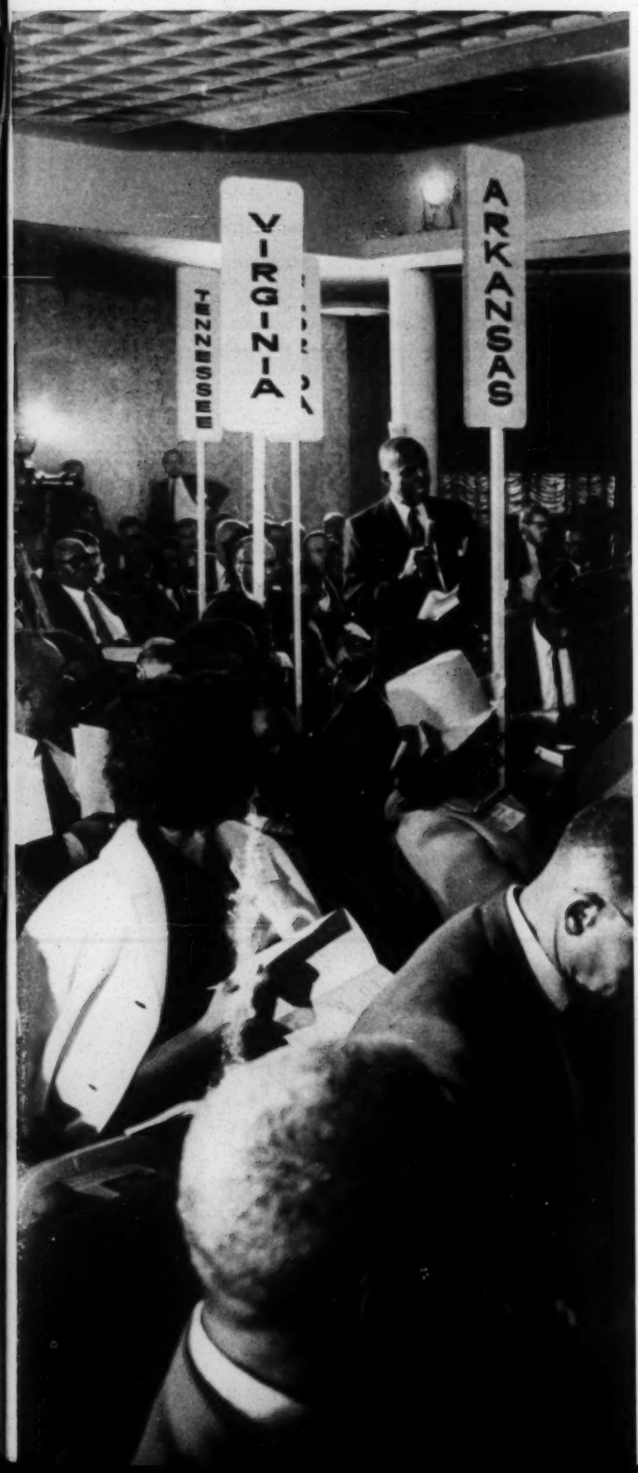
CONFERENCE
PROCEEDINGS

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

DEC. 11-14, 1968

DINKLER HOTEL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Sponsored by
The Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia



PREFACE

Late in 1967 and early in 1968, as it became apparent that the number of black elected officials in the South was growing rapidly and would continue to do so in the months ahead, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council conceived the idea of a southwide conference for these officials. Most—indeed, almost all—had been elected in the middle '60s as black voter registration advanced markedly.

Being closely associated with the dramatic registration increases of the '60s, VEP felt an obligation to the officials who had been elected largely as a result of these voter gains. Most of the officials had little political experience—or, indeed, previous contact with the political process—and giving assistance to these officials is an important part of VEP's broad goal of extending political participation. Moveover, it was felt that a regional meeting would be a means of bolstering the spirits of black officials, many of whom serve in extremely trying circumstances, and motivating prospective black officials throughout the South.

A number of foundations were approached with requests to supply special funds for such a conference. Almost all responded not only with approval, but also with enthusiasm. Arrangements then went forward to bring all the black elected officials to Atlanta for a four-day conference, with all expenses to be paid by VEP. The Rev. John Morris, former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, was employed to coordinate the conference.

It was decided that a variety of workshops would be held for the elected officials, in addition to general sessions (see conference agenda, Page 2). A date subsequent to the November 5 general election was picked so that officials then elected could be invited to the conference. (It was determined that only *elected* officials would be invited, since the list of appointed black officials is even larger and more varied than the list of elected officials.)

Of approximately 385 Negroes holding elected positions in the South in late 1968, nearly 200 attended the conference, which was the first of its kind ever held in the South. The Voter Education Project is grateful to the foundations and to the individuals who contributed in countless ways to the success of the conference. The results of the program planning described above are presented in these conference proceedings.

MARVIN WALL
Director of Research
Voter Education Project

AGENDA

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

DECEMBER 11-14, 1968, DINKLER PLAZA HOTEL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11

2:00 p.m.—REGISTRATION—Lobby
7:00 p.m.—RECEPTION—Dinkler A
COURTESY OF THE COCA-COLA COMPANY ATLANTA
8:00 p.m.—OPENING DINNER—DINKLER B
Presiding:
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project
Welcome:
Q. V. Williamson
Board of Aldermen, Atlanta
Leroy Johnson
State Senate, Georgia
Introduction of Speaker:
Benjamin Brown
House of Representatives, Georgia
Keynote Address:
Julian Bond
House of Representatives, Georgia

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12

7:30-8:30 a.m.—Breakfast—Dinkler B
9:00 a.m.—GENERAL SESSION—DINKLER ROOF
Presiding:
William H. Alexander
House of Representatives, Georgia
Address:
"From Subject and Victim to Citizen and Public Official: An Historical Overview of the Negro and the Southern Political Process."
Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook
Professor of Political Science
Duke University
Panelists:
- Lawrence T. Guyot, Jr.
  Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
- Dr. C. G. Gomillion
  Board of Education
  Tuskegee, Alabama
- Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
  City Council
  Norfolk, Virginia

12:30 p.m.—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B
Presiding:
Jesse Hill, Jr.
Actuary, Atlanta Life Insurance Company
Address:
Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta

2:00-5:00 p.m.—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS
I—School Board Members—Plaza B, Lobby Floor
Convener: Miss Jean Fairfax
NAACP Legal Defense Fund
Recorder: Mrs. Susan Morgan
Southern Regional Council
II—City Officials—Roof, 14th Floor
Convener: John Feild
U. S. Conference of Mayors
Recorder: Lee J. Price
American Jewish Committee
III—County Officials—Panel Room, Mezzanine Floor
Convener: James Gibson
United Presbyterian Church
Potomac Institute
Recorder: Warren Pritchard
Southern Regional Council
IV—Law Enforcement Officials—Sky Room, 14th Floor
Convener: Julius Chambers
Attorney-at-Law
Recorder: Mrs. Taunya Banks
V—State Legislators—Room 370
Convener: Horace T. Ward
State Senate, Georgia
Recorder: Rev. J. Oscar McCloud

6:00 p.m.—DINNER—PLAZA B
7:15 p.m.—Buses Depart
8:00 p.m.—PUBLIC FORUM
Davage Auditorium, Clark College
Presiding:
Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
Welcome:
James Mays
President
Clark College Student Government Association
Address:
Richard Gordon Hatcher
Mayor
Gary, Indiana
Panelists:
- Robert G. Clark
  Mississippi House of Representatives
- Henry L. Marsh, III
  City Council, Richmond, Virginia
- John McCown
  County Commissioner
  Hancock County, Georgia

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13

7:30-8:00 a.m.—Breakfast—Dinkler B

8:00 a.m.—GENERAL SESSION—
DINKLER ROOF

"Revenue and Taxation and the Elected Official"

Presiding:

John S. Stewart
City Council, Durham, North Carolina

Panelists:

- Alfred M. Pelham
  Chairman of the Board
  Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company
  Former Controller of the City of Detroit
- Gerald A. Lamb
  Treasurer
  State of Connecticut
- Theodore A. Jones
  Director
  Department of Revenue
  State of Illinois

11:30 a.m.—"Everyman's Guide to Federal Programs"

Richard Boone
Executive Director
Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty

12:30 p.m.—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:

Donald L. Hollowell
Regional Director
Equal Employment Opportunities Commission

Special Guests:

- Maynard Jackson, Georgia
- A. W. Willis, Tennessee
- Reginald A. Hawkins, North Carolina
- Mrs. Eva Clayton, North Carolina

2:00-5:00 p.m.—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

7:00 p.m.—RECEPTION—AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL

COURTESY OF THE ATLANTA INQUIRER AND H. J. RUSSELL & CO., ATLANTA

8:00 p.m.—BANQUET—AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL

Welcome:

Sam Massell, Jr.
Vice-Mayor of Atlanta

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Address:

Ramsey Clark
Attorney General of
The United States

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14

7:30-8:30 a.m.—Breakfast—Dinkler B

9:00 a.m.—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

12:00 Noon—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

Adoption of Conference Statement

Introduction of Speaker:

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
House of Representatives, Georgia

Address:

Mrs. Shirley Chisholm
Congresswoman
12th Congressional District
New York

ADJOURNMENT

WORKSHOP CONSULTANTS

I. School Board Members
- Mrs. Sara Mitchell, member, Atlanta Board of Education
- T. E. Patterson, member, Little Rock Board of Education; Executive Secretary, Arkansas Teachers Association
- Paul Rilling, Regional Civil Rights Director, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
- Horace E. Tate, member, Atlanta Board of Education; Executive Secretary, Georgia Teachers Education Association
- William Turner, NAACP Legal Defense Fund
- Dr. Samuel Trusty, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

II. City Officials
- William Allison, Deputy Administrator, Economic Opportunity Atlanta
- William Page, Regional Director, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
- Moreland Smith, Director, Urban Planning, Southern Regional Council
- Michael Janis, Model Cities, Department of Housing and Urban Development
- Donald Webster, Intergroup Relations Advisor, Department of Housing and Urban Development
- Robert Smith, Executive Director, Low Income Housing Corporation, Durham, North Carolina

III. County Officials
- Richard Boone, Executive Director, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
- Clarence Coleman, Southern Regional Director, National Urban League
- George Esser, Executive Director, North Carolina Fund
- Dr. Mack Jones, Department of Political Science, Atlanta University
- John Lewis, Director, Community Organization, Southern Regional Council
- Hugh Saussy
  Southeastern Regional Office, Office of Economic Opportunity

IV. Law Enforcement Officials
- Fred Banks, NAACP Legal Defense Fund
- Mrs. Taunya Banks, Director, Tougaloo College Service Center for Elected Officials
- John Boone, Director, Project on the Administration of Justice, Southern Regional Council

V. State Legislators
- Dr. J. David Paletz, Professor of Political Science, Duke University
- Mervyn M. Dymally, State Senator, California Legal Defense Fund
- Bill Greene, Assemblyman, California
- Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP
- Dr. Jewel Prestage, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Southern University
- Emory Via, Director, Labor Education, Southern Regional Council

LOUISIANA
GEORGIA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
TENNESSEE
VIRGINIA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
MISS.
ALABAMA
TEXAS

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'...A More Just Society...'

The Rev. John Morris, *coordinator of the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials and an Episcopal priest, delivered the invocation at the opening dinner Dec. 11. The Rev. Mr. Morris was in charge of planning the program and making arrangements for the conference. He is a founder and former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.*

ALMIGHTY GOD, Who hast given us this good land for our heritage and helped us to begin to turn back the forces of oppression and injustice;

BEHOLD NOW Thy people who have gathered here in the pursuit of greater service of their fellow man. Grant that these days may be both profitable in helping us build a more just society and a witness to the spirit of free men.

THOU WHO are Lord of Lords and King of Kings, hidden and yet on every side, preserve from self-serving ambition those to whom the authority of government is entrusted; but, rather, give them an untiring zeal to see that Thy will is done and all men are free before they rest.

AS WE MEET we also honor the memory of thy servant, Martin, whose vision of a beloved community still beckons, and whose death reminds us of the sacrifice of many who have gone before.

FOR his love and for Thine we are grateful; and for our fellowship here and the food of which we are about to partake.

BLESSED ART THOU, Lord of the harvest, who bringest forth bread from the wheat fields and wine from the vineyard. Keep us in Thy love for ever and ever.

AMEN.

'...A Rapidly Growing List...'

Text of opening remarks by **Vernon E. Jordan Jr.,** *director of the Voter Education Project, Dec. 11.*

Three years ago, just after passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Southern Regional Council compiled a list of elected Negro officeholders in the South. The list totaled just over 70 names.

Today, counting some 80 black candidates elected for the first time in the Nov. 5 general election, the list totals over 380 names. The roster thus is more than five times as large today as it was just three years ago.

This dramatic increase is one of the more significant developments in Southern politics today. Not even the fact that five Southern states gave George Wallace his only electoral votes can overshadow the deepening involvement of black Southerners in the region's political process.

It is true, of course, that most of these officials were elected by predominantly black voting lists and are a result of heavy increases in Negro registration. Indeed, many represent all-black districts—as do, for example, the mayors and councilmen in all-black towns. Nevertheless there are some black officeholders—notably several of the legislators—who represent districts in which large numbers of white voters live. In any event, the list of black officeholders is growing very rapidly and will continue to do so in the months ahead.

This rapid growth in the number of Negro officeholders poses a new issue for Negroes in the South—a welcome issue, but an issue nevertheless. That issue is how to make these new officeholders as effective as possible in filling their offices. Like politicians of all races, black officeholders must be able to produce in behalf of their constituents. But Negro officeholders face several additional problems.

Black voters often feel that officeholders should produce instantly, almost magically, all those benefits and services that had been denied down through the years by callous white officials. Usually—almost always—this is impossible.

In many cases the Negro officeholder finds himself serving Negroes who live outside his district but have no spokesman. Thus a Negro legislator—to use that office as an example—might find himself speaking on some issues for all the Negroes in the state.

The Negro officeholder is being observed closely by both races. Some of the watching eyes are friendly, but many are hostile. Often the new Negro officeholder will be measured by yardsticks far more exacting than those applied to his white predecessors. The difficulty that Julian Bond had in claiming his seat in the Georgia Legislature stands as an example of the sort of roadblocks that can be thrown in the way of black elected officials.

Finally, most of the newly elected black officials carry a heavy burden of political inexperience. Historically, the white political structure of the South has deliberately and systematically denied blacks the opportunity to gain experience in the political process.

This is the sort of practical problems we will be dealing with these four days at the first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials. We will not solve all the problems at one conference. But we hope to establish, at this conference, some machinery for dealing with the problems on a continuing basis in the future, as the number of black elected officials continues to grow.

'...An Attack on All of Us...'

Rep. Julian Bond *of Atlanta opened the four-day Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials with a keynote speech Dec. 11 at a dinner. Rep. Bond, refused his seat by the Georgia House of Representatives because of his opposition to the war in Vietnam, was elected three times before he was seated by order of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1967. The 28-year-old legislator's name was placed before the 1968 Democratic National Convention as a nominee for vice president.*

It is difficult to know what to say to an audience like this one. We come from so many different backgrounds, we hold so many different jobs, we have so many different ambitions. All that we have in common is the fact that we are politicians, we are black, and we are very largely elected by black constituencies.

Those last two facts are the most important—our race and the race of people whom we represent, the people who have chosen us to make important decisions for them.

Without knowing what kinds of people have selected you, let me tell you something about the people I am proud and privileged to represent in the Georgia General Assembly—the citizens of the 111th House district of Fulton County.

They are almost all black—nearly 85 per cent of them. They are nearly all poor—their average yearly income per family is $2,500. They have trouble finding work—unemployment in my district runs between 30 and 40 per cent. They are poorly educated—on the average they completed only the sixth grade. Most of the men have trouble finding work, and so the labor force in my district is predominantly female. You all know the kind of work poorly educated black women do—day work, domestic service, cleaning someone else's kitchen, caring for someone else's children.

Incidentally, the white citizens of my district share the same condition; but unfortunately for them, most of them think that somehow the color of their skin makes their small amount of money go further, or that their whiteness makes their poor sixth grade education better than the one my black constituents have.

But the point of all these statistics is simply to demonstrate that my constituents are probably very much like yours—they are poor and black, and they depend on government, very largely—their city and county and state governments and their federal governments—to help them do the things they are unable to do themselves. That is why they have chosen you to represent them, because they still retain some faith in the power of the democratic process to solve people's problems.

I am very much afraid that for the next several years they are in for some disappointments.

If your constituents are like mine—and like most other black Americans—they voted very heavily for Vice President Humphrey. They wanted him to be President. They may have had some other first choice, but that was denied them by an assassin in Los Angeles. They may even, like I did, have had a second choice; but that was denied them by democracy in Chicago. So therefore they voted for Mr. Humphrey. He represented warmth, while one can only find coldness in the iciness we now hear described as the "new" Nixon.

So while we were voting one way, the rest of the country voted another. They chose a man who said he didn't expect to get black votes and therefore never sought them out; they chose a man who said he was publicly for open housing but privately against it, and they chose a man who says the federal government is enforcing the 1954 Supreme Court decision too swiftly.

They chose a man who has tremendous power to set a positive or a negative future for black Americans.

—He perhaps may choose five new Supreme Court justices and therefore may determine the nature of the decisions that Court makes in civil rights cases over the rest of this century.

—He will certainly choose a new attorney general and a new head of the civil rights division of the Department of Justice and will decide how vigorously—or whether at all—they enforce the legislation that affects us most vitally.

—He is going to name the staff and set the budget for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. He will determine how these agencies respond when they are asked to deal with our problems.

He will have a great deal to say about the nature of the 92nd Congress.

Now those are not the kinds of decisions one wants to leave to a man whose closest advisers include Strom Thurmond.

But we are faced, now that the election has passed, with being ruled by a man who was not the choice of 90 per cent of us, with being ruled by a man who has

yet to demonstrate that he has any concern for the poor or the black. We will be ruled by a man who says he wants to rebuild our slums with black capitalism, which can only mean exchanging the race of the people who have been exploiting us. Faced with that kind of government over the next four years, the way that all of us act from now until 1972 is going to be very important.

We face these next four years a Congress that is more conservative than the last one, and we face a nation that has grown tired of the demands of the black and the poor. We are in a position worse off, relatively speaking, than our position has been over the past several years.

You all know the statistics that show more black people working, more living in decent homes, more getting an education, more earning more money. There is another set of figures that shows we make less money now—more in comparison with what we used to make, but less in comparison with white people. We are moving out of poverty, but while white poverty in America has decreased 27 per cent, black poverty has decreased only 3 per cent.

The most frightening figure is this one. The infant mortality rate for blacks—compared with whites—in 1940, 28 years ago, was 70 per cent higher. In other words, our babies died 70 per cent faster 28 years ago than white babies did. There has been some change, however—in 1962, just six short years ago, the figure was 90 per cent.

Now in addition to these kinds of problems, we face involvement in a problem of national proportions, a problem that affects every American, black and white. That problem is America's imperial war in Vietnam. The difference, black and white, is that it affects us more.

It feeds on our community. It takes our sons and fathers and brothers and uncles to fight and die in it in greater proportion than it takes any other group of Americans. Is that because we are braver, or because we love fighting more than anyone else, or because we are greater patriots? I think not. I think it is because young black men find the Army uniform and three square meals a day more attractive than they find life in Harlem, or Watts, or the Delta of Mississippi or the bayous of Louisiana. And so the war takes them. It sends them 8,000 miles away from their homes, telling them they are defending freedom, the kind of freedom they often find lacking in the communities they leave behind.

The war places many of them in an integrated situation for the first time—a front-line foxhole, next to some white boy. America has not yet discovered how to get that kind of integration at home.

Most of us are spectators to the war. We watch the young black man and the white boy on television, often in living color, as they burn down the huts of some poor Vietnamese village, and realize the two of them could not live on the same block in most American villages. We may realize further that if the young black boy is lucky enough to survive the war without being killed, he may come home and may become so frustrated at the discrimination and racism he meets in the land of his birth that he may burn down some American village—using, of course, the skills and the techniques he learned while defending America's freedom overseas.

Now I have heard some black politicians say that the war didn't affect them, that it was a foreign policy matter, and that we ought not say anything about it, that it wasn't our business. Well, let me say that any time you live in a country that is willing to pay $500,000 for every enemy soldier it kills, and only $50.75 for every poor person in the war on poverty, then that is your business.

Every time you find yourself living in a country that tells you violence is all right when it results in death and destruction for some little brown people 8,000 miles away but not when it is done by black people here at home, then it is your business.

Every time your government tells you that the trouble in Vietnam is caused by outside agitators from the North, think back to George Wallace and Marvin Griffin telling you that you would be happy and satisfied if it wasn't for the outside agitators from the American North.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is everyone's business.

So we have to make it our business to tackle some of the evils of 20th Century Americanism—racism and militarism. We could begin to do that by making our own communities strong and by controlling the goods and services and the institutions of our communities. For a long time we've only had the church. That was the only thing that was ours and ours alone. But I hope in the future that we'll begin to widen our sights and say to ourselves that if it operates in a community of black people, black people have got to control it. That means the businesses and it means the schools and it may mean the police as well.

I was in New York City on Monday, and I went to Intermediate School No. 201, one of the Harlem schools that is controlled and run by the people of Harlem. I spoke to a class of eighth graders, and in my speech, I mentioned some great people who have come from Georgia; and with Roy Hamilton and Ray Charles and James Brown and Otis Redding and Gladys Knight and the Pips, I mentioned the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. Now you may not think that eighth graders ought to be taught about Ray Charles or James Brown, and I'd agree with you; and you might think that Elijah Muhammad might not be a proper subject for an eighth grade class either, but they knew who he was. One eighth-grader told me, "Elijah Muhammed taught racist doctrines, and that's why Malcolm X left the Muslims." Another told me, "The Honorable Elijah Muhammad is the leader of the Nation of Islam and the Messenger of Allah."

Now I submit to you, that's a wonderful thing. Not that one child agrees with Mr. Muhammad and another does not, but that both know about him, and both know he is a part of our peculiar history in the United States. That, I think, is what it means when black people control their community.

Additionally, I think we've got to be aware of and suspicious of attempts to turn us against our own interests. Take Mr. Nixon's Black Capitalism, for instance. (Now before any one of you begins to think I'm against capitalism, let me correct you. But I think we'd all admit that if it had not been for white capitalism, none of us would ever have been sold into slavery.) As Mr. Nixon explains it, Black Capitalism means that General

Motors will be given tax credits to come into my community to set up a factory that will hire and train black people. Now that is wonderful, but it's not Black Capitalism by any stretch of the imagination. That is white capitalism once again coming into the black community and taking the only thing we have to offer, which is our labor.

Instead, we ought to become interested in—now here's a terrible, dirty word—community socialism. We ought to be interested in the kind of economic development in our communities that will not only give us jobs but will give the community the profit as well. A minister in Philadelphia, the Rev. Leon Sullivan, the man who began the idea that became Operation Breadbasket, has a project like that working now. Mr. Nixon has seen it, and we ought to hope that he gets the message.

We are additionally going to have to look around us for the kinds of people we can join forces with. It would be nice if we could go it alone. I am sure there is not a single person here who hasn't said to himself, at one time or another, I wish I could just get away from all this. But we can't, and our numbers are so small nationally that we have got to find the kinds of people who can help us. Those we used to depend on have deserted us.

Organized labor used to call itself our friend, but you saw where labor was in the 1968 presidential election.

White liberals and moderates used to help us, but this terrible war has attracted nearly all their attention.

So we have got to try to find new friends, while we hope the old ones will come home. We naturally ought to look to the other colored minorities—the Mexican-Americans and the Puerto Ricans and the American Indians. If we could get some kind, any kind of response from the heavy shield of racism that blinds poor white people, they would be our natural allies too.

In the future, we will have to beware of the kinds of coalitions like the one that has existed in this city for so long. That coalition put all of us together with some of the white people—the moderates and the liberals. It worked out fine while it was intended to maintain order; but since the blacks began to demand justice, the coalition is beginning to show some signs of wear. And now they want to expand the city limits to cut our numbers down.

So we have to always be on the lookout for any other forces in American political society that can help us. We ought not to turn anyone down. If your house is on fire, and a man runs up with a bucket of water, don't ask him where he got it or who he is. Just make sure it's not gasoline and then pour it on.

Finally, although we need fast action, we have to move with care. We are living in strange times. For the first time in the last eight years, the forces of conservatism have won a national election. For the first time since 1948, we have had a presidential candidate who appealed to racism. This year the hillbilly Hitler from Alabama won nine million votes. In 1972 he will be back again, and we must be ready for him.

We live in an era in which the next Vice-President of the United States makes jokes about Polacks and Japs—you know that any man who does that will also joke about Wops and Spics and Niggers. We live in an era in which a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives has said we ought to reopen the concentration camps that the Japanese were put in during the Second World War; but this time they don't want to put the Japanese in them, they intend them for us.

In an era like that, we ought to consider that an attack on one of us is really an attack on all of us.

We ought to remember what a German minister had to say when someone asked him what he did to stop Hitler from coming to power. He said: "When they came for the Jews, I did not cry out because I was not a Jew. When they came for the Catholics, I did not cry out because I was not a Catholic. When they came for the union leaders, I did not cry out because I was not a union leader. But when they knocked on my door, then and only then did I think of screaming; but there was no one around to hear my screams."

In closing, let me say one final thing. I have believed that we are and will be a great people because we come from a great people. We have great heroes. But a people with a limited view of their own past will have a limited future. So let me close by reading to you two short pieces that come from our past. One comes from a man who was, I believe, our greatest hero, Frederick Douglass. His words of 100 years ago ought still apply to us today. One comes from a man like us, a black politician, who was thrown out of the Georgia House of Representatives 100 years ago.

Frederick Douglass:

> "He who would be free must strike the first blow. You know that liberty given is never so precious as liberty sought for and fought for. The man who is outraged is the man who must make the first outcry. Depend on it: men will not care much for a people who do not care for themselves. Men will organize to prevent cruelty to animals, for they are dumb creatures and cannot speak for themselves; but we are men, and men must speak for themselves or we shall not be spoken for at all. We hold it self-evident that no class or color should be the exclusive ruler of this country. If

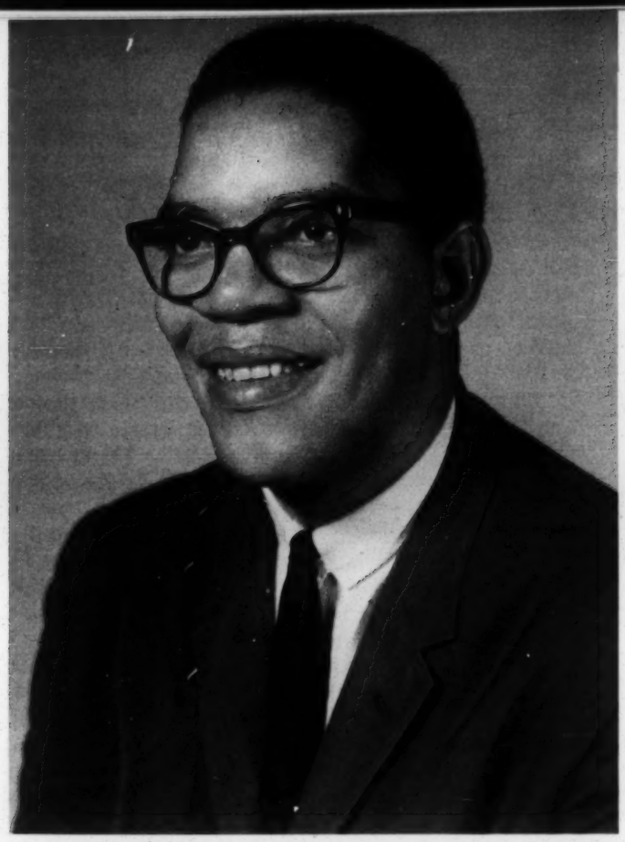
there is such a ruling class, there must, of course, be a subject class; and when that condition is established, the government of the people, by the people and for the people shall perish from the earth."

Henry McNeill Turner.

"Even though we are not white, we have accomplished much. We have pioneered a civilization. We have built up your country. We have worked in your field and have garnered your harvest for 250 years. Do we ask for compensation for the sweat our fathers bore for you—for the tears you have caused, the hearts you have broken and the blood you have spilled? Do we ask retaliation? We ask it not. We are willing to let the dead past bury the dead. But we ask you now for our rights. You have all the elements of superiority on your side—you have our money and your own, you have our education and your own. You have our land and your own. We are strangers in the land of our birth; without money, without education, without aid, without a rook to cover us while we live, nor clay to cover us when we die. It is extraordinary that a race such as yours, professing gallantry and chivalry and education and superiority, living in a land where Bibles are read and where Gospel truths are spoken and where courts of justice are presumed to exist—it is extraordinary that with all these advantages on your side, you can still make war on the defenseless black man.

"The great question is this: Am I a man? If I am such, I claim the rights of man. You may expel us, but I believe firmly that one day you will repent it. The black man cannot protect a country if the country cannot protect him, and if tomorrow, a war would arise, I would not raise a musket to defend a country where my manhood is denied. The fashionable way in Georgia is for the white man to sit at ease while the black man does the work, but I will say this much to the colored men of Georgia: never lift a finger or raise a hand in defense of Georgia unless Georgia acknowledges that you are men and invests you with the rights pertaining to manhood. You may expel us by your votes today; but while you do it, remember that there is a just God in Heaven, whose all-seeing eye beholds alike the acts of the oppressor and the oppressed, and who despite the machinations of the wicked, never fails to vindicate the cause of justice and the sanctity of his own handiwork."

Let me suggest that those two men were men, real men. Their words are 100 years old, but their thoughts and ideas are as fresh as tomorrow. If each of us can approach his job with one half the fire and fervor that those two men did, then we will have vindicated the trust our constituents put in us.



'... The Key to Southern Liberation ...'

Dr. Samuel D. Cook, *professor of political science at Duke University, gave "an historical sketch of the Negro in the Southern political process" at the opening session Dec. 12. His talk was followed by a panel-audience discussion. Dr. Cook is chairman of the Voter Education Project's Advisory Committee.*

Just as politics "makes strange bedfellows," it begets baffling meanings, events, and experiences. It sometimes makes realities of illusions and illusions of realities. Politics can enslave "the high and the mighty" even as they celebrate the delights of power and privilege. There is a politics of deception, but there are also deceptions of politics, including brutal self-deceptions. The history of Southern politics is a grim reminder and prophetic warning of the perils of politics of fear, negativism, memory, separation, and brutally irrational collective egoism and pride.

The historic position of the Negro in the Southern political system is an awfully strange phenomenon, full of paradox and irony, simplicity and complexity, mystery and meaning, public injustice and poetic justice. Strange as it may seem, the black man's influence on Southern political systems, structures, events, and public policies has been profound, central, and universal. Somehow, the harsh and startling truth is that the Negro is the key to Southern politics. Take him out of the equation and the politics of Southern history does not, in substance, make sense; it is, clearly, beyond the realm of rational intelligibility. Put him in the key role and the tawdry pieces, like a symphony, fall into their proper places and perspectives.

Though, in essence, powerless, helpless, and victimized, the black man, because of the tyranny of racism over the mind of the white South, has been able, without intention or knowledge, to dominate Southern political and governmental life. Essentially outside the political arena, his presence in Dixie largely determined the content, style, rhetoric, direction, and issues inside the Southern political process. How paradoxical and ironic!

Driven by a paranoic fear of black control or "domination," the political thought and practices of the South produced by way of the back door (how symbolic!) that very "black domination" it most feared and sought so desperately to avoid. Slaves tyrannized masters; subjects tyrannized citizens; those who monopolized the structure and process of power fell victim to the very men against whom, above all, their terrible power was directed. Whites fell into the trap they had so cleverly and determinedly made for blacks: absolute dominion.

The very presence of the Negro exercised a dominating influence on the public philosophy and life of the South. The heart of Southern history has been informed and inspired by memories and anticipations, hopes and fears, beliefs and doubts, cocksure complacency and blinding restlessness issuing from the troubling and universal presence of Negroes. Unwittingly, the Negro has exercised tyrannical power over the Southern political process. Just as he was victimized by the albatross of racism, so was the white man. With all his awesome and unlimited power, the white man of the South was powerless—psychologically, emotionally, intellectually, spiritually, culturally, economically, and politically—to shake off the tyrannical influence of the black man. The black man has been the Southern white man's "hang-up." The Negro, like a fearsome ghost, has haunted and driven the white man. The white South's actions and reactions, plans and counter-plans, contemplative flights and manipulative processes were, in large measure, simply echoes and reflections of the agonized, agonizing, and fearsome presence of politically alienated and powerless black men. Deep and irrational fears can enslave even the most powerful. The Southern white man's genius—political and otherwise—has been exhausted in "the race problem." Southern politics is, at bottom, the politics of fear, and the object of fear is the black man.

The changes that have occurred on the Southern political scene—symbolized by your election to positions of power and responsibility—are indeed radical, but the most radical ones are yet to come. The key to Southern liberation is black liberation—liberation from the cancer of racism. When black men are fully free,

the South will be fully free. It will overcome its legacy of national alienation, poverty, illiteracy, economic colonialism, cultural and ideological isolation, and tragic and self-defeating enslavement to the tyranny of the past and the seething despair of a collective existence born of entrapment to the paralysis of memory. Freed from the heavy yoke of racism, the South—and, on a deeper level, the nation as well—will take wings.

I. The Nature of Politics

Politics, shorn of its non-essentials, is a struggle for power and for the values associated with, and derived from, the possession of power. Politics, said Max Weber, "means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state."[1] Political institutions and activities are, essentially, power relations. Power is the ability to get things done, to influence others, to create the desired consequences or conditions.[2] It is the capacity to manipulate and control the world of men as well as the realm of nature in accordance with one's interests and desires.

"Political power is social power focused on the state. It involves control of other men for the purpose of influencing the behavior of the state, its legislative, administrative and judicial activities."[3] Political power determines the authoritative allocation or distribution of public benefits. It involves public decision-making in terms of form and substance, personnel and policy, input and output, privileges and privations, punishment and reward, protection and exploitation, enrichment and impoverishment. Accordingly, the stakes of politics are indeed high and precious. The political system determines who gets what, when, and how. The fruits of political power are many and varied. Public services—from physical protection to street lighting, sewage and garbage disposal—taxation, opportunities for education, enjoyment, employment and other life chances, and related bread-and-butter decisions are largely political matters. Ultimately, politics has profound bearing on the quality and destiny of human life and culture.

Politics is, therefore, a high and honorable calling. It is no better and no worse than other honorable professions. Because of the nature of their office and responsibilities, what political leaders do, in terms of virtues and defects, successes and failures, devotion to public good and pursuit of self-serving ends, is more glaring, visible, and dramatic than that of most men and women. The public properly expects high standards from politicians. After all, they are supposed to be the servants and guardians of the public interest.

The political system and the people who manage its operations have great responsibilities and opportunities for public service. Conflict and disagreement, owing both to human nature and to the scarcity of goods or objects of satisfaction, are an inherent part of the human scene. Politics is peculiarly the arena of conflict, tension, clash, and competitive pursuit for the satisfaction of desires and the achievement of advantage and privilege. It is an eternal battleground of pressure and counter-pressure, demand and counter-demand, pushing and shoving.

As Miller asserts,

> Politics . . . is about disagreement or conflict; and political activity is that which is intended to bring about or resist change, in the face of possible resistance . . . . Political activity . . . arises out of disagreement, and it is concerned with the use of government to resolve conflict in the direction of change or in the prevention of change. It is about policy and position.[4]

Conflict is at the heart of politics. Herein lies perhaps the most creative power and responsibility of political life. Politics is concerned with the adjustment, regulation, accommodation, management, and resolution of conflict growing out of competitive desires, needs, interests, and preferences. It has been well said that "politics is the most inclusive process by which social conflict is regulated in a community."[5] The quality of the political system and the character of political leaders are best determined by how they deal with conflict. The response of the political system to the stubborn reality, power, and persistence of conflict discloses its viability, character, and worth. A political system is creative or destructive in accordance with the pattern and quality of its response to the basic problems and dimensions of human conflict.

Race, in its many manifestations, has been the chief source and expression of conflict and tension in Southern political life. The response of the political system has been destructive and sterile rather than creative and imaginative. Radically absent were creative encounters and responsible responses. The fundamental dimensions and human realities of the situation were never faced; indeed, a premium was placed on not facing them. Methods of political sidestepping were endlessly elaborated and faithfully implemented. Exclusion, oppression, suppression, and victimization of blacks were the chief methods and techniques of the South in dealing with racial conflict and tension. They prevailed.

Regulation, adjustment, accommodation, and resolution of conflicting interest were accomplished by the ruthless mobilization and brutal application of "White Power." The idea of shared power and mutuality of political respect was totally lacking. Conflict communication, participation, and representation were not only irrelevant; they were viewed as dangerous subversion of law, order, justice, and the common good. Issues, therefore, were never confronted, and hence their resolution was made an obvious impossibility. The system not only fostered but celebrated and glorified collective hypocrisy, conceit, egoism, and dishonesty. Majestic principles were invoked to justify the reduction of black men to the status of subject and victim of the political process. Lip-service was dutifully paid to democracy even as Negroes were systematically excluded from the experience of every element of citizenship.

II. Southern Politics and the Tyranny of Racism

A. Black Men As Subject, Issue, and Victim

To understand the depth and power of racism over the Southern political process, it first is necessary to grasp what politics has meant to the South. In a way unique to America, politics has been dear to the heart of Southerners; they have loved it with a passion. It has been a source of profound meaning, attachment, value and fulfillment. If racism was the South's first love, politics was its second. The Southern love of

politics, Cash insisted, is inseparable from its love of rhetoric and oratory.[6]

He went on to say that,

> Thus the politics of the Old South was a theater for the play of the purely personal, the purely romantic, and the purely hedonistic. It was an arena wherein one great champion confronted another or a dozen, and sought to outdo them in rhetoric and splendid gesturing. It swept back the loneliness of the land, it brought men together under torches, it filled them with the contagious power of the crowd, it unleashed emotion and set it leaping and dancing, it caught the very meanest man up out of his own tiny legend into the gorgeous fabric of the legend of this or that great hero.[7]

Besides, politics in the South has been a form of entertainment, relaxation, and escape from the painful burdens of life. All this must be understood in terms of the region's legacy of poverty, misery, illiteracy, disease, national alienation, and tragedy. Politics has been precious to the Southern collective experience.

Politics provided a psychological and emotional outlet from the soil, which was both a prison and a shrine, a curse and a blessing.

Atlanta Constitution columnist Celestine Sibley perceived the heart of matter:

> If there had been anywhere else to go, any other form of public entertainment, it's possible the rural Southerner wouldn't have developed such a marked taste for oratory and barbecue. Having little enough to divert them, however, at 'lay-by time,' when there was nothing to do in the fields except let the crops grow, and the summer protracted meeting had run its course, a political rally at the county seat was a welcome event. Men of all ages from bearded grandpas to shirt-tail boys saddled up horses, hitched the mule to the wagon or set out afoot to hear such spellbinders as fiery Bob Toombs, Little Alec Stephens, Tom Watson and, in later years, Ol' Gene Talmadge . . . . You have but to read some of the old speeches to realize that politics . . . was better than any road show.[8]

No wonder the South produced so many colorful political figures. One thinks of "Kingfish" Huey Long—"Every Man a King"; "Ma" Ferguson—elected governor to serve as proxy for her husband, barred from office by an earlier impeachment and indictment; Ol' Gene Talmadge—displaying his red galluses, appealing to the "wool-hat" boys, and insisting that he didn't want any votes from any county big enough to have street car tracks; "Kissing Big Jim" Folsom; Georgia's two or three governors at the same time; Cotton Ed Smith discoursing with great eloquence on the virtues of Southern womanhood; Lester Maddox, in the early days of his campaign for the governorship, proclaiming his opposition to school consolidation on the ground that it would prevent some nice little girl from being chosen school queen; George Wallace standing in the "schoolhouse door" in symbolic defiance of the whole majesty and power of the United States government. Behind all the comedy was a serious commitment to political life. It satisfied deep needs.

"The South has always been a great land for politicians. This isn't mere happen-so. It results from the character of the people and the nature of their life."[9] Politics in the Old South was something sacred, some-

thing of a religion, perhaps a substitute for, or an extension of, religious experience, rituals, and symbols. The South, according to Dabbs, "tended to replace religion with politics, and to make politics, religion, and the moral life one."[10] He goes on to speak of the "Southern tendency to keep questions in the political realm and to prevent them from becoming moral and religious."[11]

Accordingly, the oppressed status of the Negro in Southern political life represented his victimization and exploitation by something precious and sacred to white Southerners. Deep beliefs and commitments were involved. The region's first and second loves were united in political and governmental institutions and processes to the detriment of black humanity. Politics was, "so to speak," said Cash, "the temple wherein men entered to participate in the mysteries of the common brotherhood of white men, to partake of the holy sacrament of Southern loyalty and hate."[12] Thus racist demagogues, with all their oratory and manipulative skill and power, provided to whites not only enjoyment and entertainment but enrichment, satisfaction, meaning, and fulfillment at the heavy expense of black men. Negroes were excluded from, and victimized by, the Southern political process with a passion that partook of the "sacred."

The raping of Negroes by the Southern political process was, therefore, born of and nurtured by the search for meaning as well as the will-to-power. There was, in fact, a marriage of the will-to-meaning and the will-to-power. Psychological and spiritual components combined. The domination and control of black men satisfied not only the egoistic ambitions, imperialistic aims, and aggressive inclinations of whites; they also satisfied certain spiritual and moral impulses as well. It may sound strange, but the white South gave the political process a moral, spiritual, and religious interpretation. It was also viewed as a commanding agency of organic social cohesion and unity. The Negro was caught up in the throes of a variety of convergent forces and values. A racist public order issued from, and pointed to, more fundamental concerns of the moral, social and religious sphere. The intensity, persistence, and evangelical character of the political persecution of black Southerners is beyond rational comprehension unless linked to perception of certain ultimate concerns.

A broad perspective is essential in order to understand the constant preoccupation with the presence of the Negro and the expenditure of endless energy as well as moral, rational, and political resources to keep him in a state of oppression. The South felt it necessary to make the alienation and domination of Negroes ab-

solute and total—and even that did not produce satisfaction. The desire for security against a weak and black minority was insatiable; the hunger and thirst were beyond satisfaction. It was not enough to make black men powerless; they had to be humiliated and consistently and brutally reminded, in the public forum and in the boondocks, of the contempt and scorn in which they were held. They were easy targets and victims of political evangelism, and the peril of their presence had to be denounced with fervor and earnest dedication.

What's more, the white South could never shake off the feeling of the mysterious and perilous presence of the Negro. Serious threat of "black domination" was always lurking in the background. Negro strength would, according to the perceptions and fears of whites, somehow break through the stone walls and steel barriers of oppressive laws, caste, and custom. Danger was omnipresent; black invasion of sacred white temples was always an immediate possibility. Watching had to be constant; new walls of protection had to be built; new devices for the detection of rebellion had to be invented.

There was, on the ultimate level, a feeling of the powerlessness of power to prevent attempts at social and political change. Prevalent was the paranoic syndrome of a secret but powerful conspiracy against the Southern "way of life." The white man never felt secure. He was haunted by an inner doubt and fear that he had not done enough to maintain the political enslavement of the black man. Complete disfranchisement of blacks did not bring serenity and confidence to whites. Doubt still lurked. Black men were still viewed as a threat, a problem, a nightmare.

Perhaps subconsciously, the feeling that the Negro would rise was substituted for the sorry myth that the Confederate South would rise again. It is strange, but power does not necessarily produce security, and absolute power, if it were possible, would not inevitably bring about absolute security. Ironically, black men, in their powerlessness, exercised tremendous power over whites, who monopolized the process and substance of power; relegated to subjects, black men informed and inspired the basic political philosophy and practices of white citizens. There is an element of mystery in all this, but there is also a core of meaning.

Southern politics has been primarily the politics of race. Racism has presided over perhaps every major aspect of the political life of the region, if the situation is viewed in large terms—in the pre-Civil War era, the Civil War itself, the Confederacy, the Democratic split in 1860, Reconstruction, the Redemption, the establishment of various restrictive voting laws, the Black Codes, the rise and perpetuation of the one-party system,[13] the birth and death of Populism,[14] the Dixiecrat movement, the numerous independent electors exercises, the Wallace movement, and so forth. Alexander Heard asserts, "Southern concern over the Negro is the most deeply rooted source of political contention in American politics."[15]

In his classic study, *Southern Politics,* V. O. Key observed:

> In its grand outlines the politics of the South revolves around the position of the Negro. It is at times interpreted as a politics of cotton, a politics of free trade, as a politics of agrarian poverty, or as a politics of planter, and plutocrat. Although such interpretations have a superficial validity, in the last analysis the major peculiarities of Southern politics go back to the Negro. Whatever phase of the Southern political process one seeks to understand, sooner or later the trail of inquiry leads to the Negro.[16]

The "Southern bloc" in the Congress exists only in reference to the race issue. After analyzing Southern voting behavior in the Senate, Key concluded that "on the race question, and on that question alone, does a genuine Southern solidarity exist. On other questions Southern Democrats split and Southern solidarity becomes a matter of degree." [17] After examining Southern voting behavior in the House, Key concluded: "Thus the inference to be drawn from House behavior is similar to that deductible from Senate voting: Southern attitude toward the Negro provides the bedrock of Southern sectionalism."[18] The celebrated Southern doctrine of states' rights—from its initial formulation to the present—is, at bottom, an ideological weapon, political imperative, and respectable camouflage for a free hand in the management of race relations. It has no consistent and meaningful application elsewhere. The South "has not stood consistently for states-rights, except on issues associated with slavery and the Negro question."[19]

Somehow, then, the Negro has, unwittingly, exercised a curious tyranny over the mind of the white South. Of the centrality and universality of Negro influence, it has been well said that the

> fundamental determinant of Southernism has been the presence of the Negro in large numbers relative to the whites, and resulting white supremacy doctrines and patterns of behavior. A South divorced from the problem of race would not have been a Solid South; a South preoccupied with race problems became a Solid South.[20]

It is of timely relevance to note that racism, fearing that, in a system of competitive party politics Negroes would hold the balance of power, is chiefly responsible for the historic one-party system in the South. "The South is a one-party area," commented Rossiter nearly a decade ago, "primarily because of the Negro."[21] Perhaps the crowning irony of Southern political history and process is that the party of Lincoln—which, owing to its image of association with the rights and aspirations of Negroes, was for nearly a century reduced to impotence in the South—must attribute a large part, though, of course, not all, of its modern rebirth and success to racism.[22]

Significantly, the pervasive influence of the Negro on the political process of the South has not been as a political agent and participant but as a political issue and object.[23] It has been, in other words, his function as a subject, not citizen. Essentially outside the political process and system, the Negro has been the chief source of animation, dynamism, inspiration, strategy, style, issues, and direction.[24] Southern politicization and political socialization issued from, in large measure, the very presence of the black man. The heart of Southern political socialization is the proposition that the governing process is the business of whites only. The Negro, in this view, is only subject—not citizen; a tool to be manipulated, not a political agent to be reckoned with and whose demands are to be responded to. "A democratic citizen," it has been well said, "speaks the language of demands."[25]

B. Consequences of the Tyranny of Racism on Southern Politics

Owing to the tyranny of racism, the Southern political system and process have been built on exclusivist rather than inclusivist principles and ideals. Interpretations of democracy, equality, justice, progress, and other moral ideals that inspire and inform the Southern political process were provincial and made in a manner to deny that very exclusiveness. The principles of democracy, in this framework, were not violated but, on the contrary, affirmed and institutionalized with religious fidelity. As Louis Hartz observed, "One of the crucial factors in the solidarity of the South was a democratic spirit enhanced by the slavery on which it rested."[26]

Some spokesmen of the Old South saw in Greek democracy their model and inspiration. Democracy for whites only was idealized. "The dominance of all white men over the Negro created a sense of brotherhood not unlike the Greek concept of democracy."[27] But even as Athens was invoked, fidelity to the American Creed was proclaimed. "The proslavery argument was so cleverly combined with American ideals that servitude appeared the very condition of democracy."[28] The very slavery of blacks was viewed as a basis of the freedom, equality , citizenship, culture, civilization, and humanity of whites.[29]

Ante-bellum political philosophy, attitudes, public policy, and vision have been continuous and productive of some awesome fruits. The Old South mothered the legacy that whites are born to rule and Negroes to obey, that the governing process is the business alone of whites. Because of slavery, said Tocqueville, "the citizen of the Southern states becomes a sort of domestic dictator from infancy; the first notion he acquires in life is that he is born to command, and the first habit which he contracts is that of ruling without resistance."[30] The operation of the particularistic version of democracy spawned an institutionalized negation of the ideal of the universality of participation inherent in the democratic process. It has meant not only the total alienation of Negroes from, but, even worse, their victimization and exploitation by, the Southern political process.

Down through the years, Southern public life has adhered to the principle of racist exclusivity. Even progressive and reform movements, weak at best, have espoused the ideology of racism. In his monumental *Origins of the New South,* C. Vann Woodward has a chapter whose title is: "Progressivism—For Whites Only." He maintains, "Southern progressivism generally was progressivism for white men only," and notes the "paradoxical combination of white supremacy and pregressivism."[31]

Self-defeating for whites have been the consequences of the centrality of racism in the total political culture. If it emasculated blacks, it produced the sterility of whites. Low electoral and other forms of citizen participation, a one-party system, (or, rather, a no-party system), a primitive political culture, diversion of energies and imagination from the real and vital issues of regional growth and development, alienation from the mainstream of the public life of the nation, vast restrictions on freedom of choice, archaic political, governmental, and constitutional structures, fertile soil for demagogues, tragic illusions, romance with negativism, and wild-eyed and futile adventures, and an inability to perceive the ultimate dignity, vitality and creative and higher possibilities of political life are all, in great measure, the product of racist-dominated politics. Great visions have been vitiated and buried because of racism. There is deep pathos here. The "tragedy of the South," says Dean Acheson, "has been that racism has corrupted an otherwise respectable strain of protest and experimentation in the search for economic equality, dating back to Jefferson, Mason, Randolph, and Jackson."[32]

Worthy of emphasis is the low level of electoral participation. Voting is only one aspect of political consciousness and involvement, but it is crucial. The record of the whole country is a terrible commentary on our public life,[33] but the South's record is the most depressing.[34] "By any standard," said Key, "precious few Southerners exercise the rights of citizens in a democracy."[35] Many reasons may be adduced, but they are all related, in the end, perhaps, to the "Negro problem."[36] Restrictions on Negro suffrage were vast and constituted "the most impressive systems of obstacles between the voter and the ballot box known to the democratic world."[37]

But restrictions on Negro suffrage took their toll on whites as well, both directly and indirectly, resulting in a small segment of the white population monopolizing the governing process. Indirect limitations on white voters flowed from the quality of the whole political system—the lack of competitive politics, the absence of issues and choices beyond personalities and self-serving factions, the hegemony of routine, and the sheer weight of the cumbersome mechanics of registration and voting. Direct restrictions on whites proceeded from laws aimed at Negroes but also militated against whites of low socio-economic and educational background and status. Laws directed against Negroes almost invariably affected some white voters.[38] The poll tax, for example, Key held, "insofar as it has deterred voting, has operated primarily to keep whites away from the polls,"[39] because Negroes could be kept from the polls by other means. Besides, the landed aristocrats and Bourbons held no special love for "poor whites." Thus, ironically, in the Southern political system certain whites have been victimized by the mythology and practice of the politics of white supremacy. In fact, "in sheer quantity nonvoting whites outnumber the voteless Negroes of the South as a whole."[40] In terms of substantive pub-

lic policy, the region's legacy of poverty, low per capita income, disease, illiteracy, and undevelopment of resources—human and natural—is a pathetic reminder of the depth and persistence of human folly. In every major crisis of the South, its leadership has defaulted. It has misled.

III. The Day and Night of Reconstruction

With legal emancipation and ratification of the Civil War amendments, the hope and expectation prevailed that former slaves would become, in reality as well as in theory, citizens and therefore full and equal participants in the Southern political process. Hopes, among the four million freedmen and their friends and allies, soared. Expectations and aspirations took wing. Reconstruction got under way.

Obviously, the new freedmen had no political experience or civic education. What is less well-known—and this tells us much about the character of the whole American political tradition as regards black men—is that even free Negroes, before the Civil War, had been, on the whole systematically excluded from the processes of politics. "Prior to the Civil War, Negroes had the right to vote in only four Northern states—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and Vermont. One Southern state, North Carolina, for a period allowed freed slaves to vote."[40] The voting laws of New York had discriminated against free Negroes.[41] When the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870, Negroes could vote in only seven Northern states.[42] "During the period between the Philadelphia conventions of 1787 and 1865, only Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts permitted Negroes to vote on equal terms with whites. All others, at some time, have barred Negro Americans from the suffrage."[43]

Despite the tragically scarred legacy of slavery, Southern resentment and hostility, political chaos, and partisan wrangling for the advantages of power and privilege, Negroes plunged deeply into the muddy waters of Southern politics. They registered and voted in large numbers. They filled significant elective and appointive offices. They were familiar figures at state constitutional conventions, in state legislatures, and in local positions of responsibility. Between 1869 and 1880, 16 black men served in Congress from the South—two of whom, Hiram R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, represented Mississippi in the Senate. By 1895, 21 Negroes, representing eight states, had served in the House of Representatives.

Many myths have been created and perpetuated about "Negro domination" during Reconstruction—powerful myths that have been used to justify the political oppression and degradation of black men. The facts, however, are quite different. As John Hope Franklin observed,

> No group has attracted more attention or has had its role more misrepresented by contemporaries and by posterity than Southern Negroes during Radical Reconstruction. The period has been described as one of Negro rule, as one of gross perfidy with the Negro as the central figure, since the reins of misgovernment were supposedly held by black militiamen. Negroes were not in control of the state governments at any time anywhere in the South. They held public office and, at times, played important parts in the public life of their respective states. But it would be stretching a point to say that their roles were dominant, and it would be hopelessly distorting the picture to suggest that they ruled the South. It was in South Carolina that they had the greatest numerical strength. In the first legislature there were eighty-seven Negroes and forty whites. From the outset, however, whites controlled the state senate and in 1874 the lower house as well. At all times the governor was white. There were two Negro lieutenant governors. . . .[44]

Negro public officials, during Reconstruction, were neither better nor worse than their white counterparts. Both virtues and defects, both successes and failures were shared. Black men made real contributions.[45] A major contribution was to the establishment of public education for both races. "It is fair to say," asserted DuBois, "that the Negro carpetbag governments established the public schools of the South."[46]

The hopes of Reconstruction were dashed for a variety of reasons. The failure of the national government to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, partisan calculations, Southern determination to make the political process the exclusive prerogative of whites, the low economic, social, and educational status of blacks and other forces conspired to end the experiment in shared power and responsibility. With the withdrawal of federal troops, the Negro was abandoned to his enemies. White power was restored with vengeance. Force, violence, economic pressure, psychological coercion, and various "legal" devices were employed to reduce black men, once more, to the status of subject and victim. Virtual slavery returned.

IV. Conclusion: Citizen at Last?

"The citizen, unlike the subject, is an active partici-

pant in the political input process—the process by which political decisions are made."[47] Is the Negro, at long last, a free, equal participant in the Southern political process? The answer is clearly in the negative. The input must be increased; the output even more so. Changes in public philosophy and policy must come.

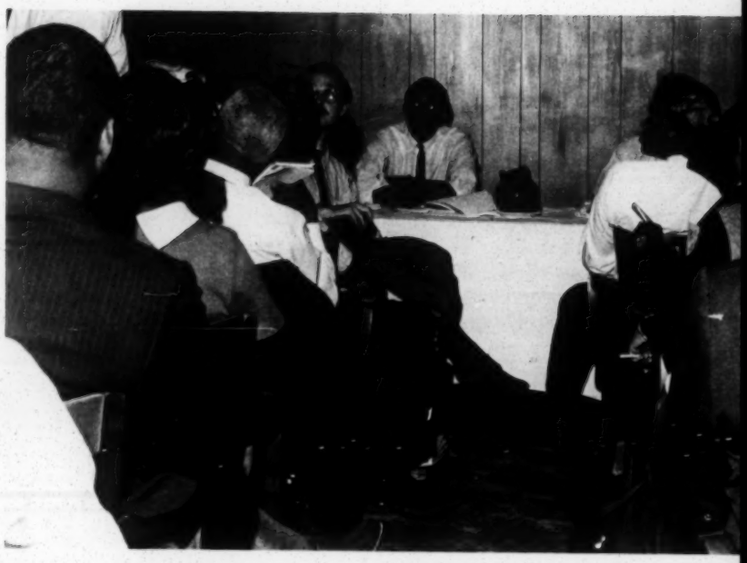
While it is true that the Negro still is part subject, it is also true that, because of numerous changes in the political landscape, he is much nearer the shore of political equality than at any previous time. He now has a toehold in the Southern political process. He can, on the whole, vote. Negroes are, in increasing numbers, elected to public office. A handful hold appointive positions in state and local governments. Black men are beginning to participate in the conduct of party affairs. A new day has dawned in the political and governmental life of the region. Because of pressure, barriers continue to fall. Because of increased participation, black men are developing a fund of public experience and increasing their political confidence and skill.

Negroes can help redeem the past of the Southern political process. They can be liberating and redemptive agents. Just as the Negro was the key to Southern political enslavement, he is the key to Southern political emancipation. The Southern genius has been exhausted in the "race problem." Black men, working with whites of reason, good will, and a sense of justice, can largely free the South from the chains and illusions of the past. The chief problem is racism.

Freed from the prison of racism, the South will be freed from the heavy yoke of deceit, hypocrisy, negativism, obstructionism, and provincialism. It will be freed from the vain illusion of the possibility of the restoration of a public order "gone with the wind." It will be freed of the exhausting and painful efforts to maintain a closed corporation. It will be freed from enslavement to the past and to memory. Freed of the Atlas burden of racism, the Southern political process will be able to say, ironically, with Martin Luther King: "Free at last."

FOOTNOTES

1. "Politics as a Vocation," in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1946), p. 78.
2. See Bertrand Russell, *Power: A New Social Analysis* (London, 1938), p. 35.
3. Franz Neumann, *The Democratic and the Authoritarian State* (Glencoe, 1957), p. 3.
4. J. B. D. Miller, *The Nature of Politics* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 14, 16.
5. Dan Nimmo and Thomas D. Ungs, *American Political Patterns* (Boston, 1967), p. 11.
6. W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South*, Vintage ed. (New York, 1941), pp. 53-54.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.
8. *Peachtree Street, U.S.A.* (Garden City, New York, 1963), pp. 75-76.
9. James M. Dabbs, *Who Speaks for the South?* (New York, 1964), p. 189.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-99.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
12. *Cash, op. cit.*, p. 81.
13. Alexander Heard, *A Two-Party South?* (Chapel Hill, 1952), pp. 9, 145-46; J. B. Shannon, *Toward a New Politics in the South* (Knoxville, 1949). pp. 8-9, and Harry Ashmore, *An Epitaph for Dixie* (New York, 1957), p. 15.
14. See, for example, Tom Watson's tragic and bitter comment in T. Harry Williams. *Romance and Realism in Southern Politics* (Athens, Georgia, 1960), p. 55.
15. Heard, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
16. *Southern Politics* (New York, 1949), p. 5. Also see ch. 31.
17. *Ibid.*. pp. 359-60. For additional evidence, see Key's *Public Opinion and American Democracy* (New York, 1961), pp. 100-04.
18. *Southern Politics*, op. cit., p. 372.
19. Francis M. Coker. "Are There Distinctive Political Traditions for the South?" *Journal of Politics*, II (1940), 15.
20. Allan P. Sindler, "The Unsolid South: A Challenge to the Democratic Party," in Alan F. Westin, ed., *The Uses of Power* (New York, 1962), pp. 236-37.
21. Clinton Rossiter, *Parties and Politics in America* (Ithica, 1960), p. 139.
22. Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President*, 1960 (New York, 1962), p. 360, and Samuel Lubbell, *Revolt of the Moderates* (New York, 1956), pp. 179-81. In Lubell's more recent books, however, the racial element in modern Southern Republicanism is not emphasized.
23. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York, 1944), pp. 429-32, 1310.
24. The literature on the subject is vast. See, for example, Frank E. Smith, *Congressman From Mississippi* (New York, 1964), and his *Look Away From Dixie* (Baton Rouge, 1965); Marian D. Irish, "The Southern One-Party System and National Politics," *Journal of Politics* IV (1942), 80-94; William G. Carleton, "The Southern Politician," *Journal of Politics*, XIII (1951), 215-31, and James W. Silver, *Mississippi: The Closed Society*, (New York, 1964).
25. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Boston, 1965), p. 138.
26. Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York, 1955), p. 168.
27. Francis B. Simkins, *The Everlasting South* (Baton Rouge, 1963), p. 39.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
29. Cf. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-43.
30. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Henry Reeve text as revised by Francis Bowen and corrected and edited with an Introduction by Phillips Bradley and Foreword by Harold J. Laski (New York, 1945), 1, 394.
31. *Origins of the New South: 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), p. 373.
32. *A Democrat Looks at His Party* (New York, 1955), p. 44.
33. Kay Lawson, *Political Parties and Democracy in the United States* (New York, 1968), p. 81; report of *President's Commission on Registration and Voting* (Washington, 1963), esp. ch. 1, and pp. 66-67; Robert E. Lane, *Political Life* (New York, 1959), pp. 45-52; Semour Lipset, *Political Man* (Garden City, 1960), ch. 11, and Nimmo and Ungs, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17.
34. Key, *Southern Politics*, chs. 23-30, and his *Public Opinion and American Democracy*, p. 104; Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 455-56, 474-75, 483; report of *President's Commission on Registration and Voting, op. cit.*, pp. 7, 66-67; Lester M. Milbrath, *Political Participation* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 58, 63, and Frank J. Sorauf, *Political Parties in the American System* (Boston, 1964), pp. 23-25, 36.
35. Key, *Southern Politics, op. cit.*, p. 491.
36. Myrdal, *op. cit*, pp. 475-76.
37. Key, *Southern Politics, op. cit.*, p. 555.
38. *Ibid*, pp. 542, 550.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 598; also see p. 618.
40. Howard Penniman, *The American Political Process* (New York, 1962), p. 14. Myrdal and Green, however, say that Negroes could vote in five Northern states. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 430, and Fletcher M. Green, "Democracy in the Old South," in George B. Tindall, ed., *The Pursuit of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1964), p. 187.
41. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 430.
42. Penniman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
43. G. James Fleming, "The Negro in American Politics: The Past," in John P. Davis, ed., *The American Negro Reference Book* (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), p. 418.
44. *Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1961), p. 133.
45. See, for example, Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 421-22.
46. W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1888*, Meredian ed. (New York, 1964), p. 664.
47. Almond and Verba, *op. cit.*, p. 117.



'...Real Kind of Revolution...'

Dr. Vivian Henderson, *president of Clark College in Atlanta, was luncheon speaker Dec. 12th. Dr. Henderson is author of a Southern Regional Council study on "The Economic Status of Negroes" and is co-author of several books, including "The Advancing South: Manpower Prospects and Problems" and "Jobs and Color: Negro Employment in Tennessee State Government." He is a member of the VEP Advisory Committee and the SRC executive committee.*

I am interested in discussing with you what I believe to be a very important set of background phenomena in terms of the South. This audience, by virtue of its structure and the structure of its agenda and its program, obviously is interested in the South. Subsequently I'd like to try to pinpoint some kind of strategy for black elected officials.

Now I won't be too successful here, because I'm not a political scientist and I'm not a political figure. But I've had some experience in the practical field of trying to arouse a community and particularly to help organize Negro political groups for the purpose of effecting a sophisticated kind of strategy (I use the word sophistication without apology here.)—a sophisticated kind of strategy that would enable us to know something about what we ought to do under a variety of conditions involving political participation.

We hear a lot of talk about the revolutions of today. And, of course, to me, when we talk in terms of revolution, we think in terms of violence, physical upheaval—and of course there is some of that. But I think the politics of the South and certainly the representation here today manifests the real kind of revolution that is going on in this country and particularly in the South.

Any person with minimum intelligence would sense the fact that what is here today would not have been here three years ago. Any person with minimum intelligence would recognize the fact that what we have here is a conglomeration of personalities from varying black groups representing different kinds of interests but all currently having one thing in common—and that is, being black and, at the same time, trying to pursue, like a people, the best life and the good life within the framework of a democratic society. It is this kind of a revolution that doesn't get enough attention in the public press and in the media. It is usually the soapbox orator who gets the attention.

The issues facing the South today emerged from traditional and persistent problems. This is so with regard to race relations, and it is also the case with regard to the broader of politics—of economics, education and leadership. On the other hand, I do think that the forces which condition and shape these issues are of recent vintage. The forces of urbanization, the forces of technological change, mobility of labor and capital and the swiftness with which such forces play havoc with the lives of many people—this is certainly of a new origin.

As Southerners and as people interested in working in Southern politics, it is important for us to recognize the two faces of the South. The concept of the old order —the only face the South exhibited—was that of a rural and backward South. Now I see that there are at least two faces today. One is the face of Southern cities and metropolitan areas, smaller towns with an urban mentality—plagued, to be sure, with the systems and traditional problems and images, but trying to carry the South into the mainstream of American and rural life, and yet encumbered with problems ushered in by the forces of urbanization and technological change. This is the face that we recognize. This is the face that is represented here in this conference—a face of black men and women struggling to emancipate the region from its traditional backwardness and its traditional images. One gentleman from Portsmouth, Va., last night said to me that the South will rise again, but it will be rising with the leadership of black people and rising with a new kind of image and not in terms of the old kind of image.

But we can not suggest that with all the progress that apparently is being made that there is a continuance of that second face. And that is of the old order—the face of racism, segregation, discrimination, anti-unionism, down with the federal government, preservation of the status quo, agrarianism, and a Communist under every rock and stone. It is the face of rural-dominated legislatures, ultra-conservative representatives in the U. S. Congress, low-wage industry, the faces of George Wallace and Lester Maddox, and the faces of hungry children and poverty as established by recent reports. These are the forces or the issues that black elected officials must recognize.

At the same time I recognize the fact that many of America's problems today are not regional in character.

Certainly they do not carry the regional thrust of a few years ago.

We know, for example, that the South's problems, like the nation's problems, are basically urban problems. Only a few years ago the South's problems were mostly rural, and those of the rest of the nation were basically urban. Race relations problems were a few years ago confined to the South because overwhelming proportions of black Americans lived in the South. But today the problems of Southern job-seekers, income recipients, housing tenants, school children, the problems of those who pursue welfare rights and quality education, the problems of those who seek health improvement and relief from hunger and malnutrition—they have only limited differences in the South than those Americans in other regions.

The solutions certainly have lost some of their regional character. Since World War II Southern progress economically, politically and socially and in race relations has been directly tied to national programs, national policy and national trends. It is for this reason that I question the whole concept of grants to states and the whole concept of the reversal to states' rights. Recent economic gains in the South and improvements in employment and so forth, these have been directly tied to the national force of economic and political power.

It may appear irrelevant for a conference of this sort to deal with problems of people in the South in a regional context at this point in our history. But the South does have problems peculiar to the region. Its politics, its economics, its race relations and its history—these are all peculiar to the region.

One of the great differences between the South and other regions today is what I believe to be a realistic kind of opportunity—an opportunity for the South, even at this late hour, to avoid the mistakes of the North in favor of building up in its society a generating force of participation by all its citizens. To me this is the great significance of the conference here today. One of the great challenges to black elected officials is recognition of a role that the Negro elected official must play in building up a society capitalizing upon the fact that there may be an opportunity here for the South not to make the mistake of the North and build into rigidity a housing segregation, etc. that the North is plagued with today.

While the South's history is laden with scars of demogogic politics—agrarianism, demeaning race relations and a history of the severest kinds of racial dualism and hate—it is also a history of black and white poverty existing side-by-side and a peculiarity of less-than-rigid distribution of population by race, within cities and within rural areas. Strange as it may seem, the data will suggest that urbanization, for example, has not developed in the South as it has in other regions. In spite of the farm mechanization and the displacement of many people from farms by farm mechanization, the technology is still relatively novel in its impact on Southern non-agricultural industry.

We began by talking about the region, the place that's being represented here. It has made several strides in the areas of unemployment, per capita income and the like. It has made great strides in the area of politics. (As I understand, there are 385 black elected officials in the states that represented the Old Confederacy, the highest degree of concentration of legally elected public officials than anywhere else in the nation. I would say we need more. The most important thing is for the black elected officials who are in office today to recognize this goal and help to get others to be a part of this participation.) There are several things that have influenced this kind of progress. One has been the development of national policy to promote full employment to combat poverty, and so forth. Two, the part of national policy to combat racial discrimination and segregation through schools and hospitals and employment and voter registration and voting.

It's on this second point that I am concerned. I have yet to see in the South, in spite of the positions of our black elected officials, the kind of initiation of public policy legislation which really brings the problem and the solution from the national level to some of our local and state levels. It seems to me that we have just about gotten what we are going to get from national policy; and if the Cabinet that was appointed last night is any criteria, then I'm quite sure that we have gotten just about all we are going to get for the next few years. It means, in other words, that rather than being passive as elected officials and responding and reacting to legislation introduced by others, the great challenge we have for the black elected officials today is to take the initiative and introduce this legislation formulating the public policy, pushing it, riding it, and making these policies known to their constituents.

Number three is the forces of the redistribution of the Negro population. Now these and other kinds of things and work will continue to influence public change and they will continue to influence public employment.

Now let me just mention one thing here which I think is extraordinarily important and which I think we live with every day and which I think is the kind of a thing which we can get our hands on pretty quickly in terms of effecting public policy for ourselves. I mentioned population redistribution. I also mentioned that the South has had what I call less-than-rigid distribution of the population by race, particularly when it comes to housing. Now I didn't say there was no segregation in housing—I didn't say that. I simply said it was less than rigid. This is a very serious problem. Local, regional political leadership must deal with it. Now cities like Houston with its third ward and fifth ward, Atlanta with its Southwest section—these have long had rather rigid housing segregation. But most Southern rural towns and rural areas and urban areas have not been rigid in this respect.

Through urban renewal and construction of new expressways, more and more citizens now in the South have built—have in fact planned and engineered development of—racial ghettos and race lines in terms of housing and citizenry. The negative aspects of this passage, in my judgment, will far outweigh any positive impact that has been proved. Consequently, whereas school desegregation could have been dealt with as easy to come by in many areas of the South, insofar as residential patterns were concerned, it is more and more repeated by concentration of public housing, housing developments and single-family dwellings in racial enclaves and racial ghettos. Any elected official who sits

up and watches this go by without trying to do something relative to it has missed the boat, and I believe this is only one example of the kind of problem we face in urban circles and in smaller rural farms. And to it black elected officials must address themselves.

Negroes are going to continue to move to the urban areas. It is projected that by 1975, 72 per cent of the Southern brothers and sisters will be in urban cities and towns.

The rise of racial ghettos in the Southern region should be a matter of concern to all of us. And yet I recognize that two parts of this most of us have been able to capitalize on on one hand—and how it hurts us on the other hand. For example, many of you here would not have been elected to public office had it not been for the racial ghetto. And I recognize the power of politics within the racial ghetto. This is an educated kind of opportunity. It presents a greater kind of opportunity for greater political participation. And indeed it represents perhaps a new kind of opportunity for political leadership in our cities, including mayors of cities and towns. But it also means on the positive side the things that black elected officials recognize as the cities become more concentrated with the brothers and sisters: that the problems of poverty and progress are mounting. We must understand that issues will become more important to the brothers and sisters than personality. This will become more important then to the black constituency as they feel the pressures that must accompany the higher degree of concentration of people in a small area.

In sum, at this point what I'm trying to say is that we in this region know the South has made a lot of gains, and they've made them on all sides. Then we know that civil rights gains have benefitted all black Americans one way or another. But despite these gains in the South and despite the gains and improvements among Negro Americans, there are several things I want to cite just to keep you reminded of the fact that we've got a long way to go before we reach the kind of parity with the larger part of the population that we ought to have.

The South continues to be the most depressed area in the economy. Per capita income, for example, in the region is less than three-fourths that of the rest of the nation. Eighty-five per cent of the 200 most poverty-stricken counties in the United States are located in the South. And I don't have to add that these are heavily populated by black people.

A recent report by the Citizens Board of Inquiry indicated that 242 of the 256 counties in the country which were in the hunger count were located in 13 Southern states. And these are the very states and counties, I might add, where congressmen and senators work most effectively to block policies designed to feed the hungry and to alleviate the poverty—while they also promote agriculture and other policies to lower the amount of production and drive people off the farms and out of rural areas to the cities so they can fill their pockets with $13,000 worth of payments from the taxpayers' pockets in Soil Bank and other kinds of payments designed to promote agricultural development. You know who I am talking about from the state of Mississippi, Sunflower County, who gets $13,000 a month not to produce while people are going starving right there in his county.

I'm saying here that these issues cannot be dealt with just on the basis of personality. We must come to grips with the hard issues that affect the people's stomachs, their lives, their schooling, their health and their liberties of life. The kind of thing I've just described, incidentally, is what some people call free enterprise for the poor and socialism for the rich. It was what was said about Mr. Nixon's Black Capitalism.

Negroes in the South—in Atlanta, Birmingham, places like Sunflower County, Issaquena County—on the average only earn 43 per cent of what Negroes in the North earn. Whites in the South, on the other hand, earn about 75 per cent of what whites in the North earn. The region continues to lag in education, and Negroes bear the brunt of that lag. Negroes in the South still constitute the largest and most depressed group of the nation's population.

Finally, many elements of traditional race relations persist in the South. And there are many industries and plants with all-white work forces, and these are the rule rather than the exception. We find it in our banks and our insurance companies and in communications and in radio, television and newspapers.

We've heard a great deal about the urban crisis—the crisis of our cities. One of the most obvious consequences of the concentration of black Americans in central cities is the increased difficulty in taking them out of poverty.

I would argue at this point that the thing that black elected officials must take seriously is the development of a carefully conceived body of political strategy for the Negro electorate in the South. Colleges and universities have failed miserably in providing that body of strategy, the framework of the strategy for black elected officials. But somebody is going to have to do that.

Political fortunes that have come to Negroes up to this point have come in spite of themselves more than because of political astuteness. Now, I don't mean to be indicting people—I am indicting myself as well. But I suspect that it is because of the terror of the racial ghetto, more than political astuteness, that we have been able to come by some of the political fortunes that are manifested by the group assembled here today. And while most of this strategy is applicable to all races, strategy in different situations can evolve from general principles.

For example, politics among Negroes in Atlanta is almost wholly—and I would say about 99.9 per cent—oriented toward personality. Now, a certain amount of politics is always going to play a role. In my view, Atlanta desperately needs issue-oriented politics. Anybody who knows the city of Atlanta knows what personalities do here.

The issues are clear. They are found in the poverty of our black people. They are found in our manpower inadequacies. They are found in the quality of our ghetto schools. They are found in the related services to the poor. The issues are found in the inadequacy of the grievance procedures, in the inability of people to reach certain aspects of the city government. The issues are found in the lack of consumer protection and programs. They are found in the nth degree. The issues are found in the destitution of families and children.

That brings us to the future.

We must re-examine the strategy of racial blocs. I'm not too sure but that in the near future we can rely upon racial solidarity. Now we may have a slight difference of view here, but we can rely on racial solidarity as a vehicle to accomplish our goals. This is particularly true as the two-party system in the South gains strength. That doesn't mean for a moment that I'm saying tomorrow we're going to come together when it comes to a political issue involving race. I don't think we can. But how about someone to enlighten us to the possibilities of the two-party structure and legitimate two-party structures to provide settings for the ways to proceed on racial issues? I think this strategy will have to work. I feel that the question of issues, personality politics and coalition politics also must deal with the question of the role of racial blocs. I'm simply citing this as a matter that has to be dealt with.

I was very interested in the Cabinet and the appointments made by President-elect Richard Nixon as I was visiting last night in Washington. It was said earlier that if these appointments are any criteria of what is to come, then Negroes really must come to grips with the question of strategy, because we may be in for a period of standstill in politics, insofar as national leadership is concerned. Mr. Nixon appointed a Cabinet with no Negroes, no members of the Jewish faith, no ethnic representation, and obviously pretty close to the white Anglo-Saxon principle.

The only appeal that I heard regarding the brothers and sisters by the incoming administration has been the call for black capitalism. I have studied Black Capitalism. I'm not really too sure what Mr. Nixon is asking with his Black Capitalism, but I can assure him and I can assure you and I can assure everybody else that even Black Capitalism would be of little use to the masses of New York who need help. For we want and I want all the black businesses, everybody I can get. I want all the black entrepreneurs. I want them in Harlem and I want them on Fifth Avenue in New York City, not just on Hunter and Auburn Streets in Atlanta, but at Five Points. It is an illusion to think that this approach (Black Capitalism) will transform the lives of the millions of black brothers and sisters whose lives need transforming and restitution to a reasonably normal standard of living.

I was very interested in the new representative from Mississippi, Mr. Robert Clark. He said what has happened is that Mr. Nixon did not go into the Negro community, he did not campaign, he did not seek the Negro vote, he made no effort to get it; he made it by his attitude. He said what this meant to him, if I read it correctly, is that Negroes are left out and they will be left out of what's going to happen.

Now I hope we're all wrong on this—and obviously we are not trying to prejudge completely. But the fact is that we're going to talk about political strategy on the national scene. The brothers and sisters have had to depend upon the national scene to effect the policies and the things by which we could get things done at the local scene. If we lose a hold on the national scene, if they sort of look at us as being on the periphery and not an integral part of the pursuit of the mainstream, then we've got to really re-think the strategy. And I don't think this can be done on an ad hoc basis. I don't think this can be done with people going in so many different ways. Perhaps it becomes incumbent on those who are assembled here to try to come up with the kind of things that might have meaning in this respect.

It seems to me that most political strategy—and the strategy that has caused the dynamics in urban and rural life contrary to where we thought we were just about five years ago—must continue to recognize the dynamics of race relations as a continuing and central factor in the life and order and growth and development of our people. Racial attitudes and practices continue to be factors conditioning one-third to one-half the population. Now, I say that because of the second point I want to make about this strategy: It seems to me that we must keep in mind that we are not at the point where we can abandon racial and color consciousness under the facade of color blindness. Even some of the black brothers and sisters who got elected to office right here say, I'm going to represent all of the people. That's fine. You just keep in mind that those who elected you 99 per cent of the time were black.

Secondly, you must keep in mind the fact that you must be responsive to and responsible to a color-conscious society. And it seems to me that for any black elected official to go around and say "I'm elected by all the people" without also adding "I'm going to give some special attention to the black brothers and sisters," he's going on the wrong track. I say this hoping at the same time we continue to pursue with all dignity a color-blind society.

Even the white elected officials now are always talking about, "I want to pursue this without regard to race, creed or color." Now you know that too many injustices have been heaped upon the black brothers and sisters under a color-conscious institution of racial segregation for us to expect the consequences of those injustices to be erased under a scheme of color blindness. And I've been so careful of telling you of color consciousness as a political strategy, and it must necessarily underride the strategy of Negro elected officials.

Now, I'm not a black nationalist. I'm not a Black Power advocate according to the rhetoric and slogans that you hear now. I want to be sure to be clear on that. But I am arguing here that for the forseeable future color consciousness must be part of our political strategy and our urban strategy.

What we have found in the last few years in the lives of black people appears to be a conflict in goals in race relations. And that conflict revolves around survival of racial separatism as a goal, as a philosophy and as a strategy vis-à-vis racial integration. Objectives concentrating on the development of economic and political power among black people are objectives that aren't new.

We started a group in Madison some years ago called Eagleton County Independent Political Party, and one of the first things we did back there was say it would be all Negro. That was in 1961. And we said to our white friends, we've got a role for you but not right now. The point is, there was nothing new about the building of economic and political power for the Negro. We developed a high sense of black self-respect. These were all verbal objectives.

But this does not mean building black racism. This does not mean that we have got to build hate. This does

not mean that we have got to go off trying to build, as a matter of strategy, separate societies. What it does say to me is that Negro life and institutions need to be strengthened, not for separatism but for the purpose of achieving intelligent integration and maximizing contributions to the total of our pluralistic and multi-racial and democratic society. Indeed, as W. E. B. DuBois said many years ago, only when black people and white people, and black institutions and white institutions, can accept one another and interact with one another and be interwoven as part of each other's operation, respecting each other for his worth as an individual and not on the basis of color, will democracy in this country be subjected to a true test and have its opportunity to be achieved.

It is desirable that black institutions be strengthened, but not for the purpose of establishing some mystique called Black Power or for the purpose of creating black racism. They should be strengthened for the purpose of achieving a rightful place in a pluralistic society, a rightful place in a multi-racial society. You see, I'm going to have my cake and eat it too. Not only am I unwilling to abandon the goals associated with racial integration—at the same time, I reject the idea of apartheid. I also am not in favor of abandoning Negro institutions; because I believe pursuit of a democratic and interracial society is the only one that counts, and it will not be achieved without strong Negro institutions as part of that society.

I would caution those who call for even a limited separatism that this is a dangerous course. Yet somehow this still has a relevance in pursuit.

I am deeply disturbed as a president of a college over our failure to work effectively in servicing black elected officials. I have received in my office on several occasions requests from elected officials throughout the South asking for help in developing policy positions, examining the literature, examining bills, trying to help them get through to commissioners; and I have been at a loss as to how I could effectively do this within the amount of time that I have had. And yet for some reason or other I have been able to stay up at night and do some of these things to help the brothers and sisters.

We've started at Clark College what we call the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy. We received a grant the other day for almost $200,000 to develop this center, and it has several projects. The idea is to provide some services to the brothers and sisters. Hopefully that service center and the others that are going to be established in various places in the South will be able to provide a resource whereby the black elected officials and others might call to get the kind of help they need in order to be effective in the kinds of things I've been trying to describe.

I'm going to close by simply repeating a prayer Dr. Martin Luther King used to offer on many occasions, because I think it says much about what I've tried to say here. He said: "Lord, we ain't what we've got to be, we ain't what we want to be, we ain't what we are going to be; but thank God, we ain't what we used to be."

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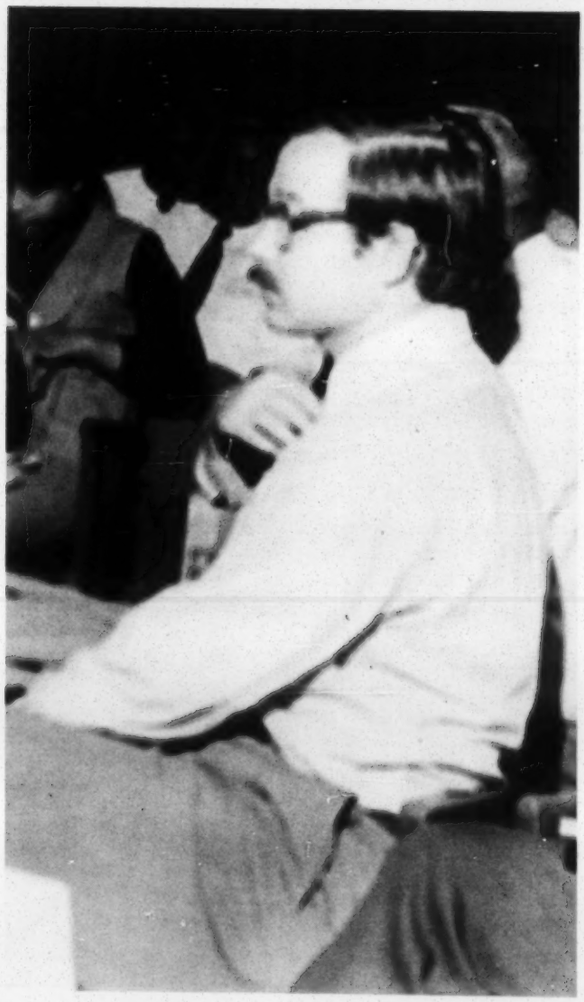
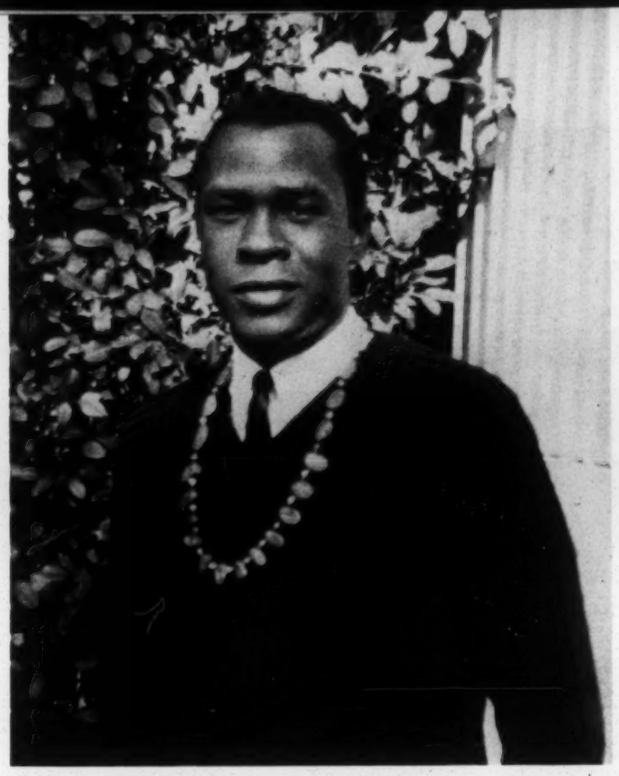




'...America's Last Hope...'

James Mays, *president of the student body at Clark College, welcomed Mayor Richard Hatcher to the college campus when he spoke at a public forum there Dec. 12. Hatcher is mayor of Mays' hometown, Gary, Ind.*

Perhaps one of the tragedies of the masses of black people in the United States today is the lack of information concerning the history of their black leaders. Going through a Negro history book recently, I was amazed at the things about black politicians during the Reconstruction following the Civil War that I had never heard of. For instance, how many of us knew that at one time a black man was governor of the state of Louisiana or that from 1870 to 1901, 22 Negroes served in the Congress of the United States or of the many, many black people who served in their respective state legislatures?

All of this occurred during what we call the "old" Reconstruction, but now we speak of the "new" Reconstruction in which we are currently involved. But the sad fact is that even though we are involved in a type of political reconstruction, some of us as black students (perhaps because we so seldom see the face of a black politician in the news) still do not seem to want to become involved in the world of politics. In fact, it now seems fashionable to be as anti-government as possible. If there is a new political reconstruction going on among black people, most black students don't seem to be aware of it, or if they are aware of it, they appear to want no part of it.

Being interested in law and politics myself, I have often tried to analyze this disinterest manifested by students I associate with. After a little discussion, the answer is quite apparent. The first question a student wants to ask when you ask him if he is aware of the "new" political reconstruction is: "What happened to the old one?" And when you answer this question for him, you begin to realize from where the roots of this political disenchantment have stemmed.

Checking the Negro history book again, we read:

> The downfall of the Negro-white governments of the South was inevitable since Negroes had few guns, little land, and less government protection. Organized violence was the main weapon of those who sought to restore the old order. Masked night riders such as the Ku Klux Klan sprang up everywhere to terrorize Negro voters and their white supporters. The main Klan targets were Negro officials, teachers, and successful farmers. In 1875, a tall, muscular Negro farmer had stood before Senator George Boutwell of Massachusetts and demanded that something be done about the continued murder of his people. He was considering killing the Klan leaders responsible, saying, "We could do it in a night." "No," answered the Senator, "We intend to protect you." The promise was never kept. For the black man and for the South the result was tragedy. The torch of democracy that had burned brightly for a short while was extinguished. And Southerners would live from that day until this in the darkness of tyranny, poverty, and ignorance.

This information was taken from a book called *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History*.

This little passage only tells part of the story of why, as I have learned, black students are disenchanted with the political system, per se.

Some of you are probably thinking: "Why don't you remind them that the Ku Klux Klan no longer carries on its reign of terror?" If I did, they would answer: "Maybe not, but there are so many more subtle ways of keeping the black man in his place that we still see politics executed from the black frame of reference as being futile." Then they would go on: "Witness what Georgia tried to do to Julian Bond, and look at what Congress did to Adam Clayton Powell—and to take it even closer to home, notice what they tried to do to your own Mayor Hatcher during his campaign."

The question, gentlemen, is this: Is this really a "new" reconstruction or is this the same *old* reconstruction with the same *old* ending, but with different variations? My fellow students have their doubts; and I don't blame them as I, too, to some degree, have my own doubts.

But if what is happening in the realm of politics for

black people today is not a fraud, then it is up to you as our spokesmen and leaders to make this crystal clear. There is no one, I repeat, no one, who can do this for you.

When Stokely Carmichael stood here where I'm standing yesterday and told an auditorium-packed audience that the only answer to our problem in this country is for us to get our guns, I wondered if it was already too late. For many students, it is. For others of us, we're saying: "O.K., America, we're willing to give you one last chance. We're foolish enough to believe that this time you may possibly allow us to grow into and of your political system." For almost all of us, this is America's last and final chance.

As we go into our new presidential administration, I can already feel the wheels of the "new" reconstruction grinding to a halt. No black man was appointed to the new Cabinet. Maybe this is nothing to become alarmed about, but many of us seem to hear Stokely's words more and more clearly each time we face this type of setback.

What this means, gentlemen, is that you have your hands full. From a student's point of view, you are America's last hope. I do not believe that I can overemphasize that point. What you accomplish while you are in office will inevitably determine the destiny of this country.

'... Power of the People ...'

Richard Gordon Hatcher, *completing his first year as mayor of Gary, Ind., spoke Dec. 12 at a public forum at Clark College. The 34-year-old attorney and former city councilman is one of two black mayors of major U.S. cities. A native of Indiana and one of 13 children of a Michigan City factory worker, Hatcher was graduated from Indiana University and Valparaiso University School of Law.*

When Stokely Carmichael shouted "Black Power, Black Power" in that Mississippi schoolyard, he performed the mythic function that some poet must always perform at the proper moment in history. He gave voice, he gave a name to a development in the life of Black America which was happening anyway and which needed naming so we could talk about it and think about it. I say he named it, rather than created it, because the movement towards Black Power, under other names, has had a long and honorable past. If it has become the dominant tone of our emotions and thoughts in the last two or three years, that is only because, like the proverbial snowball, the accretion of time and frustration has turned incipience into actuality, has made of the snowball an avalanche. I want, today, to look at these two words, "black" and "power," from the vantage point of a man who has had some connection with both words.

It is beyond dispute that I am black—I am too abashed to add "and beautiful," though it is tempting—and it is also a fact that I have held, for a year now, a position of at least a modicum of power. It is a good time, then, as the first year of my administration as mayor of Gary draws to a close, to examine what black power has meant to me.

My blackness has been the dominant fact of life's experience, as it is the dominant fact of the life of every black man in America, and perhaps in the world. James Baldwin, with his usual brilliance and cogency, describes the condition in his famous essay, "Stranger in the Village," in which he discusses his experience as a black man in a little Swiss village:

> For this village, even were it incomparably more remote and incredibly more primitive, is the West, the West onto which I have been so strangely grafted. These people cannot be, from the point of view of power, strangers anywhere in the world; they have made the modern world, in effect, even if they do not know it. The most illiterate among them is related, in a way that I am not, to Dante, Shakespeare, Michelangelo, Aeschylus, Da Vinci, Rembrandt, and Racine; the Cathedral at Chartres says something to them which it cannot say to me, as indeed would the Empire State Building, should anyone here ever see it. Out of their hymns and dances come Beethoven and Bach. Go back a few centuries and they are in their full glory—but I am in Africa, watching the conquerors arrive.

Because of the white man's rape of Africa, because of the ignominy of slavery, because of the long and barbarous history of segregation and discrimination, I am a stranger in this, the American village. Because white Americans have developed the ideology of racism to justify the sociological and historical experiences I have mentioned, I am a stranger in this country, in this village. But from another point of view, because I am a man, because I have been reared on the words, though not the facts, of Christianity and democracy, I am also an inhabitant, and in a strange sort of way a citizen, of the village.

Much of the history of Black America is dominated precisely by this contradiction. We have been *told* one thing—democracy, freedom, "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal." We have *lived* quite another—slavery, the Ku Klux Klan, white liberals so concerned with black people that they will tell them exactly what they ought to want, schools that don't teach us, promises from the Supreme Court which turn to ashes in strikes against Ocean Hill-Brownsville in New York. That is why we have been forced to fall back on our own resources. For you cannot be a stranger always. To be continuously strange is to pay a psychological price so great that no people can endure it forever. When Black America, then, turns to blackness, to what in Africa has for a long time been called "negritude," we have no apologies to make.

From the time I was a little child, before I ever heard of Othello, or, for that matter, Shakespeare—I knew I was black. No wonder, then, that as a grown man I must turn to the words of Leopold Senghor, the black African poet from Senegal, or to those of Langston Hughes or Arna Bontemps or Leroi Jones or Gwendolyn Brooks. From the time I was a little child—before I ever heard of Beethoven or Bach—I knew I was

black. No wonder, then, that I turn to Jimi Hendrix and Aretha Franklin, and that I recall with anger the black American symphony conductor Dean Dixon, who had to go abroad to practice his art. From the time I was a child—before I ever heard of Paul Bunyan or George Washington or Jaques Danton—I knew I was black. No wonder then, that as a grown man I turn to John Henry, Jomo Kenyatta and W. E. B. DuBois.

I will stop being a stranger, because I will recall that, though a stranger in this village, I have lived there nonetheless, and I have a history there, and elsewhere, as in Africa, and that history will make me less the stranger. We assert what we are, and we may wear a dashiky and look with favor on a "natural." Being ourselves will make us less the stranger. We tried being like the so-called natives, and were not allowed to be like them, and so we must turn to our own resources. Baldwin says,

> The black man insists, by whatever means he finds at his disposal, that the white man cease to regard him as an exotic rarity and recognize him as a human being.

So my experience with the word black is that of all black people. Being black has made me a stranger; being black has dominated my life. I cannot, nor would I wish to reject my blackness, and so I turn what the white world has attempted make a handicap precisely into its opposite. Black America is fortunate in that our history and culture are more than rich enough so we can find in blackness an advantage, a source of pride, a way to end our estrangement.

But there is another side to this. Even though I may find in negritude and in black culture a way not to be so strange any longer, especially strange to myself, that is not enough. For my estrangement has also included my powerlessness. I have not only been a stranger in the village, but I have also been a stranger without power. There are times in history when strangers have had sufficient power to keep themselves at least supplied with the necessaries for decent living. This has been true of many who came as strangers to American shores, as, after a generation or so, the Irish, the Italians, what have you. It has not been the case with black Americans. We have been kept strangers, in part at least, because our strangeness has provided the others, white Americans, I mean, with a cheap source for the sawing of wood and the drawing of water. Because black people have had no power, because the ideology of racism has permitted white Americans to think it natural, we have been exploited and used, deprived of the minimum wherewithal for a decent life, have provided the nation with back-breaking and menial labor, and sometimes with its best brains, all for the aggrandizement and enrichment of others.

That is why pride in being black is not enough for our survival. That is why we have increasingly had to turn our attention to a means of wresting from the majority not only a new perception of our humanity, but also a new place in the nation, so that we can enforce our demands for the satisfacion of our needs.

This is nothing new. The African chief Cinque sought power when he led a mutiny on the slave ship *Amisted* in 1839. Nat Turner is quite explicit when he says that the reason for his revolt is so that he can strike terror into the hearts of the planters and thus have the power to establish a black community in the Dismal Swamp. Toussaint L'Ouverture knew about the need for power, and so did, in more recent history, such often unheeded thinkers as W. E. B. DuBois and Paul Robeson, or, for that matter, Marcus Garvey. There is nothing new in the search for power by black Americans. What is new, perhaps, is that our search has been intensified because we have combined pride in being black with that search for power, and that we have found, in various stages of our experience, that power shared with the white majority doesn't seem to work.

Power means, quite simply, a force strong enough so you can get whatever it is you need. Let me recall that in the last two decades or so we have tried all sorts of ways of achieving power.

The Brown decision by the U.S. Supreme Court concerning equal education represented an effort to use the power of the courts to win needed improvements in the lives of black children. We won that skirmish, but we have discovered, almost 15 years later, that there was not enough strength in the power of the courts to guarantee any fundamental change in the education of black children. Legal power, which helped a little, did not help enough.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. tried another form of power. Beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955, Dr. King tried with all of his skill and dedication—indeed, he gave his life for it—to use the nonviolent power of black masses to achieve their needs. An eloquent man, he said it much better than I can hope to do. Writing in *Liberation* in 1959, Dr. King said:

> There is more power in socially organized masses on the march than there is in guns in the hands of a few desperate men. . . . All American history teaches us that like a turbulent ocean beating great cliffs into fragments of rock, the determined movement of people incessantly demanding their rights always disintegrates the old order. . . . This is the social lever which will force open the door to freedom. Our powerful weapons are the voices, the feet, and the bodies of dedicated, united people, moving without rest toward a just goal.

This, too, was a form of black power, though we did not then call it such. But this form of power, in and of itself, we also found not adequate to our needs. Nine years after he had written those words, Dr. King had fallen to the white assassin's bullet. Nine years after he had written those words, though segregation was a little less blatant in the South, though more black people had found their way to the voting booth in the South, the bulk of Black America, living in the horror of the crowded, fire trap-haunted ghettos of the North, had not advanced two inches. This society, it would appear, was not prepared to yield easily to the needs of Black America, and so the search for a lever, for an effective means of achieving power, had to go on.

We learned something else at this point, taught by Malcolm X and Leroi Jones and H. Rap Brown and Eldridge Cleaver. We learned that when the stranger allies himself with the so-called natives, to return to Baldwin's metaphor, it is very hard for the stranger to play anything but a secondary role. In the many struggles black Americans carried on together with white

people, we found all too often that well-meaning whites nevertheless conceived of us as strangers, assigned to us the role of strangers in our own struggle. Thus, well-meaning white people knew what was good for us—better than we did. They knew what our feelings about things ought to be—better than we did. I say that many of these men and women were well-meaning white people, because history records that they worked very hard and often sacrificed a good deal for our causes. I cannot forget that it was a white Goodman and Schwerner who died along with black James Chaney in the red dirt of Mississippi. But it takes nothing away from their heroism or dedication to say that they were always, willingly or not, the natives, and we were always the strangers.

To stop being strangers, we had to find the road to power ourselves. Whether or not one fully accepts other aspects of the thought of Franz Fanon, it is clear that rising black consciousness requires that we be led by our own, determine our own destiny, recognize our own needs, and that white Americans have quite another task to perform—perhaps an impossible one—which is to work to cure the sickness of racism among their own people, to work on changes needed in the total society, which affect everyone who lives within it.

Efforts at achieving power in various forms, combined with the rising tide of black self-confidence, then, bring us to the heart of the problem faced by Black America today, and to the heart of the problem about which this conference is deliberating, and to the heart of my own problems as a man who has achieved some modicum, as I have said, of power. It is clear that pride in blackness, and all that this implies, from a revival of black history and other Afro-American studies, to a new appreciation of the beauty of our women, to being led on the road to a better life by black leaders, is an absolute necessity if we are to end our status as strangers. This we are beginning to do. We have not yet, however, solved the riddle as to what lever or levers can provide the power we need to wrest a better way of life from the power structure within the total society. We have a number of options, and I would like to discuss a few of these now, including the one about which I am most knowedgeable.

One option is, of course, to leave, to return not only spiritually but physically to the lands of our African heritage.

No doubt some will choose that solution, but it cannot be a solution for most of us. There are physical problems as to where such a massive migration would go, and cultural ones stemming from our distance from African cultures. But there are also other aspects. We own a good part of these United States—not physically, but morally. Our sweat has gone to make the railroads run and to make cotton king. Our brains helped building Washington, D.C., and made heart transplants possible. Our talents have helped enrich the music, the stage, the poetry of the nation. Our blood has been shed in too many wars—including the fiasco in which we are now engaged. So we have a great investment in this nation, one we ought not to be forced to give up. Our power ought to give us our rightful share in what we have wrought. Therefore, I for one choose not to leave.

There is another approach. We can demand a piece of the nation for ourselves. We can demand five or six states as the territory for a black nation, or we can carve out the old ghetto in each city as our own turf. This has possibilities, and it has been explored by many thinkers both black and white, including so thoughtful a man as W. H. Ferry, the vice-president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Ferry writes, in the Saurday Review of June 15, 1968:

> But what Blacktown *most* wants, Whitetown cannot confer. Blacktown wants independence and the authority to run its own affairs. It wants to recover its manhood, its self-love, and to develop its ability to conduct a self-reliant community. . . . A successful plan for coexistence (that is, between Blacktown and Whitetown, to use Ferry's terms —I continue to quote) will not bring Utopia into being in Blacktown. Autonomous, interdependent Blacktown will be no better and no worse than other parts of the urban scene. Blacks can be expected to exploit blacks, even as whites exploit whites. There will be quarrels and walkouts and demonstrations and the inevitable ambiguities about leaders and leadership. . . . Whitetown will be accused of parsimony and trying to control things even if it enters into the scheme of coexistence with the best possible intent. . . . So the vision of coexistence is not that of the New Jerusalem, nor is it that of a national community struggling with the untenable doctrines of integration. It is a vision of a new federalism that will give 10 per cent of our citizens the chance they are seeking to make whatever they want to make of themselves, their culture, and their community.

I do not reject this form of power either on moral grounds, or on grounds of feasibility. But I have not seen any evidence within this society that Black America can get such communities without first achieving the tremendous power necessary to force them into existence. The white power structure which pinches pennies from Model Cities plans and Headstart programs will not readily give up control of major sections of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. The slumlords who live in pretty suburbs on the profits they make from hellholes in the ghetto will not turn their hovels over to other owners for the asking. Blacktowns are intriguing, but they beg the question; for we must, should we decide we want them, first find the power to get them.

There is also the power of violence, in direct opposition to the kind of power Dr. King sought to use. I do not wish here to discuss this form of power—and that it certainly is—from an ethical point of view, though that is surely a matter for consideration. Rather I want to ask about the efficacy of the use of street violence, about its ability to achieve results.

Like it or not, violence cannot readily be dismissed as a source of power. It is true beyond dispute that the white section of the nation sat up and listened hard when it heard the fire engines race to Hough and Watts and Harlem and Chicago's West Side. But I am afraid that, to date, this form of power has also not paid off very much. White America *talks* better about what it ought to do, in the wake of one of these insurrections—but such talk has been around for a long time, and is hardly new. In fact, all that street violence has pro-

vided so far is more white talk and burned-over ghettos. The Kerner Report is a nice piece of rhetoric, which has not fed one black mouth. I do not reject violence out of hand then, but I have yet to see how it becomes a useful lever for power.

Let me turn finally to the kind of power I know the most about, that is, political power in cities of large black populations. I think it clear, in the first place, that my election as mayor of Gary has done something for Gary's black community in so far as its pride and sense of self is concerned. While we may still be strangers in our village, it surely makes us feel less strange that one of us has been chosen to head the village government. Furthermore, this fact guarantees that local efforts will be made so that we will not be exploited quite so mercilessly, that our people will get their share of whatever they have coming, to the extent that anything is available.

But right there is the rub. I may be mayor of Gary, but I cannot, by that token, guarantee that black people will share in the unbelievable profits of the U.S. Steel Corporation which dominates our city's economic life. I am mayor of Gary, but I cannot stop a war in Vietnam which drains the national treasury to such an extent that only very limited programs are available to the city for the reconstruction of its black community. I am mayor of Gary, and I was elected as a Democrat, but I am not able to sway the white Democratic Party so that it will reverse the present trend of national priorities and make the needs of black communities first on the list. I am mayor of Gary, but I cannot change the fact that our schools are too poorly funded, from state or nation or even local sources of revenue, to provide the catch-up educational process that the city needs in order to bring our black youngsters up to educational standards.

I want to confide a further problem to you. I am mayor of Gary, and thus I am mayor of all the people of the city, and I would like to do my best for all of them, black or white. But you know, what I cannot do for my black brothers, I cannot do for white people either, try as I might. Though the black community's needs are infinitely greater, the white community in our city is not without problems. But for the same reasons which prevent me from solving many black problems, I cannot solve many white ones, either—and neither could my white predecessors. Though I have some local political power, it becomes clearer to me that this is not enough, and that the power structure of this society is not prepared to give up enough of its profits to solve the problems of city living—for whites or blacks. Though black kids in Gary are badly educated, white ones are not getting nearly what they should, either. Though black communities are devoid of parks and play spaces, white communities do not have adequate park facilities either.

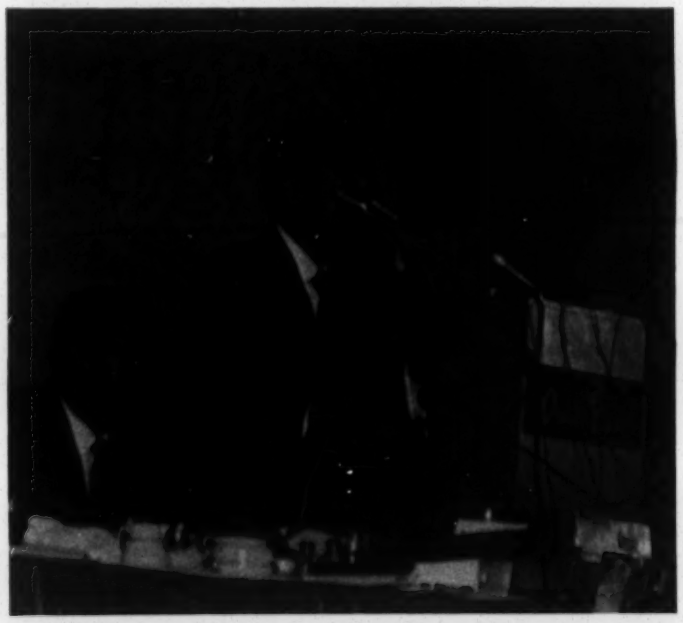
There are, rumor has it, a few white people in Gary who wish to disaffiliate from the municipality a predominantly white section of the city because they "don't like what's going on in City Hall." It seems that, while they were able to stomach the jailing of several earlier mayors for one form or another of municipal corruption, they just can't abide whatever it is that a black mayor is doing, though not one has accused him of appropriating for himself one dishonest penny. But I would warn these white citizens that disaffiliation will not solve one single problem for them—except perhaps their hurt racial pride. For the fact of the matter is that the local political lever for power, black or white, can only do very limited things, that it cannot really solve the problems faced by the American city until the entire power structure is in some way forced to yield up to the people—first to black people, but eventually to all the people—what the people need and deserve.

The question of power, it becomes more and more apparent, cannot be left at the level of parochial power. Black Power, whatever its form—political, non-violent confrontation, street riots or terror—may help us to feel less the stranger; but it will not eliminate poverty, or inadequate educational facilities, or slum housing, or provide us even a portion of the economic control of the life of the nation. Even if it were possible to establish the blacktowns that Ferry talks about, black people would not have control over the basic economic, foreign policy or social welfare priority decisions which will determine the welfare of black people as well as whites. Blacktowns might make us feel better—and that is terribly important and so I do not reject such ideas —but they will not make us live better.

And what is true of Black Power is also true of other forms of group power. Our campuses, for example, have seen a demand for student power which has a great deal of legitimacy.

Surely students ought to play a much larger role in the life of the university, which is their community for four or more years. But student power will not, by itself, change the national system of priorities in which education runs far behind spending for super-weapons of destruction, in which drafting young men for war is more important than letting them continue their studies beyond a bachelor's degree so that they can apply their knowledge to the alleviation of human suffering. Student power, like Black Power, like youth power, like other parochial forms of power, can only achieve very limited gains.

Where does this leave us? Am I rejecting the drive for Black Power? Am I hopelessly saying that nothing we may do can be of use? The answer is a clear and decisive No! The drive for Black Power is an essential, it seems to me a no longer debatable need; for it will



help to end our strangeness in the village, and that is absolutely necessary. So I support all forms of Black Power which will help Black America to define itself, to recapture its heritage, to assert its abilities, to realize its most immediate demands.

It is not immodest on my part to say that Gary's black children will be richer and stronger human beings for the knowledge that one of their own can govern the city, for the knowledge that their mothers and fathers were able to get themselves together enough to elect one of their own and thus assert their dignity. Nor is it immodest to say that Gary's black community is being given, for the first time in its history, some of the attention and concern which it so richly deserves, and that the lives of black men and women will be somewhat the better for it. These are among the things which Black Power can and ought to and must do.

But beyond that, if I look to the alleviation of our poverty and the improvement of our standard of life, logic compels me to place hope in the eventual coming-together of the demands for power by people of many sorts. I see hope in the rising tide of student militancy, if that militancy is carried, in time, from the campuses into the communities of the entire nation. I see hope in the demands of Spanish-speaking Americans for their share of power. I see hope in the growing radicalism of the young, who demand youth power and are no longer content to accept a dehumanized *status quo*. I see our only hope for a decent society in the coming together sometime in the future, of all these demands for partial and parochial power into a total demand for people power.

I do not pretend to be very hopeful. The experiences of Black America with other segments of our society have most often been disappointing. Perhaps they will be again. But I am certain that the only way to rescue our lives from the poverty for some, the alienation for all which are its hallmarks, is by the combination of the kinds of people power I have been talking about. Should that fail, what lies before us is chaos and dark nights of despair and destruction. The leaven in such a rising power cake must be, and already is to some extent, Black Power, for Black America has the least to lose, and the most to gain, by its assertion of power.

In the essay I have already quoted, Baldwin concludes with the following:

> No road whatever will lead Americans back to the simplicity of this European village where white men still have the luxury of looking on me as a stranger. I am not, really, a stranger any longer for any American alive. One of the things that distinguishes Americans from other people is that no other people has ever been so deeply involved in the lives of black men, and vice versa. . . . It is precisely this black-white experience which may prove of indispensable value to us in the world we face today. This world is white no longer, and it will never be white again.

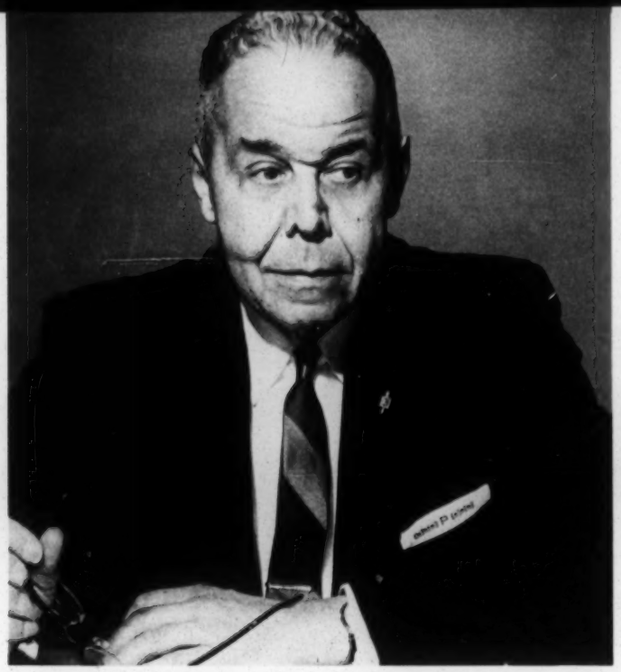
That is what we hope America will realize as we achieve more and more the power which our blackness demands. If we try to save ourselves, if we achieve the full potential of what Black Power can do, then it will be up to the rest of America, white, Spanish-speaking, student, youth, and so on and on, to join us in the establishment of the power of the people in a world in which none are strangers. If they fail, or if we fail, we may have no way left to live in this country. If they can succeed, and if we can succeed, if the people can wrest control from the hands of the economic overlords and the political self-servers, the rich and the powerful, then and only then do we have some hope that the good society can be ours.

One of the finest of our black poets, Margaret Walker, ends her poem "For My People," with a kind of incantation to the future. Let me cite it here, for her vision, the vision of a black woman who wrote these words more than a quarter of a century ago, still holds true:

> Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born. Let a bloody peace be written in the sky. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth; let a people loving freedom come to growth. Let a beauty full of healing, a strength of final clenching be the pulsing and the spirit in our blood. Let the martial song be written, let dirges disappear. Let a race of men now rise and take control.

A race of *men,* Margaret Walker says! For God's sake, for America's sake, let's get ourselves together!

Dickler Plaza



'...Difficult Decisions Must Be Made...'

Alfred M. Pelham, *chairman of Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company in Detroit, appeared on a panel on "Revenue and Taxation and the Elected Official" Dec. 13. He is a former controller of the city of Detroit.*

Before proceeding to any discussion of revenue and taxation, I believe it to be of utmost importance to emphasize the fact that the levy and collection of taxes and the collection of other forms of revenue and other income from whatever source constitute only one aspect of the responsibility and the problems which confront elected officials at every level of government. Of even greater importance are the judicious determination of the purposes for which available resources are to be expended, the selection of programs best calculated to accomplish these purposes, the best possible allocation of available resources to carry out these programs, and appropriate systems to assure that such resources are expended as effectively as possible for authorized and intended purposes.

In order to attain these ends, difficult decisions must be made and orderly operational programs must be carried out on the basis of carefully developed plans. It is obvious, therefore, that financial resources, while absolutely indispensable, constitute only one of the ingredients required for the effective and efficient conduct of government.

Another vital ingredient is a sound budgetary process. The word budget means different things to different people. In the simplest terms, a budget is a projected and reasonably flexible plan for the effective use of available resources for the accomplishment of one or more carefully defined future objectives. As a matter of fact, all of us, whether consciously or unconsciously, are almost constantly involved in the process of budgeting: budgeting of time, budgeting of space, budgeting of energy, and budgeting of money and other material resources.

In any case where available resources exceed the cost of all needed and desired services, formal budgeting might seem to be of less importance; but even in such a case effectual results would almost certainly depend upon carefully planned usage of such resources. Whenever, on the other hand, there are many demands on limited resources, the processes of priority establishment and resource allocation must be utilized if anything approaching optimum resources is to be attained. Where the unit of government is small and the demands for service are few, the process of budgeting is not likely to prove too difficult even in the face of limited resources. For those charged with the responsibility of conducting the affairs of larger and more complex governmental units, an adequate budgetary system is absolutely essential. In every case, it is important to maintain complete accounting records in order to assure proper accountability for the expenditure of public funds.

The brief reference that I have made in the foregoing to program planning, evaluation, and selection and to the budgetary process has been included only in order to put the fiscal responsibility of elected officials in proper perspective. In-depth coverage of these other important aspects of financial management should be given consideration as the subject matter for future meetings of this group, since our attention today is to be focused primarily on revenue and taxation.

Before proceeding to the discussion of any specific taxes or other sources of revenue, certain general observations seem to be in order. In considering the levy of any new tax, or even in reviewing an existing tax structure, attention should be given to certain basic criteria, chief among which are: equitableness, productivity, flexibility, collectibility, and administrative feasibility.

Since the primary purpose of taxation is to provide essential revenue, it is obvious that the productivity of any tax is of great importance. When the extent of need for revenue has been established, the potential productivity of any tax or combination of taxes should be estimated as accurately as possible in order to predetermine whether the projected goal can be attained by the levy of such tax or taxes. It is further desirable that such tax or taxes be subject to upward or downward revision within reasonable limits in order to provide a degree of flexibility which may avoid the subsequent necessity for the levy of some new or additional tax.

Careful consideration should also be given to the factors of collectibility and administrative feasibility. Some apparently proper subjects for taxation pose problems of collectibility because of indicated difficulties in enforcement. In other cases, estimated costs of levy and collection constitute such a high percentage of

potential yield as to make such taxes impracticable. In this area of concern, every effort should be made to avoid a multiplicity of different taxes, not only because of administrative problems and higher costs of collection, but also because too many different taxes are a nuisance to the tax-paying public.

The most important criterion in determining the use of any tax or combination of taxes should, in my judgment, be that of equitableness. An equitable tax structure might well be defined as one in which each person bore his or her fair share of the tax burden, or as one in which taxes were levied in accordance with ability to pay. It is obviously easier to define such a tax system than it is to attain it. There are wide differences of opinion as to what constitutes a fair share, and neither economists nor political scientists have been successful in satisfactorily measuring the limits of ability to pay.

However, despite the fact that there is no pat formula for attaining tax equity in designing a tax structure, in modifying an existing one, or in levying a new and additional tax, the best possible judgment should be used in attempting to make equitableness a primary consideration. This consideration, of course, should be extended to all, but with particular attention to those least able to pay and also to business and industry lest a too heavy tax burden result in a loss of potential job opportunities and a weakening of the economic base upon which the community depends for its existence. It should, perhaps, be mentioned at this point that certain types of taxes can be made more equitable by the appropriate use of exemptions.

Unfortunately, our present-day tax systems at every level of government have tended to grow by a series of patchwork additions from time to time as additional revenue was needed, with the result that by and large they are not equitable. In an article entitled "Who Really Gets Hurt by Taxes," which appeared in the December 9, 1968 issue of U. S. News and World Report, it is stated that the widely held idea that taxes in the U.S. "soak the rich and spare the poor" is erroneous, but rather that families with the lowest incomes tend to bear the heaviest tax burden in terms of ability to pay. While it is true that the graduated federal income tax takes a greater percentage of the income of those in the upper brackets, many other taxes make a bigger dent in the pocketbooks of lower income families.

The latter is particularly true of the payroll tax (Social Security), the property tax, and the sales tax. As an example, on Jan. 1, 1969 the payroll deduction for Social Security will be 4.8 per cent on earnings up to $7,800. Obviously everybody earning $7,800 or less will be paying 4.8 per cent of their earnings for this purpose; but because of the limit, those earning $12,000 will pay only 3.12 per cent of their total earnings, those earning $18,000 only 2.08 per cent, those earning $24,000 only 1.56 per cent, and so on down the line.

In the case of property taxes, according to the article referred to above, those making less than $7,000 a year pay six to eight cents out of each dollar of income, on average, whereas those in brackets above $25,000 average only 2 per cent of income for property taxes. It was further indicated that sales taxes take nearly a nickel out of every dollar earned by families in the lowest income brackets, as against a penny or two at the upper end of the income scale. It should be remembered that the above figures are based on nationwide averages and, therefore, that they may vary significantly between states and communities. In any event, the property tax and the sales tax tend to fall with heavier impact on those in the lower income brackets with relation to ability to pay, and yet state and local governments lean most heavily on those two taxes as major sources of tax revenue.

At the federal level, at least, increasing concern is currently being expressed relative to the heavy burden of taxation on low-income taxpayers; and many forms of possible relief are being tentatively proposed, such as increasing the income below which no federal income tax would have to be paid, reducing rates in the lowest income tax brackets, increasing the minimum standard deduction for expenses, increasing personal exemptions, giving tax credits for each personal exemption claimed by a low-income family, refunding Social Security taxes paid by low-income families, payment of "negative income taxes," etc. From time to time, studies have been conducted at both the state and local levels of government aimed at tax reform; but few, if any, of these have thus far resulted in any significant improvement of tax structures. Hopefully some of this good intent will soon be translated into action.

Although taxation provides the largest source of governmental revenue, there are many other potential sources of income including license fees; other fines, fees, and permits; income from sales of services; reimbursements for services performed; grants-in-aid; shared taxes, and other miscellaneous sources. These non-tax sources are utilized for a number of different reasons and, in some cases, a combination of reasons, such as:

1. To provide added revenue
2. To exercise control in the protection of health, public safety, property, etc.
3. To protect other public interests
4. To serve as a punitive measure
5. To secure total or partial reimbursement for certain services
6. To provide for intergovernmental cost sharing
7. To stimulate activity and improvement in respect to specified public services

In order that some of you who have had only limited experience in the field of public finance may get a better idea of the large number and great variety of potential tax and other revenue sources that are currently being utilized by state and local governments, you have or will be furnished with an outline of such sources. While fairly complete, it is not professed that it is inclusive of all such tax and revenue sources in use throughout the country. In some cases, comparable taxes may be levied in different governmental jurisdictions bearing entirely different names. I wish to make it very clear that, in presenting this outline, there is absolutely no intent on my part to suggest the use of any particular tax or combination of taxes. Local conditions, economic factors, and legal restrictions vary significantly between geographic areas and must, or should, be taken into consideration in the structuring or restructuring of any tax and revenue system.

At this point in time, practically all governmental

units at every level are being confronted by the same dilemma-increasing demands for public services, sharply increasing costs, and an inadequate tax and revenue potential. In many cases, therefore, unless there is to be a sharp curtailment in these public services or a lessening in their quality and effectiveness, it seems (even after every reasonable effort has been made to improve efficiency) that increases in existing taxes, or the levy of some new and additional tax or taxes, or the seeking out of some alternate source of revenue is inevitable. Wherever and whenever this proves to be the case, it is of the utmost importance that the five basic criteria mentioned earlier in this discussion be given most careful consideration before any decision is made to change the tax structure.

Quite obviously time does not permit any attempt on my part to discuss each of the different tax sources that are listed on the outline to which I have made previous reference. In the question and answer period which I understand is to follow the presentation of your panelists, there will be an opportunity for you to ask about any of these in which you may have a particular interest. Two of them, however, the property tax and the sales tax—which are heavily depended upon by both state and local governments—deserve at least brief mention. Both of these taxes are productive and reasonably flexible, but both tend to place a disproportionate burden on taxpayers in the lowest income brackets, as has been previously pointed out.

The property tax is one of the oldest and most used among all taxes currently being levied. It does not pose any serious problem of collectibility, for, if there is a failure to pay, the tax becomes a lien upon the property in question. It is not a particularly easy tax to administer, for there is involved the necessity of separately assessing each individual parcel of property, of maintaining extensive tax and assessment rolls, of keeping property assessments accurate and up-to-date, of developing uniform assessment procedures, and of equalizing assessed valuations on a state or county-wide basis. The use of the property tax is further complicated in many jurisdictions by statutory and constitutional restrictions and by a large number of different provisions for complete or partial exemption. In some jurisdictions the property tax is also extended to personal property; and, in these cases, administration becomes even more difficult and problems of enforcement are introduced. Nonetheless, the property tax is apparently here to stay for at least the foreseeable future, and it is therefore important that it be administered as effectively and as equitably as possible.

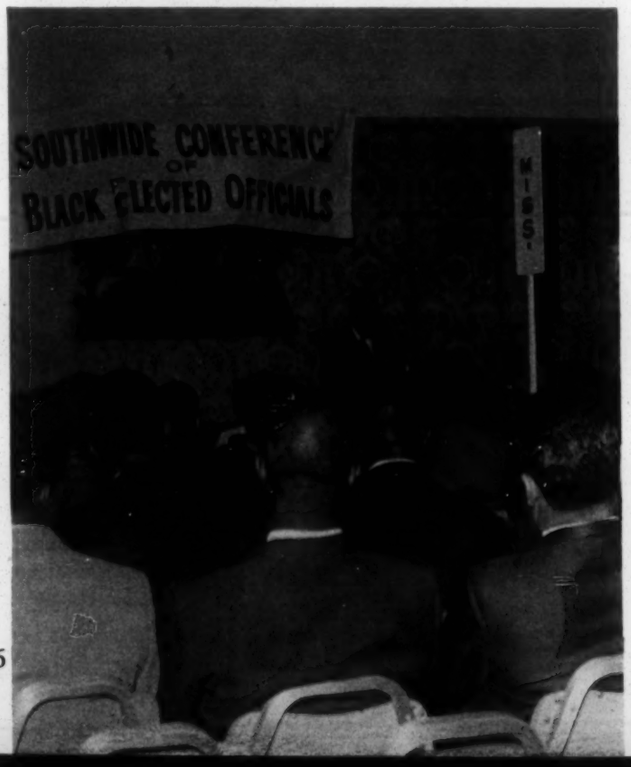
There is considerable variation in the manner in which the sales tax is used by governmental agencies across the country. It can be made applicable to the sales of services, as well as the sales of commodities. It can be made applicable to all sales, or provision can be made for exemption on the sales of such commodities as fool, drugs and/or certain basic clothing items. In the latter case the administration of the tax, which normally poses few problems, becomes more difficult and complicated, particularly for those who collect the tax at the original source.

In conclusion, I wish to make brief reference to the financing of major capital projects such as the construction of public buildings, highways, water and sewer facilities, etc. In some cases and to a certain extent, capital improvements may be financed out of current revenue, which method is generally referred to as financing on a "pay-as-you-go" basis. This method has considerable merit and may prove desirable in the case of long-term capital programs which provide for large annual expenditures over a considerable number of years, as might be the case in an extended highway construction program.

More frequently, however, major capital projects which are expected to have a relatively long life are financed by the issuance of bonds. This method of financing is justified by the fact that, at least to some degree, it tends to spread the costs over the period of years during which the capital project will continue in use. In no case is it desirable that the payment of a bond issue extend for a period in excess of the estimated useful life of the capital improvement. It is, of course, possible to finance capital improvement programs by an appropriate combination of "pay-as-you go" and bond financing.

Bonds issued by states and local units of government fall into two general categories—full faith and credit bonds and revenue bonds. The former category, which involves a pledge of the full faith and credit of the particular governmental unit, is normally used in cases where the capital project will not generate any revenue or insufficient revenue to cover the debt service of the bond issue. In the case of capital projects in respect to which it can be demonstrated that sufficient revenue will be generated to cover the debt service by an adequate margin, revenue bonds are generally used.

At the local level of government, a third category of bonds may be used which are known as special assessment bonds or special district bonds. The legal establishment of a special assessment district is a prerequisite to the issuance of such bonds. These bonds are issued to cover the costs of such projects as drains, sewers, water facilities, roads, etc., and require that the debt service be adequately covered by the levy of special property tax assessments against the benefitted property within the district over a long enough period to pay off the bond issue.



The ability of any unit of government to issue bonds and to issue them at a favorable interest rate is directly related to the financial stability of that unit of government. If such financial stability is questionable, it frequently becomes either impossible or prohibitively expensive to issue bonds. For this and many other reasons, I urge upon all of you most serious concern for the sound and effective management of the financial affairs of your respective units of government.

REVENUE AND TAXATION

An Outline of Potential Sources
Prepared for Use at Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials
By **Alfred M. Pelham**
December 13, 1968

TAX SOURCES

Taxes used primarily by state government:
- Corporate Franchise Taxes (organizational and annual)
- Business Activities Tax
- Motor Vehicles Taxes:
  - a. Weight
  - b. Horsepower
  - c. Motor Carriers' Privilege
  - d. Gasoline
  - e. Diesel Fuel
- Inheritance Tax
- Intangibles Tax
- Utility Property Tax
- Liquor, Beer and Wine Taxes
- Horse and Dog Wagering Taxes
- Chain Store Tax
- Unemployment Compensation Tax
- Domestic Building and Loan and Savings and Loan Association Franchise and Privilege Taxes
- Foreign Building and Loan and Savings and Loan Association Privilege Tax
- Federal Savings and Loan Privilege Tax
- Insurance Company Privilege Tax (domestic and foreign)
- Oil, Gas and Minerals Severance Tax
- Stumpage Tax
- Other (aircraft, vessel tonnage, watercraft, etc.)

Taxes used by both state and local government:
- Property Tax (real and/or personal)
- Income Tax (flat or graduated)
- Sales Tax (on commodities)
- Sales Tax (on services)
- Cigaret Tax
- Amusement Tax

Taxes used primarily by local governments:
- Property Tax-Special Assessments
- Payroll Tax
- Utilities Tax (on customer billings)
- Hotel-Motel Occupancy Tax
- Motor Vehicle Operation Tax
- Property Transfer Tax

SOURCES OF REVENUE OTHER THAN TAXES

Licenses:
- Motor Vehicles (automobiles, trucks, trailers, motorcycles, etc.)
- Motor Vehicle Operators
- Liquor Dealers
- Liquor Establishments (bars, clubs, cabarets, etc.)
- Restaurants
- Other Business Establishments
- Street Vendors
- Marriage
- Dog
- Other

Fines, Fees and Permits:
- Traffic and other Court Fines and Fees
- Registration Fees:
  - a. Deeds, Mortgages, Chattel Mortgages, etc.
  - b. Births and Deaths
  - c. Assumed Name
  - d. Annual Reports
  - e. Professional
  - f. Other
- Inspection Fees:
  - a. Safety (building, elevator, etc.)
  - b. Fire
  - c. Food
  - d. Other
- Parking Meter and other Automobile Parking Fees.
- Other Fees and Charges (zoo, golf course, marina, etc.)
  - a. Building
  - b. Food Handlers
  - c. Sidewalk
  - d. Other

Sales of Service and Reimbursement for Services Performed:
- Hospital and Health Services
- Other Institutional Services
- Water and Sewer Services
- Welfare Services
- Rubbish and Garbage Collection (commercial)
- Other

Grants in Aid (from state and federal government)
- Welfare
- Health
- Education
- Urban and Community Renewal
- Highway Construction
- Office of Economic Opportunity
- Water and Air Pollution Control
- Civil Defense
- Other

Shared Taxes (from state government)
- Varies between states

Miscellaneous Sources:
- Income from Investments
- Rentals and Concessions
- Gifts and Bequests
- Proceeds from Sale of Bonds
- Other

'...Know Your Authority...'

Gerald A. Lamb, *a native of Elizabeth City, N.C., is treasurer of the state of Connecticut. He has also served as president pro tem of the board of aldermen and as acting mayor of his present home, Waterbury, Conn. He was one of three Negro financial experts on a panel on revenue and taxation.*

I am indeed most honored to serve on this distinguished panel of financial experts, but of equal honor is this opportunity to share with you some of my experiences that may offer to you an expressway of financial genius and expertise in your transactions rather than a dirt road of bumpy pitfalls, frustrations and despair.

It is always gratifying for me to return to the South, for after all I am a product of a proud but poor family of the South. In fact, last evening when I flew over the eastern shores of North Carolina where I was born, I found myself in a rather nostalgic mood. Reflecting back over the years, I could remember vividly the day more than 26 years ago I marched off to defend this nation, and how paradoxical it was that I should want to defend this nation, for I had just spent more than two months searching for a job behind doors that remained closed to us. I reconciled my concern for this nation or this system at that time by saying that "things will be better some day." How prophetic, for I returned to the South last night, not as a frustrated, disillusioned and angry young man, but as an individual somewhat older, yes, somewhat balder, but also the treasurer of one of the 50 states. Let no one deceive you, this is progress, and the number of elected officials present today suggests to me that you in the South are also enjoying progress.

Our topic or theme, as has been stated, is "Revenue and Taxation." If we, as panelists, are to complement but not duplicate each other, perhaps each of us can touch generally on the broad implications of the topic but zero in on the areas that touch our present responsibilities. As treasurer of a state, I would like to at least discuss one area that perhaps the other panelists may overlook.

My remarks to you as elected or potential public financial officials will stress two general themes: the necessity of having a clear definition of one's authority and responsibility, and the necessity of utilizing *competent* advice.

Let us review carefully the first question for a moment—What is your authority and responsibility? May I first caution you against asking your predecessor or any other elected or appointed official in your locale. All too often their advice is both inconsistent and incomplete. My advice is simple—review, analyze and thoroughly familiarize yourself with your city or town charter, state or county statutes, ordinances, rules, and regulations pertaining to the office you hold.

The obvious reason to know your authority and responsibility is to perform and execute your duties properly, but of equal importance is to always be on guard that someone else does not perform your job for you by usurpation of authority. Your authority and jurisdiction may be much broader in scope and dimension than you anticipated or realized. It is no secret in Connecticut that my election as treasurer of Connecticut has made everyone aware of that constitutional office and its vast jurisdiction. And, I might add, for those few who were not aware of it, I have a way of reminding them—and this includes other state officials frequently.

It is not unusual for me to quote my powers enumerated in chapter 32 of the general statutes. It says: "The treasurer is responsible for receiving, depositing, and disbursing all state funds; collecting and distributing certain taxes and fees; servicing all state bond issues, investing surplus money; borrowing of funds when required, administering the financing of all state-owned public housing."

The treasurer is custodian of all securities pledged by insurance companies, all pension funds, and deeds to properties owned or controlled by our state. He is the escheat or abandoned property administrator and serves on the Banking Commission, Bond Commission, and Finance Advisory Commission.

I have listed these responsibilities to illustrate to you the necessity for knowing your authority. The position of treasurer had gone unnoticed because my predecessors either did not know the scope of their authority or did not elect to use it.

It has been suggested by some that the true impact of my job was not known until it was too late. With your indulgence, I would like to add a bit of humor. Those of you whose wives are the keepers of the family purse realize the influence of the mate with the money. I am certain you can almost agree that if you have the money, you have almost everything, because at least you have some influence.

Moving quickly to my second theme (utilizing competent advice), I cannot overstress the importance of seeking advice in this complex society because it is impossible to be an expert on all facets of finance. Public officials are and must be especially dependent on both legal and financial advice. Any man who thinks he knows all is destined to ruin himself and his state, county, or town.

I have used these two central themes with emphasis, because as we proceed through five important areas of special interest to local finance officers, you will realize their importance.

Using some personal experience and observations in these five areas, I will not attempt to give a technical discourse on each because the technicalities differ by state and area; but instead I want to offer some helpful hints.

The five areas of concern to public financial officials that I will comment on are:

I Administrative practices
II Public relations responsibilities
III Handling deposits
IV Investment of money
V Borrowing money

If I were giving a lecture on administration, I would discuss the practices of setting goals, selecting personnel, and coordinating and guiding their efforts with sophistication toward these goals. But today, rather than misguide or deceive you about our genius, I would rather talk about a very simple but helpful everyday tool I use for accomplishing these rather lofty goals, i.e., a "calendar of events." A simple, accurately maintained calendar goes a long way toward making a good administrator. In addition to maintaining a prompt and efficient personal calendar, this also enables you to coordinate your many diverse office functions and carefully program and project duties. As a public financial official this is especially important, because your responsibilities are very often defined in terms of legal dates and it would be disastrous to miss timely execution. Maturing dates of notes or bonds or restrictions specifying dates, often written into the authorizing legislation, are prime examples of important dates to be listed on calendars of events.

I cannot stress too strongly the continuing aspects of your public relations responsibilities. If you are an elected official, you must always remember the first requirement is to get re-elected. This means consideration of public relations factors every day and not just during election year.

It goes without saying that the basis of good public relations is a sound and efficient operation. After all, one cannot cover over inefficiencies for long. Granting this, you still have to communicate the soundness of your operation day in and day out to the public. Overlooking public relations has increased the casualties of some extremely expert and efficient finance officials.

One of the most basic rules for good public relations is to do everything within reason to "avoid inconveniencing the people."

Let me give some concrete examples of the public relations considerations that affect a finance officer's responsibilities in just one area, the issuance of bonds.

First, to the voters, here I can point out:

(A) A need for stressing the positive benefits of a proposed bond issue and the merits and benefits to be derived from this capital expenditure. This is particularly important if the authorization is by public referendum.

(B) The necessity for *not* confusing the voter with side questions or complicating his understanding by combining projects into large, incomprehensible, omnibus packages.

(C) Above all, when possible, time the referendum away from vacations and holidays. The support of the more affluent citizen, who could possibly be away, may mean the difference between success or defeat.

Second, to the bond rating agencies:

It is extremely important that the rating agencies of Moody's, Standard and Poor's and Dun and Bradstreet be continually informed about the financial and economic condition of your community. In essence, you should make full disclosure on a continuous basis. All positive attributes of community should be stressed. A credit rating of AAA or A or BA can mean hundreds of dollars in interest cost savings to the tax payer.

Third, to the underwriters and investors:

Again I repeat the importance of keeping this group completely informed about the community's financial and economic condition. If you desire a good sale, schedule the sale for a convenient day (not a holiday) and at a convenient time (11 a.m. rather than 9 a.m. or 7 in the evening).

These examples of public relations considerations at all levels of contact when issuing bonds is cited to stress the continuing aspects of your public relations responsibilities. Careful attention here not only helps the community (a lower borrowing cost) but also helps you (a requirement for re-election).

Leaving these more general administrative and public relations responsibilities, we can now discuss the more specific functional areas of concern to a finance official —handling deposits, investments, and borrowings.

As a finance officer, your core duties usually center around this important public trust. There are several recommendations that I deem important. You must not delegate the responsibility for determining the bank depositories or the cash level of each account. It is your neck if a bank fails or defaults, and it is also your responsibility to determine your cash requirements based on projected expenditures and experiences of prior years. A good system of checks and balances along with accounting controls are mandatory. We in Connecticut believe in the honor and integrity of our state employees, and this is the reason for bonding all individuals who handle money (smile). We bond them as a precaution in the event that we have misjudged their character. I would suggest that you do likewise. I repeat, accounting controls are absolutely necessary.

As a financial official you will have monies on hand above needed working balances, monies upon which you want to earn a return!

Again, the legal question—What authority do you have to invest? For example, in Connecticut, most local communities can utilize only treasury obligations or bank certificates of deposit. Some states have broader authority which often includes commercial paper or other government agencies. Once you have ascertained

the legal authority or requirements, you still have the need for determining the amounts, maturities or the type of investments.

Here, competent financial advice must be sought. The rationale for investing is simple—define your needs, select investments to meet your needs—but the execution demands specialized knowledge of the characteristics of many different but legal investments as well as up-to-date knowledge of markets.

One source of investment help can be your local banker. Select those bankers with competence in the investment area. It may be beneficial to seek out a larger institution with trained specialists in another community if your local banker has only a limited knowledge of this area of work, especially the mechanics of buying and selling securities, an important consideration when selecting your investment advisor.

Pension funds and other custodial and trust accounts in most instances, because of their long term investment features, require other types of consultants such as investment brokers, actuarial scientists, or those with insurance expertise.

I must repeat once again, competent legal and financial advice is mandatory.

Under legal advice—the field of law surrounding borrowing money by government units is highly specialized. You should:

—Select a bond attorney experienced in your state whose legal opinion is marketable, or in other words, whose legal opinion has proved acceptable to bidders of previous issues. Your close friend who happens to practice law or your town attorney *cannot* be used if you want to sell your bonds;

—Consult bond counsel early since he must approve all proceedings relative to the bond issue including all notices, resolutions, adoptions and/or approvals by boards and offering circulars. In fact, I virtually hire bond counsel many times in advance of drafting of bond proposals. Their assistance is invaluable. May I repeat, a legal opinion concerning public financing is a very specialized field of law and should not be undertaken by a firm inexperienced in this area.

Financial advice—Here again, the same theme prevails. Select competent advisors to help guide you through the maze of considerations surrounding the issuance of bonds or notes.

Let us look at some of the considerations:

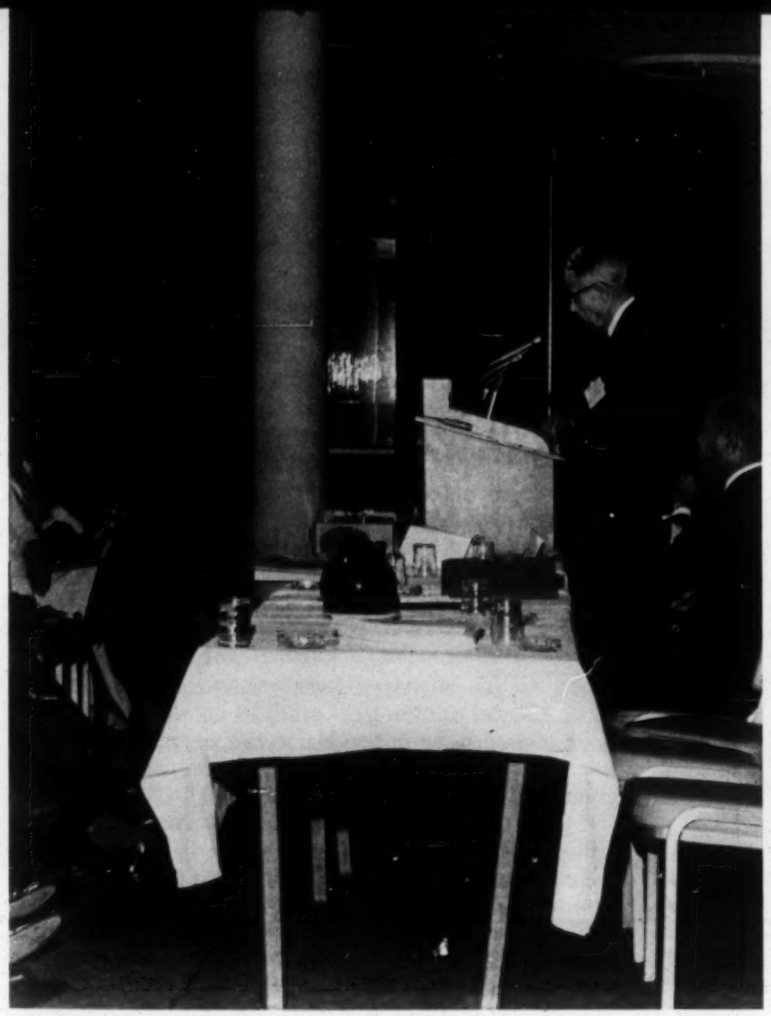
1. The timing of the sale—Is it a favorable market?
2. The date of sale—Is it a holiday or does it conflict with a major national sale or sales (100 million of California and 50 or 60 million of Connecticut)?
3. Presentation to the rating agencies—What kind of information do they require?
4. Preparing the prospectus—Is it clear and concise?
5. Setting the maturity schedule—Are the dates convenient for investors? Is the schedule reconcilable with the flow of cash or resources?
6. Details of handling the sale—Is it a place convenient for bidders and is there a local proxy agent that can submit bids telephoned from the money centers (New York, Chicago, San Francisco, etc?)

I could go on at length, but instead I would highly recommend the reference booklet covering this area, "Pitfalls in Issuing Public Bonds" published by Moody's Investors Service, Inc.

In conclusion, I hope my message is clear enough—As you operate in the five principle areas of concern to public finance officials, you should carefully (A) consider the scope and limit of your responsibility and authority, and (B) seek competent advice, both legal and financial.

I am cognizant that I have not created many financial wizards in 15 minutes, but if any one of you is elected or appointed in a financial responsibility, I would be most happy to offer you several weeks of training in my office.

I purposely have avoided the topic of taxation, for we are indeed fortunate to have two experts in that field on the panel. I trust that I have aroused some curiosity and stimulated some interest, for questions will be most welcomed.



TEXAS
ALABAMA
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Dinkler Plaza

'...Services and Benefits...'

Theodore A. Jones, *director of revenue of Illinois, spoke on "Problems of Revenue Administration" on the revenue and taxation panel Dec. 13. He is former regional director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for the Great Lakes Region and is a director of several financial institutions in Chicago.*

I am deeply honored by your invitation. I am here, of course, as the representative of my state government's *most popular agency*—the tax-collecting Department of Revenue.

I am particulary grateful for this opportunity of speaking to you because of your particular professional interest in public administration. You are in a position to provide heavy influence upon some of the enormously complex decisions which lie immediately ahead of us.

I believe that it is time to make a decision as to whether state government will continue as a responsive and responsible instrument of the public will—whether it will continue to meet its responsibilities, or whether it will, by default, shift those responsibilities onto the federal government and itself assume a somewhat passive and ceremonial role in solving the people's problems and in some instances, the role of a spoiler, denying service to disadvantaged citizens. Every state faces decisions on this order.

Mere words will not answer that question. We must answer it with actions, and unless we do answer it satisfactorily, history will supply answers we do not relish. Are state governments going to respond realistically to local needs while the federal government waxes ever stronger and all-pervading?

Our ability to carry out the responsibilities of government is measured in what Abraham Lincoln called "the legitimate object of government" and defined as "to do for the people what needs to be done, but which they cannot, by individual effort, do at all, or do so well, for themselves."

If we are to do these things, it seems to me that we will have to do some rearranging of our opinions—to rid ourselves of some of the folklore that has grown up around the acts of government and the collection of taxes.

Too often we hear government discussed as if it were a business, as if it should be expected to make a profit and pay a dividend. This is utterly false. Government has no purpose as an institution other than the services and benefits it can provide for the people, better than they can do it for themselves.

Too often we forget that our democratic representative government was set up by inspired non-conformists expressly to provide services and benefits which they believed were justly due to the people, and which they had despaired of securing under colonial government.

If government is not created to "serve," what then is its purpose?

You cannot divorce state taxes from the federal and local taxes in preparing a program. They all come out of the same pocket, including your pocket and mine. In dealing with revenues, we must consider the total impact of all taxes, federal, state, and local, including those new ones which may be proposed.

In and of themselves, taxes are sterile. They have no real meaning except in terms of the payments of past debts or the purchase of services—paying workmen for their labor, and contractors for their work, materials for industry and goods bought and used by the state.

When Chief Justice John Marshall, in McCulloch vs. Maryland, said that "the power of tax involves the power to destroy," he laid the groundwork of a mischievous folklore that all taxes are, *per se,* bad because they will be abused. Had he said "the power to tax, carried to the extreme," he would have been much more precise.

The power of tax involves much more than John Marshall said: It involves the power to maintain responsible government, to provide police protection, health and education, highways and transportation facilities, schools and airports and sewage systems, hospitals and medical services—the things that Abraham Lincoln had in mind, and the things that the people, who own the government, want and are determined that they shall have.

Levying, collecting and expending taxes is not an exercise of futility and self-destruction. It is a function of maintaining those very services which ensure the permanence of democratic government and which are closest to the people and their needs.

It is in this area of services that the states are shifting the responsibility over to the federal government.

I should like to say parenthetically here that there is a very good reason why the federal government has been able to assume responsibilities that belong to the states, and that the states haven't been able to meet. The federal Constitution, liberally construed over the

years, confers vast, indeed almost unlimited powers in its clauses on the general welfare, commerce, and taxing power. State governments, Illinois being a prime example, operate under constitutions that for the most part are narrowly drafted, unduly restrictive, and narrowly construed. Hence you have the paradox of the remote government being given virtually unlimited powers while those governments closest to the people are handcuffed and rendered incapable of meeting their historic responsibilities; or providing cover for state inefficiencies and for state administrators to deny equal treatment for disadvantaged citizens.

The "tax climate," which we hear so much about, cannot be divorced from the total business climate. I assume that everyone wants to maintain a business climate that is healthy and vigorous and full of opportunity.

Andrew Mellon, when he was Secretary of the Treasury, gave us a guideline that is still relevant. He said:

> "A sound tax policy must lessen, so far as possible, the burden of those least able to bear it; and it must remove those influences which might retard the continued steady development of business and industry on which, in the last analysis, so much of our prosperity depends."

It seems clear to me that at certain strategic points, many state tax systems fail utterly to measure up to those standards. We can agree that good taxes should, then, have certain characteristics: They should hold reasonable promise of being stable sources of revenue; they should be uniformly levied so that everyone shares in supporting the government; they should be easy to collect and hard to evade; they should be levied according to ability to pay.

And, above all, they should be levied on the other fellow!!

I think we can agree, too, that if every man could build his own hospital, his own school, his own highway and transport system, clean his own river, dispose of his garbage and sewage, act as his own policeman, install his own street lights and pave his own street—we then wouldn't need taxes at all!

Let us consider briefly what is occurring in some areas of historic state and federal responsibility.

Increasingly, in some states, the federal government has been called upon to restore law and order and here and there to provide some justice. Here, we must move as rapidly as possible with every resource available, to erase the social and economic conditions which produce mass disorders. Maintenance of respect for law is a primary and historic state responsibility which all too often has not been exercised well, if at all. All government has responsibility here.

No responsibility rests more squarely upon the state than that of providing for education, and our plight is desperate. It is desperate statewide and most critical in cities. School administrators everywhere are faced with the urgent need to find money to carry out programs that must be undertaken.

I would like to note an example of the wide variation in the quality of education contained in the report of the Illinois Scholarship Commission last year. Of the high school students enrolled in City of Chicago senior classes, 22.4 per cent of those eligible to compete for scholarships did so. But only 5.5 per cent of the total eligible were actually qualified for scholarships. For the state as a whole 23.4 per cent of senior classmen entered the competition, and 7.1 per cent qualified for scholarships. For Cook County suburban schools, 29.3 per cent of senior classmen competed, and 10.1 per cent qualified for scholarships.

What does this mean? It means that City of Chicago seniors fall significantly behind the state level and very far behind the suburban level of education, as indicated in the grading for scholarships. Educators will tell you that other factors (environment, economic pressures, family and community disturbances) may affect the student's performance. But the conclusion that a gigantic educational effort must be made in the city and the state is inescapable.

We may congratulate ourselves in Illinois that we have unexcelled prosperity and an unemployment rate of only 3 per cent, which is far below the level of other industrial states. But do not be misled by generalizations on this theme. Averages are tricky.

In the Lawndale area of Chicago, 17 per cent of adult males are without jobs, and 12 per cent in the Woodlawn area are unemployed. In some sections unemployment among Negro youth is 30 per cent or higher. It is dangerously high in many of the poorer white sections. These are the drop-outs, the aged, the uneducated and untrained who are unemployable in a highly technological economy. They are the elements of what Dr. James Conant called a "time bomb" in our midst.

Dr. Phillip Hauser, sociologist at the University of Chicago Center for Urban Studies, has said, "All of the welfare and educational provisions today are only a band-aid on a gaping, massive wound." (Time Magazine, July 28, 1967).

Gunnar Myrdal, the eminent Swedish economist, in his recent study of our economy, says: "In society at large there is more equality of opportunity today than there ever was. But for the bottom layer there is less or none."

These people, and many others, are telling us that despite our booming economy, our good intentions and our efforts thus far, we must find ways to give great numbers of sorely disadvantaged persons—some one-sixth of our population—a chance to learn, an opportunity to gain skills, a way to find some gainful work. We must find ways to help them break the chains in which they but barely exist—the cycle of unemployment, the relief roll, the broken family, the loss of faith, the loss of motivation, adult and juvenile crime.

Training and education and new approaches and methods of training are the major factors in accomplishing this goal. It is—I would like to point out—the only means by which we shall insure that in the future, business and industry and government will be able to find men and women with the technological (or scientific) skills that are needed to maintain our competitive advantages. Before the world, I doubt that there is a person present here today who could not add at least a score of other major problems of our states and cities that call for emergency measures.

There are social and economic costs attached to any policy of "too little, too late" carried on in the name of "economy in government." What are some of the costs?

Tax values are destroyed on a massive scale as whole vast areas of property decay into slums.

Clients for the relief rolls are manufactured at an expanding rate, and the tax burdens thereby increase.

Families are destroyed, by the hundreds and thousands, as social units.

Crime and juvenile delinquency and police and court costs fall into a vicious spiral of inflation.

Relationships between the individual and the surrounding society, and between the individual and his government, are eroded.

Human dignity is emasculated.

When I see these things, I ask myself if we can afford not to undertake that which is needed. Will not the eventual cost of inaction be far the greater?

58.6 per cent of Illinois' general revenue fund in the last biennium came from the so-called sales tax. 27 per cent of our total revenue came from the federal government. The 1967 increase in the sales tax—to 5 per cent—undoubtedly makes it one of the most regressive levies in the nation.

Our tax excludes a very wide range of proper objects of taxation: Our combined state-local rate is among the highest in the nation, and it rests most heavily on the food and clothing necessities purchased by those with the larger families—namely the poor.

It is clear that if federal grants and other payments were withdrawn, Illinois, as would all states, overnight would be in a colossal financial crisis. You cannot pull 27 per cent out of any revenue system without producing chaos.

A word about Federal Domestic Assistance. Shift is one major characteristic, most notable from federal to local city direct relationships rather than through state control and reallocation. OEO was the leader here followed by HUD, the Department of Labor and now some HEW programs.

U.S. Aid as Percentage of State Budgets 28 per cent in 1966.

Ala.	36%	Miss.	32%
Alaska	52%	N.C.	23%
Arkansas	36%	S.C.	23%
Fla.	22%	Tenn.	31%
Ga.	29%	Texas	28%
Ky.	31%	Va.	28%
La.	28%		

Ninety-three per cent of the Governors believe that federal aid has stimulated state activity; 70 per cent believe it has improved state standards, and 35 per cent believe it has produced interference with state affairs. (This was in 1948).

With the partial shift from state control mentioned earlier, I believe many more will now claim interference—witness the new drive for block, unrestricted grants to states, sharing of income tax, etc.

With this shift has come a massive increase in federal grant programs:

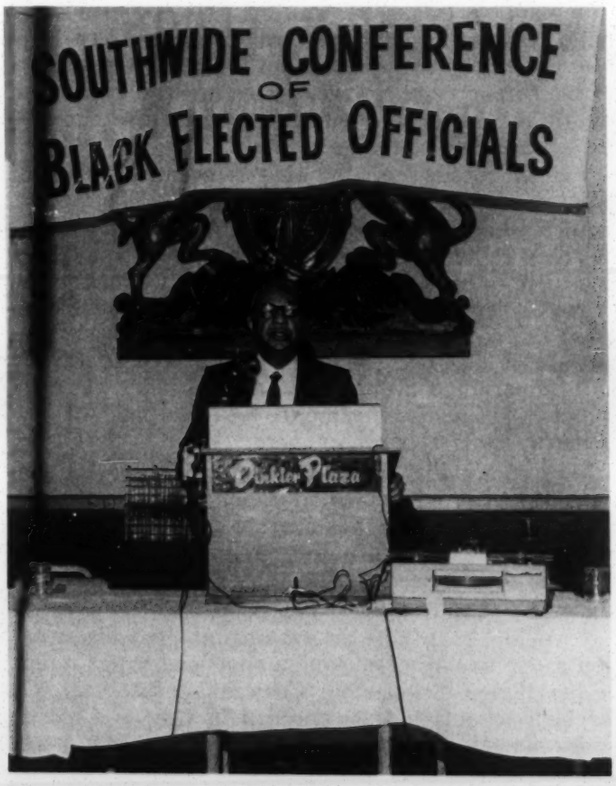
1. War on Poverty—heavy local participation
2. Twenty-one basic education measures by Congress—1964-68
3. Fifteen vocational education and manpower bills
4. Four mass transit programs
5. Twenty major health statutes
6. Thirteen housing and urban development bills

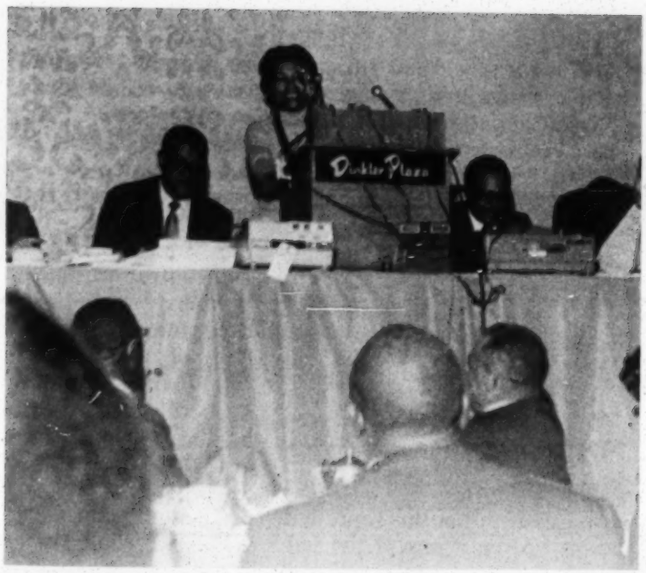
In all about 219 new grant-in-aid programs with cost are going from $3 billion in 1960 to $20 billion in 1968-69.

With some imagination and firm resolutions we could do a much better and much fairer job of raising the revenues needed for schools, roads, welfare, training, housing and other purposes.

The more you involve yourselves in these matters, the more likely we are to devise a tax system that is fair and just and sufficient to our needs. Give leadership and participate.

President Roosevelt, who had to wrestle with unprecedented domestic problems and a depression of calamitous severity, proved to us that new thinking and new methods are required in meeting new challenges. I recall that he once said that, "Taxes are the price of breathing the free air of a free country, the price of a living and not a dead world."




Dunbar Plaza

'...Our Real Dream...'

Paul Anthony, *executive director of the Southern Regional Council, greeted U. S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and the black elected officials at the banquet Dec. 13.*

It is with misgivings that I appear on the program this evening. Long dinners and the involvement of many people serve no function other than that of boring our guests.

However, in the next several moments, it is both a privilege, and certainly a pleasure, to do two things.

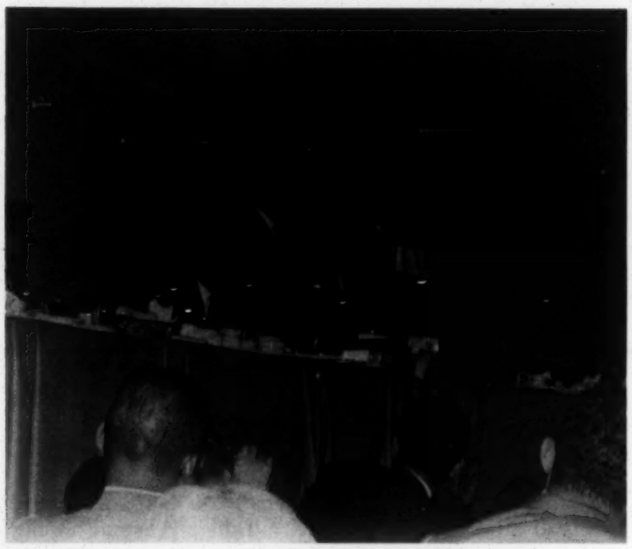
First, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council I should like to express our appreciation to Attorney General Ramsey Clark for being with us this evening. There is good in the South and there is good in the nation. This audience, Mr. Attorney General, represents a significant part of the good and the promise in this region. And the Attorney General, ladies and gentlemen of the audience, represents the good and the honorable of this nation. It is important, most important, that we meet here tonight recognizing this.

Secondly, and again on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I should like, belatedly, to welcome the black elected officials of the South to this meeting and to thank you for coming. This is, as I am sure you agree, an historic occasion, and Atlanta is the appropriate site for it. Earlier, we have gone from "Gone with the Wind" to the Cotton States Exposition. At that latter event, of course, Dr. Washington attempted to make peace with the white South for "his people." I do not demean Dr. Washington, I hurt for him and the choices he faced.

The black elected officials here tonight give proof that now we are privileged to have new choices, and I rejoice that we do. The Southern Regional Council has for 20 years had a strong interest in access to the ballot, we have developed a sound reputation for our knowledge on this subject, and we have consistently expressed our faith in the power of the ballot. (And we are pleased that our current Voter Education Project is our most ambitious and successful effort to date in this area.)

Yet, for all the encouragement, pleasure and, indeed, honest rejoicing that this gives us of the Southern Regional Council, we, too, are sad. I am sad that in 1968 we should need a conference of black elected officials. For the Southern Regional Council to have such a conference is a confirmation that we are right, particularly in believing in the democratic society. We are gratified that this represents such a significant movement up the rungs of the ladder. But, we shall not be really gratified until we have climbed the ladder. We shall achieve our real dream in cooperation with men like the Honorable Ramsey Clark and that which he represents, and with the cooperation of the honorable black elected officials here present. This dream is to have a conference of *elected* officials.

Then we will all be blessed, whole, and a nation of honor.



UTHWIDE CONFERENCE
OF
ACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

'... Equal Justice To All of Its People...'

Ramsey Clark, *retiring Attorney General of the United States, was speaker Dec. 13 at a banquet at the American Motor Hotel. He is a native of Texas and the son of former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark. He came to the Justice Department in March, 1961 after his appointment by President John F. Kennedy as assistant attorney general.*

I wish there were some way that I could tell you how deeply pleased I am to be with you tonight. My reasons fall into three groups: One is personal. I am Southern and white, and I know how very desperately we need black elected officials here.

Second is official. I have been awfully fortunate through all my life, but during no time have I been so fortunate as these last years that I have had the opportunity to serve justice. There are many, many men and women who have been in the Department of Justice these years who should be here tonight; and they would be, as am I, deeply pleased to be here and to know what you represent for this nation.

We are here tonight because we are a democracy and a democracy that will ultimately extend equal justice to all of its people. We are here tonight because we are making progress toward that end. We are making progress because we care. I well remember the long nights in the Department of Justice in the winter of 1964 when we were trying to find the legal techniques for a voting rights act. I well remember President Johnson's deep personal commitment to liberating the Negro, the minority in America; to bring the vote to all Americans.

As the principal federal officer in charge of the enforcement of the federal court order under which the march from Selma to Montgomery took place in the spring of '65, I had the privilege to see great men—brave men, men who believed in America—march that we might be here tonight. Dr. Martin Luther King was in the front rank. Bob Kennedy, who had been Attorney General, contributed there in the early days toward the Voting Rights Act. Men like Nick Katzenbach, Burke Marshall and John Doar were there and did what they could with their might.

Then there was that moment, Aug. 6, 1965, when the rotunda of the nation's Capitol was filled with the nation's great, and the President of the United States signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and it became the law of the land. It was less than a week later that the first deep rumbles from South-Central Los Angeles in an area called Watts—originally a bus depot, the first stop in Los Angeles County from the Southern states—were felt throughout the world; and we were reminded how imperative it is that we persevere.

I am deeply honored to be here for a third reason: to be with black elected officials of the South because I am a concerned American; because I know there are thousands and thousands of people in these United States who have come to doubt and some who do not believe, that this nation has either the purpose or the capability to bring equal justice to all of its citizens (and you demonstrate, better than anything perhaps, that this is not so); that the system, however awkward, however slow, can work; that our purpose as a people and the purpose of our laws is equality and justice for all.

The Voting Rights Act is a bold experiment in democracy. It has made a difference. Four years ago we could have held this meeting in the telephone booth in the lobby and not interfered with anybody who wanted to make a phone call. Two years ago in Washington, the leadership—as I recall, Louis Martin, primarily—met with what was comparatively a handful of black elected officials from all over the nation. What a difference you can make! What a difference that law has made and must make further, because we are only beginning. We have miles to go before we sleep.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, like every contested piece of legislation, has compromises. One compromise was the expiration of many of the most important sanctions and controls—in what then seemed a long time and now seems no time. After five years, on Aug. 8, 1970, there will be the opportunity for jurisdictions to reinstate qualifications to vote through subjective tests, such as literacy. Then, unless something is done, the power of the Department of Justice to place examiners and observers in places where they are needed to protect the fundamental right of a democratic people will also expire. Then state legislatures will be empowered to prescribe new standards, new procedures for voting throughout this land.

It seems imperative to me that we redouble our efforts today to enlist in the support of democracy, under the auspices of the Voting Rights Act and this great Voter Education Project, all of our people and that we provide for the future by extending these sanctions of the Voting Rights Act of '65 for yet years to come. Their necessity, to me, seems clear.

I would not be fair if I said that voting, the right to vote, the exercise of that right, is the entire solution. Far, far from it. It is terribly important, it vests power. You now have new power; you must cherish it and nourish it, and build it, and increase it, and exercise it for justice. But if it were the entire solution, then how would we explain the conditions of Central City America, of our great metropolitan areas—of a New York and a Chicago and a Los Angeles?

We must go forward, seriously, on many fronts and with rare courage—the rare courage that you black elected officials have shown us and of which I am grateful. We know the areas. We sometimes think because the struggle is so difficult that, perhaps, the road isn't clear; but it is.

Separate, but equal, was never so; could not be; will never be. There can be no equality with separation in any society, least of all in a highly urban and complex nation of two hundred million such as ours. Separation must be ended, and all of its manifestations, to bring equality. The task is terribly difficult.

An area is education. Start with the children. Education is America's greatest industry. One in three in this country is engaged, full time, in education as student, teacher or administrator. In 1954, May 17—a time had begun so much, so late—the Supreme Court said, as to public schooling, there can be no separation. For nine years, through litigation in the courts of the South, the constitutional rights of our citizens were litigated. In September, 1963, those who knew saw one per cent of the Negro children in the public schools of the 11 states of the Confederacy in schools that were desegregated. All deliberate speed meant nine centuries.

People with vision saw this. People of determination changed it, in large measure, because of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, because of Title VI, because of the much-maligned guidelines of the Office of Education promulgated in conformity with law thereunder. One per cent in '63 became 16 per cent in '67. When the returns are in, it will surely be over 20 per cent in '68. This, a law that has had barely three years to work its way, has made a major difference and has shown that the constitutional rights of our citizens in the South can be fulfilled.

Because of the immensity of this nation, and while we concentrated here where the need was so great, we barely noticed the new segregation building up steadily and swiftly in urban America.

In five short years, from 1950-1955, the percentage of Negro children in the public schools of Baltimore increased from 50 to 61. In St. Louis, it was from 49 to 60. In Chicago, from 42 to 50. A profound change reflecting patterns of living meant a new segregation in Central City America unless we awoke. The 25 largest school districts in the United States saw a shift in five short years in the percentage of Negro children in public schools of nearly 10 per cent—10 per cent more Negro children and 10 per cent fewer white. America cannot stand that.

Slowly the resources of the law are brought to bear; and now four suits, outside the South, are brought to desegregate our schools there. And soon, soon we must recognize, among other things, that the litigations that take so long and the guideline techniques that can work so well must be brought to bear elsewhere. And soon, we must recognize that segregation in schooling is incompatible with our principles and, alas, I believe, with the Constitution, whatever the cause.

On the forefront today, we are moving in the area of employment, and only beginning. There is vast discrimination in employment—the opportunity to get a job, to keep a job, to improve in your job, to get a better job. The '64 Act, Title VII promised to remedy this. It's essential that we enlist all of our energies, as a people, to do it. Today, we have brought finally 34 suits. When you think of the immense industry of the United States, you see how very slow the beginning is. Twenty-four this year, with so far to go.

One reason you must understand. For all the might of the federal government, the resources that we, as a people, have provided there are terribly inadequate. The Civil Rights Division—as devoted a group of people to the principles of this country as has ever been collected in one place, with one mission, in my judgment—is fewer than a hundred lawyers. Their average age is under 30. Their burden is to enforce the Voting Rights Act, to litigate school desegregation in perhaps 30,000 school districts over the U. S., to bring Title II of the Act, promising open accommodation, to a reality; to enforce all of our Civil Rights Laws. This small resource would be inadequate for one state. It would be inadequate for one single law throughout the United States. We must look to you, in your local community, to generate commitment and action to bring equality.

The reasons that black and white in America must show the world that they can live together with respect, with stability and with love are many. One is human dignity—my dignity, your dignity. Another is to remove this gross imperfection from our national character, to show that we can be what we say we are.

But there is another. It is survival. It really is, you know. We will add on this planet, in the next decade, one billion souls, and most will be blacks and browns and yellows. And we are impelled by change so vast that, in a few short years, the fundamental way we live is more greatly altered than in history to this moment. And change means that millions will starve, and millions will live in more than affluence, amidst surfeit, more than they can use. It means that science and technology, with 90 per cent of the scientists who ever lived working today, accelerating change and population explosions, compel now equality. And if we do not demonstrate that it is possible, that it can be, that it is, here in America, black and white together with love and strength, then this poor, tired world has more ahead than it can handle.

In the Gospel according to St. Mark, it is said, "And if a house be divided against itself, then that house cannot stand." America is a house divided. Not yet irreconcilably, but that remains possible. The divisions are many. Never forget that. It may be hard for black America to realize that our divisions are many—the young and the old, a real division.

Of course every generation has had a gap. But the gap today is greater than ever before and for clearly ascertainable reasons—because change is so vast; because in a few short years, there is such a difference that a generation today exceeds the millenium in times gone by. Half the buildings in the world have been built in the last 30 years; half the buildings in Harlem were built before 1900, and there's a moral there.

There is a division today between the educated and the uneducated. It's a very profound division. Education means more to the individual today than ever before. My father and his brothers could come to be lawyers without going to college, without going to law school. The demands of our terribly complex, technologically advanced society compel constant increase in education. Forty-five percent of the college-age people today are in college. When I started college after World War II, there were a million and a half students; today there are over seven. The difference between the policemen endeavoring to control college students—the policemen five to 10 years older, who dropped out before completing the eighth grade—is immense. We have to recognize that division. We have to seek to bridge it.

There is a division between the rich and the poor. It is not the same division that has existed in bygone days between rich and poor because, today, the poor know of the wealth that surrounds them. Today, in America, the poor are a minority. To be poor in urban America is to be desperate. And in that desperation, you see Marlboro country on T.V., and you know it doesn't look like 126th Street. You must bridge the gap between rich and poor.

There are these gaps within races too. You must know Negro youth in this country. You must work very closely with them. They need your strength and wisdom. You need theirs. And if you can't bridge that gap, the meaning is immense to all of our people. And you must, within races and between, bridge the gap between the educated and the uneducated and lift all to the greatest possible education we can bring to them, because their future and ours depends on it, and so, too, the rich and poor.

And finally, of course, there's the division between black and white, a division that cannot and must not continue.

And from one side of this house of ours, we hear the call for order. There must be order. And from the other side of the house comes the cry of justice. Give us justice. The long history of mankind tells us that you will have neither order nor justice until you have both.

'. . . Proud To Have Been a Part . . .'

(TELEGRAM FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES)

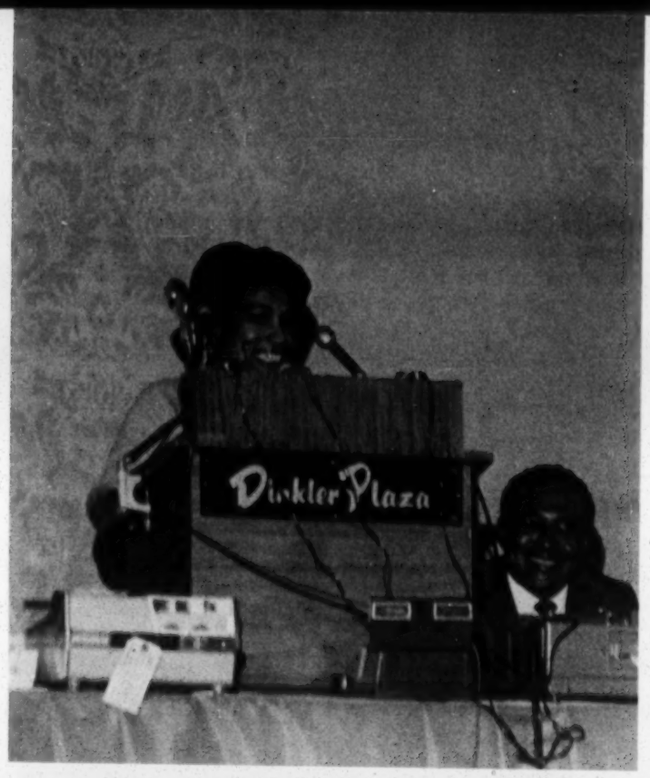
Four years ago, only a handful of black people held public office in the South. Negroes were, in effect, without a direct voice in the council of government in the Southland.

Soon after this administration began, I had the honor of signing into law the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes who had been denied the ballot were able, for the first time in their lives, to register and to vote. Indeed, Negro registration in the South has increased by one million in the last four years, to a total of more than three million today. Those black Southerners are today, for the first time, able to participate in the most basic step in our democracy—the casting of the ballot on election day.

Largely because of this historic development, there are now some 385 black elected officials—all holding public offices for which they had to go before the voters—in the South. These officials now are gathered in a conference sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council to discuss their mutual problems, to exchange ideas and to receive advice and counsel on the performance of their public duties.

As President of the United States, I salute these black men and women now meeting in Atlanta. I wish their conference much success. I am proud to have been a part of the developments that made it possible for them to serve.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON


Dinkler Plaza

Dinkler Plaza

Dinkler Plaza

A Resolution: '... Not Separate, But Unequal ...'

The following resolution, drafted by a representative of each of the 11 Southern states, was adopted by the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials as the conference ended Dec. 14.

We have come to a point in the South and in the nation where the executive decisions of the next four years may well determine the course of race relations and civil rights progress for the future and will decide whether the succeeding generations of America will live in peace or will live at all.

We are appalled by inferences from the incoming administration that the South's racial problems will be effectively dealt with by the states.

The fate and future of the South and her people, black and white, cannot be left in the hands of these leaders whose past failures have demonstrated their inability and unwillingness to build a new South.

While business, acting unselfishly, can help, business alone will not bring enlightened, unselfish solutions to this region's problems.

Rather, we, as members of city, county and state governments, believe in and depend on democratic government, responsive to the needs of our constituents and the unrepresented millions of the South, as the proper problem-solving agency of the 20th Century.

We hope that the traditional Southern divisions between class and race can be healed. The kinds of oppressed whites who have had their own interests subverted by their racism must join with the oppressed blacks whom we represent to build a new South.

What is needed more than all else is full implementation of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Economic Opportunity Act. This can be done only by full dedication of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of federal and state government to the rights of man. The United States Supreme Court and our federal judiciary must be upheld and strengthened in devotion to equal justice.

We want to urge the President of the United States and our Congress to extend the much needed Voting Rights Act of 1965 from its present maturity date to another five years.

Since 1965, 805,233 Negroes have been added to voter registration rolls in the 11 Southern States. Most notable gains have come in those states where federal registrars have been assigned. To date, however, none have been assigned to either North Carolina or Virginia. Registrars are needed in these two states, and additional federal registrars are needed throughout the whole South.

In a nation dedicated to democratic principles, how can we explain that only about 60 per cent of the nation's potential voters went to the polls in the November election? Consideration should be given to making election day a national holiday so that the people can have adequate time to exercise the right to vote, so dearly earned by so many, over so long a period of time.

Violence and intimidation—as the tragic events at Orangeburg, S. C., earlier this year illustrated—have not abated in the South. White resistance to school desegregation continues—as we have seen in South Carolina and Mobile, Ala., and many other places, where white parents have organized to block effective progress toward eliminating the dual school system. In the 14 years since the *Brown* decision outlawing segregated public education, the rate of school integration in the South still hovers at a low level of tokenism. According to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare figures for the 1967-68 school year, only 14 per cent of the South's black children were enrolled in desegregated schools. For the Deep South the figures were: Alabama, 5.4 per cent; Mississippi, 3.9 per cent; South Carolina, 6.4 per cent; Louisiana, 6.7 per cent, and Georgia, 9.9 per cent.

The critical problem of poverty in the South must not be ignored by the new administration. In spite of much national publicity, children are still hungry in Mississippi and throughout the South. In spite of national concern over technological unemployment, men are still being driven from the land to huddle in the slums of our large cities. As critical as the problem of technological unemployment is the depressing reality of widespread under-employment. In many areas of the South the percentage of the labor force designated "unemployed" is about the national average, but the income in those areas is less than half the national average. Southerners, black and white, work long hours for

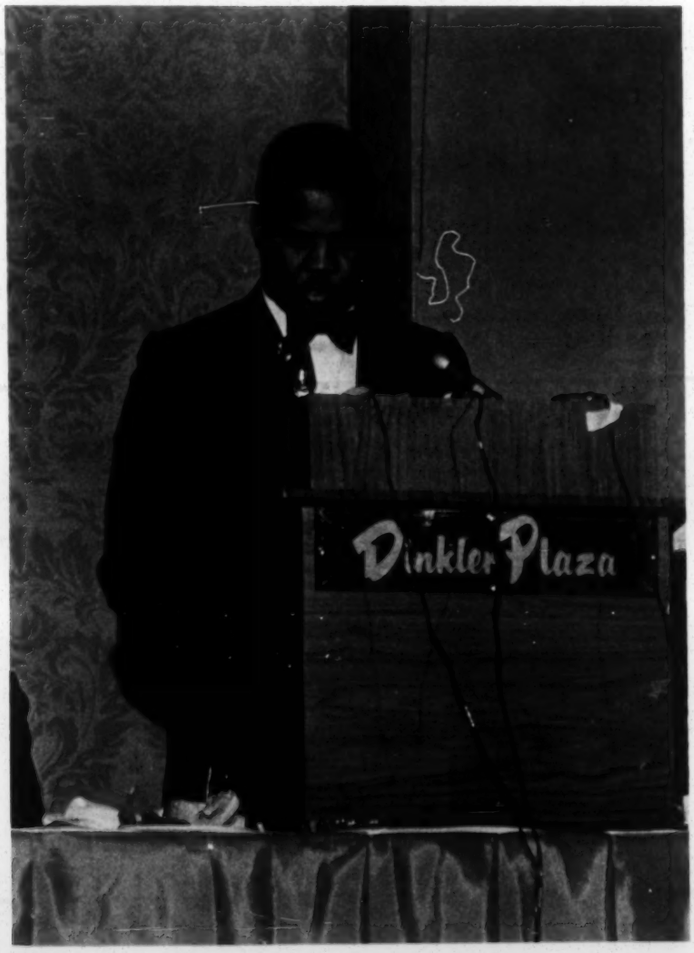
low pay. Minimum wage laws must be broadened and enforced.

As part of a short-term solution to some of the more critical problems of the poor, uniform federal regulations are needed to govern the administration of public assistance programs in the states. Under present state welfare structures it is possible for states to impose restrictive regulations which bar the most needy from welfare rolls. However, the concept of public assistance itself needs to be re-evaluated with the understanding that welfare is not a privilege bestowed upon the needy in the way of charity, but a clear legal right. Hand in hand with such a re-evaluation, additional jobs and job training programs must be created.

We want to thank the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council for bringing us together and giving us the tools and techniques we need to improve our performance as elected officials.

As more of us take office and as we become more deeply involved in the problems of our constituencies, gatherings like this one, on regional, state and local levels, must be continued to help us keep abreast of the complexities of modern government.

Events of the past four years in the nation's alienated black ghettos should have taught us that the just and human needs of the country's black minority cannot be ignored, or appeased with high-sounding words. We are not yet a nation separate, but we are most assuredly a nation unequal.



'... The Polling Place Is the New Phase ...'

Mrs. Shirley Chisholm *of New York, whose luncheon speech closed the Southwide Conference Dec. 14, was elected Nov. 5 as the first Negro Congresswoman in history. Elected from Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant district, she had previously served in the state Assembly.*

Those of you who know me know that I am very forthright and very frank. And so I am not going to be giving you a lot of little pieces of dessert this afternoon. I'm going to tell it to you like it is, because we've got to realize that we are going through a very important social revolution in this country.

Someone made a reference a little bit earlier to the fact that we had women on the stage. Perhaps this might be ladies afternoon or ladies evening. I want to be very sincere when I say to you that there is a tremendous need for women to be in the political arena. I would hope, in the near future, that we would not pay so much attention as to whether a person is male or female, but that we would rather look at the assets and the attributes of those people who can help to liberate our race eventually. I think that must be the criteria.

Yes, from February through Nov. 5 of this year, I have been at it in the streets. And there were so many whisperings going on that "you can't make it because you are a woman." Well, ladies and gentlemen, here I am!

While nothing is easy for the black man in America, neither is anything impossible. Like all men, rather, we are moving along, and we will continue to move resolutely until our goal of complete and unequivocal equality is obtained. We must not be docile. We must not be resigned or inwardly bitter. We must see ourselves in an entirely new perspective, and we cannot sit in our homes waiting for someone to reach out and do things for us. Every tomorrow has two hands—the hand of fate or the hand of anxiety. And the first battle is won, my brothers and sisters, when we fight for belief in ourselves and find that it has come to us.

While we are still battling, we must not allow petty things to come to us and stimulate them into vast proportions of evil. To dwell on every slight and clutch it close to our breasts and nourish it will corrode our thinking. We are on the move now, and as Frederick Douglass said, "Power concedes nothing without a struggle. It never has and it never will." And the United States can no longer afford the luxury of costly, morally, religiously and ethically wrong racial discrimination. For America needs all of its citizens, with the ability to develop, to make a fuller contribution.

Many problems scream loudly—the thousands of black citizens, with franchise, living under degrading conditions; the millions of poor throughout this affluent nation, white and black, who lack the bare rudiments for fruitful living; the rapidly growing numbers of children caught in a web of disillusionment which destroys their will to learn, the increasing number of aged who do not look forward to rest or to retirement. And despite the historic legislation of our cities and our states, nearly 11 million black citizens today still live in basic ghetto communities of our cities.

From decades of non-participation, or only modest participation, the black man has, within only the last four years, shifted his goal to full political participation for full American citizenship. While on the picket line, at the lunch counter, and in the bus and store boycotts, the black man came face to face with the full breadth and weight of the power and influence exercised by local and state government, intertwining with and often stifling the protest. Indeed, a principle by-product of the American civil rights movement has been the election of the black citizen to his awesome political potential. And just as the picket line and the lunch counter demonstrations and the boycotts were dramatic and effective weapons of protest for the civil rights movement, the polling place, my friends, is the new phase and new thrust of the Negroes' bid for equality of opportunity.

Power concedes nothing. How else can any man rise to power and hold sway over millions and tens of thousands except by smothering dissenting voices? Freedom is an endless horizon and there are many roads that lead to it. We must walk arm in arm with other men, and we must struggle towards goals which are commonly desired and sound. We must give and lend to the youth a stronger voice and encourage their individuality. We must look to the schools and work for their improvement. The leaders of today in the black community must be able to place the goal of freedom ahead of personal ambition. The truly dedicated leader follows his conscience, tells what is best for his people.

Whatever else the black man is, he is American. Whatever he is to become—integrated, unintegrated, or disintegrated—he will become it in America. Only a minority of blacks has ever succumbed to the temptation to seek greener pastures in another country or another ideology. The black man's total commitment to America indicates that the prospects ahead seem bright. It is true that we are angry about our present

plight, for we measure this country by her potential rather than by her achievements.

And Black Power is, indeed, a reality that is gaining in emotional intensity, if not always rational clarity. The harnessing and solidification of Afro-American power is constantly being dissipated with factionalism. Internal struggle for power by one group over another and forgetting the masses—this behavior is no different from that of the whites. But we as a people cannot afford the luxury of fighting among ourselves if we are to make real progress in this country.

Black people will gain only as much as they can win through their ability to organize independent bases of economic and political power through boycotts, electoral activities, rent strikes, etc. Black Power is concerned with organizing the rage of black people and is putting new, hard questions and demands to white America. We will build a new sense of community amongst our people. We will foster a bond between those who have made it and those on the bottom. And as Mr. Hamilton says, "Alienation will be overcome, and trust, the thing that our people are looking for, trust, will be restored."

Let us remember that a great people are not affected by each puff of wind that blows ill. We must fight for belief in ourselves. And, above all, we must hearken back to the days of darkness when Frederick Douglass, the great abolitionist, even in those times, echoed the famous phrase that has come, realistically, to haunt the black people in America as they fight to enter the mixed stream of political and economic life in these United States, the land of their birth. And that phrase is, "Power concedes nothing."

Let me say to you, my brothers and sisters, that until we can organize to create black unity with an economic base, until we can develop a plan for action to achieve the goals to make us totally independent and not have to look to The Man in order to live, we are not liberated. We must become doers and producers in this system in order to be able to control our destiny. We have the potential, but we must consolidate all of our strength for eventual liberation.

And let me say, off the cuff, a few things that are beating in my breast.

As I travel around the country now, speaking to groups, I must share these things. During my congressional campaign in Brooklyn I had the opportunity to talk with many of the black and white students on the various campuses; and to a large extent, many of these students came in and were a vital part of my campaign. And one of the things that these students, both black and white, indicated to me: Mrs. Chisholm, you have become a new symbol; a new kind of politician that is emerging. And I would ask them to elaborate on what the statement meant. Listen, this is what young people are saying in this country. They say you represent the type of politician that the people can trust implicitly; the type of politician that will not exploit their people for personal self-aggrandizement; the type of politician that is unbought and unbossed.

Those of you who have been following my career ever since I emerged five years ago know that the symbol under which I have operated is unbought and unbossed, and I think you can understand when I say to you that this does not endear me to the political structure. For I have the courage of my convictions. If you are truly going to give your people a sense of direction and a sense of leadership, you have to be able to relate to the people only and be prepared to take the consequences as a result of your actions, because this is what black people are looking for in America today.

They are disillusioned, they are apathetic, and there are many more reasons why many of our people don't go to the polls in spite of all of the barriers that have been held against them, particularly in the Southern part of this country. Many of them don't go to the polls because the public officials that they put in office forget them when they get in office. And we cannot afford that luxury. Yet, people have said to me ever since I emerged four years ago, you are committing political suicide, because I refused to do things for political expediency. When I should leave this scene, I want to be remembered, not as the first black woman to go to the United States Congress, although this is a historical fact. I want to be remembered as a politician that entered the arena where the people had real hope, not in terms of the words that I mouth day to day, but in terms of my actions and my attitudes in my community. That is what I want to be remembered for.

Yes, it was a very tough struggle, a very hard struggle this year. First in the primary of June I was up against the most popular state senator, another woman. The senator was The Man's "boy," because in the meeting they had indicated, "Yes, Mrs. Chisholm has ability; yes, Mrs. Chisholm is a fighter; but you can't cope with the woman." It isn't a question of coping with the woman, it's a question of trying to manipulate my conscience and dictate to my mind what I must do. And I said then—and I continue to say it—I know a person that's fiery and independent-minded in the political arena, I know that their days may be shortened. But I am not going to worry about that. Fortunately for me, I have a theory that many people don't accept. And maybe many of the people in this room will not accept it. But I believe this theory on the basis of my political activity for 20 years behind the scenes—only having emerged five years ago. The black people in America must have leadership that for the most part is educationally and/or financially secure. Because the temptations that are placed in the paths of many of us, many of us are not strong enough to resist.

I think that if we understand these basic things, then we can hope to restore some faith in our people. They will go to the polls, the registration drives will be increased because of the fact that their elected officials have indicated by their actions that they are fighting for them, that they are with them, that they are prepared to take the consequences of their actions. If we do this, I can assure you that the registration drives and the political activity during election time will become greater. But we have to prove this.

They told me that they could not back me for the United States Congress, even though the people in that community had last December come together and interviewed 11 others who were potential candidates. And the citizens had said we want Shirley Chisholm to go to Congress, because she has beaten the machine at the polls and the woman cannot be controlled, and we know that we can sleep at night when that woman's voice is in Washington. But the very assets that the people found in me I later learned were things that were

against me politically, and hence the party boys did not give me the designation.

And of course, like many people, I suppose I should have stepped back, I should not have bothered, because I had four strikes against me. Number one, I was not a darling of the party. Number two, I was a woman. Number three, I was a black woman. And number four, I sure didn't have congressional money to run.

But you know what really made me decide to run? Not only the fact that I've always risen to challenges, but the fact that a woman came to my home on Sunday morning—I remember the state Legislature was still in session—that was way back in March. She came to my home one Sunday morning and rang the doorbell. I went downstairs and opened the door. I think I see her now. A very fat, middle-aged black woman, timidly entering my living room and pulling out of her pocketbook a crumpled, dirty white envelope. And I saw her taking this envelope out—it was kind of heavy—and as she extended it to me, she said, "Mrs. Chisholm you know, we welfare people hate you politicians because you're always fattening yourselves. We don't believe in helping you because so many of you forget about it. But Mrs. Chisholm, for the 10 years before you entered the political arena and for the four years that you have served in the state Legislature, when we learned in this community that you were going to run for the United States Congress, a group of us welfare mothers decided to get together and have our own little thing going each Friday night in order to raise some money to help you to buy stamps." And she gave me an envelope—I will never spend that money—the first contribution I got to my congressional campaign—$9.69 in coins.

If I had any doubts about running, that erased every doubt. I made my mind up that I had to run although many persons had cautioned me. They said, "Shirley, no one can run in your district against you for the state Assembly and win. That's your seat. You could stay there as long as you want to. Why are you giving up a sure thing to run for a congressional seat when you have so many odds against you. I said yes, I may have odds against me, but I have a little talk with the Man above each night, and I have a talk with the grassroots in the community, and they say, "Chisholm, run." And I ran. It was the toughest campaign that I've ever run in my life.

During the course of the campaign, right after I won the primary in June, I became ill. I had to go to the hospital to get an operation, and I was out of circulation for about seven weeks. My people became very concerned because my opponent was going up and down the district, and every day it would seem that he would be nearer and nearer to my door; and there was of course a certain amount of anxiety. But always deep down within me I knew that in spite of what was happening, I was going to win. Because I had indicated by my life, from the day I was born in that community, that I had served and worked with those people even before they ever thought of sending me to political office. And I knew that they would not forget. In spite of whomsoever the powers wanted to throw out there against me, I knew that the people would not forget me. Many workers came to my home as I lay on my bed trying to recuperate, and they were crying and upset. They said, "Chisholm you're so near to it, but yet so far, because the people in the district are saying they don't hear your voice on the soundtruck."

Ever since I have emerged I don't campaign indoors, I bring them out to the streets. Let the people dig you, let the people see you. And I believe in campaigning in the streets and in the housing projects and at the rallies. Because then this is where the truth and sincerity of everything comes out and you have to face that populace. You don't have to get away with gimmicks.

Finally, I said to my doctor—and he'd known me for a long time—I said, "Doc, I've got to go." He said "Shirley, I'm going to tell you, you have got to keep quiet for a while. I know that you're itching to go, but you've had an operation and you cannot use up your energy." And I remember so well that I said to him, "But Doc, the stitches aren't in my mouth, they're on my body." And he said, "Well, if you feel that you're strong enough to go out on your soundtrucks and tell the people your story, well, then you can go."

And believe it or not, the moment I got up to go into those streets until Nov. 5, I didn't even remember I had an operation. God is with me, and I went out in those streets and I did the kind of job that had to be done.

And now I know every eye is going to be focused on me. I went down to Washington last week for three days to look for a place to live, to hire a staff, to do a lot of odds and ends. And as I walked into the House of Representatives' restaurant, as I came down the steps, some of the members of the House of Representatives were eating; and I saw the elbows just hitting each other, as I came down the steps. Well, I guess you can imagine what was being said. And they came over, and one of them had the nerve to say to me, "You know, we heard *all* about you in New York, and we know you're a tough cookie, but we have been waiting for you. We're going to have some fun with you, Shirley Chisholm." And I said, "Sir, you must remember that fun doesn't necessarily work in one way. I'm going to have some fun with you, too."

And so, my dear brothers and sisters, I rise to the challenge of the awesome responsibility that has now been placed upon my shoulders, to be the first black woman to sit in the United States House of Representatives. And although I specifically represent the 12th Congressional District of New York State, I know that I am a voice for all of the blacks in America.

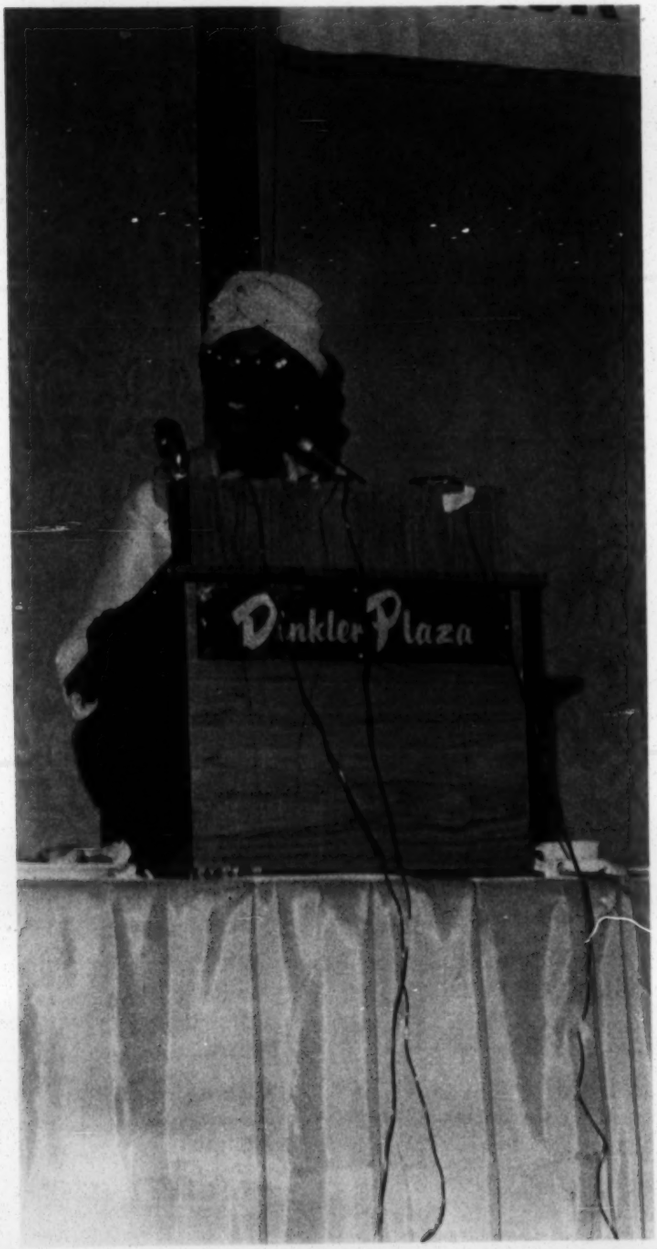
I don't know if many of you also realize that I was elected at the Democratic National Convention as the first black person to be a national committeewoman of New York State. I say this for one specific reason, because somebody said it to me a couple of weeks ago: "Shirley Chisholm, how can you rise within the ranks of the party so quickly, within a four-year period, from a poll leader all the way up to Congresswoman, and then go to the convention and emerge as a national committeewoman for the party—and yet you are not really a part of the machine?" And I said to the person, "Don't you recognize that the revolution is here, that the people are making their decisions now on the basis of what you can do to help liberate them?" And that's why I am rising. Because even though the bosses kept trying to stop me at the convention, when I ran in the district, the people kept telling them by their support, "Why don't you leave her alone?"

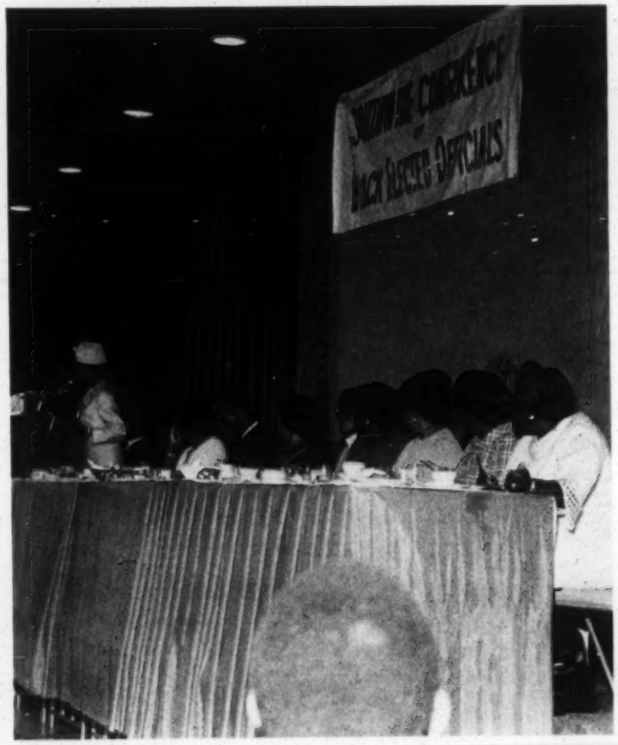
I think now that they recognize one thing about me,

if nothing else. I love a good fight. And you don't tell me that you're going to try to destroy me without my attempting to show you what I can do with my 100-pound self.

God bless all of you. Pray for me, because I am going to need prayers. But one thing I do know, that the black people in this country will be very proud of their first black woman to go to Congress, because I'm going to live the life and fight the good fight. Because the time has come when we can no longer be the passive recipients of whatever the politics or the morals of a nation may decree, but that we shall rise up and fight for that which we believe.

Forget what the world will say, whether you're in your place or out of your place. Forget conventionalism. Speak your best words. Do your best deeds. Fight your best fight, looking only to God and to your conscience for approval.





ELECTED OFFICIALS WHO ATTENDED CONFERENCE

ALABAMA

Lucius Amerson
Sheriff
Tuskegee

A. R. Ashley
Justice of Peace
Tuskegee

Mrs. Alice Belle
Constable
Coatopa

Dr. Prosanto K. Biswas
School Board
Tuskegee

Albert C. Bulls Jr.
City Council
Tuskegee

William J. Childs
Justice of Peace
Tuskegee

Joe L. DuBose
City Council
Fairfield

Rev. V. A. Edwards
Board of Revenue
Tuskegee

Jesse Favor
Justice of Peace
Hayneville

Davie Frazier
Justice of Peace
Troy

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
School Board
Tuskegee

Isaiah Hayes III
Justice of Peace
Attalla

Mr. T. R. Hayes
Justice of Peace
Magnolia

Elias Hendricks
Constable
Birmingham

John Hoard
Justice of Peace
Livingston

Rev. Peter Kirksey
County School Board
Boligee

Afton M. Lee Sr.
City Council
Homewood

Samuel Little
School Board (Chairman)
Eppes

L. A. Locklair
Tax Collector
Tuskegee

Miss Patricia McAlpin
Justice of Peace
Gadsden

Wilbur Miller
City Council
Roosevelt City

Lorenzo S. Mitchell
City Council
Bessemer

Aris Morris
Justice of Peace
West Attalla

Thomas J. Norwood
Justice of Peace
Birmingham

Virgie Lee Pearson
City Council
Fairfield

Freddie C. Rogers
Mayor
Roosevelt City

Calvin Smith
City Council
Roosevelt City

J. R. Striplin
Mayor
Hobson City

Lewis Thomas
Constable
Panola

Mrs. Tessie Thomas
Justice of Peace
Panola

Harold Webb
Board of Revenue
Tuskegee

Mrs. Annie B. Williams
Justice of Peace
Panola

Jimmie Lee Williams
City Council
Fairfield

Mrs. Bettie Wimbley
Justice of Peace
Witfield

Lee D. Young
City Council
Hobson City

ARKANSAS

Mrs. Mabel Allen
School Board
Eudora

Charles Bussey
City Manager's Board
Little Rock

Johnnie Gay
Mayor
Humnoke

J. D. Hammond
School Board
Menifee

Woodrow Keown
Justice of Peace
Little Rock

Rev. G. R. Mazique
Aldermanic Board
Helena

Arthur H. Miller
School Board
Pine Bluff

T. E. Patterson
School Board
Little Rock

Frank Smith
Mayor
Menifee

John W. Smith
School Board
North Little Rock

Rev. G. Edward West
City Board of Directors
Fort Smith

FLORIDA

Bobby E. Brooks
City Commission
Riviera Beach

Earl J. Carroll
County Commission
Miami

Jackie Caynon
City Council
Fort Pierce

George H. Gause
City Commission
Bartow

James Huger
City Council
Daytona Beach

Earl Johnson
City Council
Jacksonville

Mrs. Sallye B. Mathis
City Council
Jacksonville

William Shellman
Constable
Jacksonville

Oscar N. Taylor
City Council
Jacksonville

Rudolph Von Slaughter
City Commission
Melbourne

Boisy Waiters
City Commission
Dania

Ozie F. Youngblood
City Commission
Del Ray Beach

GEORGIA

William H. Alexander
State House
Atlanta

Julian Bond
State House
Atlanta

Benjamin D. Brown
State House
Atlanta

J. C. Daugherty
State House
Atlanta

James E. Dean
State House
Atlanta

Clarence G. Ezzard
State House
Atlanta

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
State House
Atlanta

Bobby L. Hill
State House
Savannah

Miss Edith Jacqueline Ingram
Ordinary
Sparta

Leroy Johnson
State Senate
Atlanta

John McCown
County Commission
Sparta

E. J. Shepherd
State House
Atlanta

Rev. L. Scott Stell Jr.
County Commission
Savannah

Dr. Horace E. Tate
City School Board
Atlanta

Albert Thompson
State House
Columbus

Horace T. Ward
State Senate
Atlanta

Q. V. Williamson
Board of Aldermen
Atlanta

Asa G. Yancey
City School Board
Atlanta

LOUISIANA

Wesley Albert Sr.
Justice of Peace
New Roads

Morris Barnes
Constable
Palmetto

Larry Balthazar
Ward Constable
Natchez

John Bobb Jr.
City Council
Grand Coteau

Anderson Broussard
Justice of Peace
Franklin

Felton C. Ceasar
Justice of Peace
Welcome

Oliver Cooper
Police Jury
Welcome

Eddie Davis
Police Jury
Weyanoke

Joseph M. Davis
Police Jury
Jeanerette

Joseph Delphin
Justice of Peace
Natchez

Joseph A. Delpit
City Council
Baton Rouge

L. D. Land
Aldermanic Board
Grambling

Ledell Mackie
Police Jury
St. Francisville

Mrs. Helena B. McClinton
School Board
Tallulah

Ernest Metz
Constable
Franklin

Henry A. Montgomery
Aldermanic Board
Ferriday

Thomas Nelson
Constable
New Roads

Joseph A. (Joe) Pete
City Council
Crowley

Joseph Russell Richard Sr.
Town Council
Grand Coteau

Watson Sanders
Police Jury
Sondheimer

Arthur D. Smith
Aldermanic Board
Grambling

Nathaniel Smith Sr.
Police Jury
St. Francisville

Peter Smith
City Council &
Mayor pro tem
Grand Coteau

Rev. O. L. Virgil
Police Jury
Lake Providence

MISSISSIPPI

Howard T. Bailey
Election Commission
Lexington

Miss Julia Banks
Election Commission
Fayette

Osborne Bell
Coroner
Holly Springs

Ellis Braxton
Election Commission
Lorman

Robert G. Clark
State House
Lexington

Mrs. Geneva Collins
Chancery Clerk
Port Gibson

John Daugherty
Election Commission
Lamar

Mrs. Gladys Davis
Election Commission
Woodville

Sylvester Gaines
Board of Supervisors
Lorman

Mrs. Flonzie Belle Goodloe
Election Commission
Canton

James Gray
Election Commission
Port Gibson

John Green
County School Board
Woodville

Mrs. Marie Green
County School Board
Woodville

Sol Jackson
Election Commission
Fayette

Everett Jennings
Election Commission
Hermansville

Elra Johnson
Election Commission
Durant

James Jolliff Jr.
Board of Supervisors
Woodville

Charlie Jones
Justice of Peace
Coahoma

Mrs. Martha Lee
Justice of Peace
Lorman

Wesley Liddell
Mayor
Mound Bayou

Horace Lightfoot
County School Board
Port Gibson

Earlie Lott
Constable
Fayette

Mrs. Arenia C. Mallory
County School Board
Lexington

Griffin McLaurin
Constable
Tchula

Leander Monroe
Constable
Port Gibson

Mrs. Legora A. Reed
City Council
Mound Bayou

U. S. Rimmer
Justice of Peace
Camden

Floyd Rollins
Election Commission
Port Gibson

William Matt Ross
Board of Supervisors
Port Gibson

James Shanks
Alderman
Jonestown

Burrell Tate
Election Commission
Pickens

Willie Thompson
Justice of Peace
Fayette

Mathew Walker
Justice of Peace
Rolling Fork

McEwen Walker
Constable
Waterford

Robert Lee Williams
School Board
Lorman

NORTH CAROLINA

Henry Frye
State House
Greensboro

Clarence E. Lightner
City Council
Raleigh

Fred D. McNeill Jr.
County School Board
Durham

Carl H. Russell
City Council
Winston-Salem

Asa T. Spaulding
County Commission
Durham

John S. Stewart
City Council
Durham

SOUTH CAROLINA

Leroy E. Browne
City Board of Directors
Frogmore

St. Julian Devine
City Council
Charleston

Anthony Eddings
Magistrate
Frogmore

Herman H. Felix
City Council
Lynchburg

David Jones
County Board of Directors
Hilton Head

Eddie Kline
Magistrate
Dale

J. O. Wendell Martin
County Council
Jenkinsville

John L. McCoy
City Council
Great Falls

Mrs. Frieda R. Mitchell
Board of Education
Sheldon

Charles H. Ross
Mayor
Summerville

Arnic Washington
Town Council
Summerville

Joseph Wright
City Council
Beaufort

TENNESSEE

Mrs. Gladys Allen
Magistrate
Oakland

Dennis Banks
Constable
Knoxville

Robert J. Booker
State House
Knoxville

Lawrence Curry
Constable
Chattanooga

Fred L. Davis
City Council
Memphis

John Driver
City Council
Nashville

Alvin King
State House
Memphis

Harold M. Love
State House
Nashville

Rev. James L. Netters
City Council
Memphis

Dan Nixon
Magistrate
Brownsville

Sherman Perry
Magistrate
Oakland

A. D. Powell
Magistrate
Brownsville

Rev. Robert Richards
Justice of Peace
Chattanooga

James I. Taylor
State House
Memphis

Avon N. Williams, Jr.
State Senate
Nashville

TEXAS

Harmon Bell
City Council
Bryan

I. W. Brown
Board of Aldermen
Malakoff

Asberry Butler
School Board
Houston

Mrs. Exalton A. Delco Jr.
School Board
Austin

Wilbert Lee Eagleton
School Board
Crosby

Dr. Marion G. Ford
School Board
Houston

Curtis M. Graves
State House
Houston

Arthur J. Guidry
Mayor Pro Tem
Port Arthur

Zan Wesley Holmes Jr.
State House
Dallas

Scott E. Johnson
City Council
Huntsville

Alfred Zack McElroy
School Board President
Port Arthur

John Miles Jr.
City Council
Hearne

William H. Taft
School Board
Beaumont

Harrison E. Taylor
Board of Aldermen
Wichita Falls

VIRGINIA

Rev. Lawrence A. Davies
City Council
Fredericksburg

Charles H. Harris
City Council
Danville

William D. Hobson
City Council
Martinsville

Dr. James W. Holley III
City Council
Portsmouth

Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
City Council
Norfolk

Henry L. Marsh III
City Council
Richmond

W. Ferguson Reid
State House
Richmond

Moses Riddick
Board of Supervisors
Suffolk

S. O. Sykes
Board of Supervisors
Southhampton

Raymond Turner
City Council
Portsmouth

Voter Education Project

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Advisory Committee

Dr. Samuel D. Cook, Chairman

Paul Anthony
Julian Bond
Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
Jesse Hill
Norman Hill
Frank Smith
Dr. C. H. Thomas, Jr.
John Wheeler
James E. Youngdahl

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Conference Coordinator

Thaddeus Olive
Administrative Assistant

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Secretary to the Director

Janet Wells
Research Assistant

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Secretary

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Field Director

Marvin Wall
Director of Research

Mrs. Margaret Chanin
Administrative Secretary

Gwendolyn Poole
Secretary-Receptionist

Lynne Wisdom
Asst. to the Conference Coordinator

*At the time of the conference

● *Photos by Booker Lockhart, Harmon Perry and Marge Manderson*

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
January 10, 1969 Vol. 93, No. 2

S. H. RINGO—VIRGINIAN PILOT

RIDDICK

DONALDSON—LEVITON-ATLANTA

COLLINS

PHIL KILLIAN

CHILDS

Agents of liberation and redemption.

RACES

The Other Half of the Battle

When Mrs. Geneva Collins took office as Chancery Clerk in Mississippi's Claiborne County, the two-member white staff quit. Mrs. Collins is black. Dan Nixon, a Negro magistrate in Brownsville, Tenn., was never informed of the date for the swearing-in ceremony after his election and had to seek out a local judge to be formally installed in office. Griffin McLaurin, a black constable in Tchula, Miss., has a problem with the white justice of the peace in his district. Says McLaurin: "When I bring someone in on a traffic charge, if it's a white man, he'll let him go. But if it's a Negro, he'll fine him."

Slowly and painfully, most of the 382 Negroes who have been elected to public offices in the South—ranging from mayor and state representative to constable and justice of the peace—have discovered that getting elected is only half the battle. Now, to help solve some of the problems facing Southern black officeholders, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council has set up five campus service centers to provide basic training.* These centers hold workshops for potential candidates on legal requirements for filing, costs and techniques of campaigning, and their official duties. They also provide advice to those already in office and help black officials to research and introduce legislation.

Establishing Authority. Valuable as this assistance is, it is still the black officials themselves who must solve the problems of establishing their authority in a largely hostile white society. White intransigence to political integration takes many forms, ranging from defiance to outright intimidation. Black justices and constables are told by white offenders that "no nigger is going to tell us what to do." Moses Riddick, a member of the Board of Supervisors in Suffolk, Va., had a cross burned on his lawn after winning a primary. James Jolliff, a black constable in Wilkinson County, Miss., was arrested on charges of impeding and intimidating officers and was temporarily suspended from his office when he stopped Alcoholic Beverage Commission agents from searching a Negro cafeteria without a warrant.

In several Southern states local officials are paid on the "fee" system, according to the number of cases they handle. In towns where there is more than one justice of the peace, white officers can choose which J.P. they will bring minor offenders to for hearings. If one J.P. is black and the other white, the Negro official is simply ignored. William Childs, a black justice of the peace in Tuskegee, Ala., is one victim of this system. Childs charges that the white J.P. in his district averages 300 to 400 traffic cases a month, while he gets no more than 20.

Crisis of Identity. Frustrating and vicious as white resistance can be, it is only part of the problem. Many black officials are split over the question of whom they represent, often finding themselves in a crossfire between militant and moderate members of the Negro community, including many who feel that they should not have run in the first place. When A. W. Willis campaigned unsuccessfully for mayor of Memphis in 1967, his "real fight" was with the city's black community. His effort, he said, was undermined by Negroes "who felt that a black man had a nerve trying to be mayor," and by black militants who wanted to boycott the entire election. In Richmond, Va., two Negro councilmen were defeated for reelection when the black leadership supported two white liberals to replace them. Both the Negroes had supported a measure to increase city transportation fares, and one had voted against an open-housing regulation, arguing that the council was not empowered to pass such a measure.

The number of Negro-elected officials in the South has been rising steadily since the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the surge is expected to continue. With it will grow the crisis of identity that blacks and whites must face in the South, and the problems will doubtless multiply. So, in the longer run, may the opportunities to root out discrimination. Says Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook, Negro professor of political science at Duke University: "Today, while it is true that the Negro still is part subject, it is also true that he is much nearer the start of political equality than at any previous time. He now has a toehold in the Southern political process. Negroes can help redeem the past. They can be liberating and redemptive agents. Black men, working with white men of reason, good will and a sense of justice, can largely free the South from the chains and illusions of the past."

* They are located at Southern University and A. & M. College, Baton Rouge, La.; Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.; Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.; Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.; and Miles College, Birmingham, Ala.

Arkansas State AFL-CIO

1408 REBSAMEN PARK ROAD
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS MOhawk 3-4164

J. BILL BECKER
President
GEORGE H. ELLISON
Vice-President
E. J. JACOBS
Secretary-Treasurer

April 18, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Enclosed please find a call to our convention which convenes in Hot Springs on May 26th.

I sincerely hope you can visit with us any or all of the three days in which our convention is in session.

Always with a good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Bill

J. Bill Becker
President

JBB:jm
opeiu 105, afl-cio

Enclosure

CONVENTION CALL

SEVENTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
ARKANSAS STATE AFL-CIO

TO ALL AFFILIATES
ARKANSAS STATE AFL-CIO

Greetings:

The Seventh Constitutional Convention of the Arkansas State AFL-CIO will convene in the Velda Rose Towers Ballroom, Hot Springs, Arkansas, on Monday, May 26, 1969, at 10:00 A. M. The convention is expected to remain in session three days, ending the afternoon of May 28, 1969.

REPRESENTATION

Each affiliated local union in good standing shall be entitled to representation and votes in conventions of the Arkansas State AFL-CIO based upon the average number of members on whom per capita and Dedicated Assessment has been paid for the 24 months period ending February 28 immediately preceding the Convention, except that locals affiliated for as much as three months of that period, but less than all of it, shall have the number of delegates and votes based upon the average for all the months affiliated. The schedule of representation shall be as follows:

100 members or less	1 delegate
101 to 300 members	3 delegates
301 to 600 members	4 delegates
601 to 1000 members	5 delegates
1001 to 1500 members	6 delegates
1501 to 2100 members	7 delegates
2101 to 2800 members	8 delegates
2801 to 3600 members	9 delegates

Locals which have been affiliated for less than three months of the immediately preceding 12 month period ending February 28 or which have affiliated since February 28 shall be entitled to one delegate and one vote. However, newly organized locals affiliating within 6 months of the date of their charter shall be entitled to representation and vote based on the average number of members on whom per capita tax and Dedicated Assessment has been paid. Locals which are not in good standing, that is, three months or more in arrears, shall not be entitled to any delegates or votes.

Each affiliated local union in good standing shall be entitled to one vote per member based upon the average membership determined in the manner set forth in Section 4 of Article IV of the Constitution.

Each affiliated subordinate body in good standing shall be entitled to one delegate and three votes.

All members of the Executive Committee who are not elected as delegates from their respective organizations shall be delegates to the convention with all the rights and privileges of elected delegates. Each member of the Executive Committee shall be entitled to one vote as a Committee Member.

(over)

Each affiliated organization may designate one alternate delegate for each regular delegate to which it is entitled. The alternate delegates shall become a regular delegate representing his organization in case a regular delegate is unable to serve by registration with the credentials committee as a regular delegate.

Your Organization _____ having paid on an average of _____ members for the period ending February 28, 1969, is entitled to _____ Delegates and _____ Votes.

NOTE: Locals entitled to more than one delegate may divide their votes among their delegates as they deem advisable.

ELIGIBILITY

Delegates to the Convention must be members in good standing of an affiliate of the Arkansas State AFL-CIO or an accredited representative of the parent organization of an affiliate.

No person shall be seated as a delegate in a convention of the Arkansas State AFL-CIO nor shall any person be eligible to serve as an officer or as a member of the Executive Committee, or of any committee of the AFL-CIO, who is a member of the Communist Party, the Klu Klux Klan, or any other Fascist or totalitarian movement or who consistently pursues policies or activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of such organizations or movements rather than the objectives and policies of this State AFL-CIO and of the AFL-CIO Article IV, Section 19 and 21.

REGISTRATION

The Credentials Committee will register delegates at the Velda Rose Towers beginning at 3:00 P. M. Sunday, May 25, and continue through 7:00 P. M.; and again from 8:00 A. M. through 10:00 A. M. on Monday, May 26. It is suggested that delegates who arrive early on Sunday register early to avoid the rush on the day of the Convention.

REGISTRATION FEE

Each delegate, alternate delegate, and registered visitor, excepting invited speakers and guests, shall pay a registration fee of $10.00, which shall include banquet ticket.

RESOLUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

All resolutions and proposed constitutional amendments to be considered by any convention of the Arkansas State AFL-CIO must be received in the office of the Secretary-Treasurer, in Little Rock, Arkansas, ten (10) days immediately preceding the opening of the convention.

All resolutions and proposed constitutional amendments submitted after the time stipulated above or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Committee for its consideration and action.

Fraternally yours,

J. BILL BECKER, *President*

E. J. JACOBS, *Secretary-Treasurer*

April 21, 1969

Mr. J. Bill Becker, President
Arkansas State AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsamen Park Road
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Bill:

Thanks for your invitation to attend your convention beginning May 26.

It is my present plan to be with you during at least a part of the Arkansas State AFL-CIO convention.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

May 21, 1969

Mr. Daniel A. Powell, Director
Area V, C.O.P.E.
AFL-CIO
5298 Revere Road
Memphis, Tennessee 38117

Corrected on original

Dear Dan:

There has been a scheduled change. Eastern Air Lines Flight #982 leaves Atlanta at 6:15 p.m. and arrives in Memphis at 6:18 p.m. I will see you at that time on Friday.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Ark AFL-CIO

RESOLUTIONS

ARKANSAS STATE AFL-CIO

SEVENTH CONVENTION

May 26, 27, 28,
1969

Hot Springs, Arkansas

II

Schnitzler during a session of the 64th convention

traces its history back to 1842 when a number of locals were orga

Ark AFL-CIO

AFL-CIO News 6-7-69

Arkansas Labor Keys Dues Hike to Progress

Hot Springs, Ark.—Delegates to the Arkansas AFL-CIO's seventh convention approved an increase in per capita payments to continue the state body's "Program of Progress" and expand its legislative goals for the coming two years.

Approving the officers' recommendation to continue the seven-year-old program marked by "unprecedented progress in the face of great difficulties," the 300 delegates voted new two-year terms for Pres. J. Bill Becker and Sec.-Treas. E. J. Jacobs, and raised the monthly affiliation tax from 22.5 cents per member to 23 cents.

Since the Program of Progress was adopted, the state federation increased its dues-paying membership by 11,000 and achieved many of its objectives in the fields of legislation, political education, public relations and union cooperation, the officers said.

They listed these gains:

- An increase in unemployment insurance, voted by the legislature in 1963, when Arkansas became the first southern state to base maximum unemployment benefits on a percentage of the state's average wage.
- Passage in 1964 of a permanent voter registration law, initiated by labor and other groups and approved in a statewide referendum.
- Enactment of the first minimum wage law in state history.
- Passage in 1968 of a workmen's compensation law the federation called "the best in the South."

The federation also mounted a statewide campaign against an unfavorable unemployment insurance bill which the governor vetoed, won enactment of a state prevailing-wage law, secured a union dues deduction procedure for state employes, won exemption of the first $25 of wages from garnishment, and other goals including an increase in teachers' salaries.

Despite these gains, the officers reported, "many problems remain in the antiunion atmosphere" of a state that still is "saddled with a compulsory open shop law and records the second lowest per capita income" in the nation.

Convention speakers included Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller (R), Pres. Thomas F. Murphy of the Bricklayers, Sec.-Treas. William Botkin of the Woodworkers, Vice Pres. George T. Watkins of the Machinists, Vice Pres. Wayne E. Glenn of the Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers, Rep. David Pryor (D-Ark.), Richard Shoemaker of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Social Security, and Al Kehrer of the federation's Dept. of Civil Rights.

Rockefeller urged an increase in the state sales tax, but the delegates voted to oppose it unless its "unfair effect" on the poor is removed. Murphy urged all unions to affiliate with state federations for their full membership—an objective he has asked all Bricklayer unions to achieve.

Becker announced the affiliation of the Chemical Workers for all its 1,800 Arkansas members.

Two Join Staff Of Research Dept.

Frank F. Pollara has been appointed assistant director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Research and Richard W. Humphreys has joined the department as an industrial engineer.

Pollara comes to the federation after 19 years with the Steelworkers where he was an international representative in charge of coordinated bargaining. He also served the USWA as assistant research director at one time and held posts on various human relations committees for the union.

Earlier, Pollara had been with the National Labor Relations Board, the Veterans Administration and the U.S. Employment Service.

Humphreys comes to the AFL-CIO from the University of West Virginia. He had been director of the university's Institute of Labor Studies and also headed its Manpower & Labor Studies Division.

From 1959 through 1967, Humphreys had been with the Allied Industrial Workers both as education and research director and as administrative assistant to the president. He also was with the State, County & Municipal Employes before serving on the University of Wisconsin staff, 1952-58.

School Official Named Deputy Mediation Chief

Dr. Lowell M. McGinnis, assistant superintendent of the Los Angeles public schools for employer-employe relations, has been named deputy director of the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service. McGinnis, 55, has been the school system's chief negotiator with employe unions, FM&CS Dir. J. Curtis Counts said.

Copy to V.S. & Rec.
(? Kng

Cities outlook

October 4, 1969

Black politicians chart new courses on civil rights

New views on the traditional political activity of Negroes were voiced last month in Washington at a meeting of black elected officials, most of whom serve at county and municipal levels.

The ideas that came out of the Institute of Black Elected Officials will help consolidate the civil rights struggle, which has been badly fragmented on a national level ever since the Southern sit-ins of the early 1960s.

Blacks with divergent viewpoints, among them, social psychologist Dr. Kenneth B. Clark and Georgia legislator Julian Bond, agreed that the power of Negro office-holders is growing. Clark calls them "the new cutting edge of the civil rights movement." Bond claims that "self-appointed" leaders of the past have been supplanted by "blacks chosen by the people." Both distinguish between the new breed of black officeholder and the old ward heeler.

Putting power to work

Two major ideas for exercising black political power emerged from the meeting, sponsored by Clark's Metropolitan Applied Research Center (MARC). Black officials would:

- Create a formal Washington pressure group to lobby for specific legislation and actively support political candidates.
- Form a clearinghouse to give technical and management aid to black elected officials. The center would be situated in Washington and probably affiliated with Howard University.

Financing an effective lobbying group would be difficult. Foundations, normally a key source for funds, are under attack in Congress for financing politically oriented activities. Pending legislation might eliminate such grants completely. But a clearinghouse to provide assistance seems probable. MARC already is sounding out foundations for financial support and should know by yearend whether a clearinghouse can be established.

A Congress of Racial Equality spinoff, the Scholarship, Education Defense Fund for Racial Equality, already assists officials in Fayette, Miss., and other communities. The idea, says MARC's Washington representative, Eleanor Farrar, is "to acquire the expertise to exercise the political power that the democratic process provides." Once they have that, black officeholders hope to push for programs such as better schools and housing, and more employment.

Sniping at Nixon

At the meeting, black officials heard from Nixon spokesmen. But they found little to their liking in Administration programs or proposals. Because they distrust their state governments they distrust the effectiveness of the President's revenue-sharing proposal, even though it calls for automatic distribution of funds to localities by the states. They also feel that Nixon's people have not consulted knowledgeable blacks as often as the past Administration.

Nixon's desegregation stance was roundly attacked for what was called "ambiguity." While the Administration's hard-line posture on law and order was rarely discussed publicly, officials considered it antiblack. They do not consider Attorney General John N. Mitchell a friend in Washington.

The number of black officials has quadrupled in the past four years to about 1,200. A desire to help each other out—with the ultimate goal being greater political power—brought them together. Explains Mrs. Farrar: "It is surprising how interested a Dick Hatcher (mayor of Gary, Ind.) is in what Howard Lee (mayor of Chapel Hill, N. C.) is doing."

High-Ranking Negro Quits SBA, Charging Nixon Hasn't Kept Black Capitalism Vow

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—The Nixon Administration suffered its first defection by a high-ranking Negro appointee with an emotional resignation announcement by Philip Pruitt, head of the Small Business Administration's minority entrepreneurship program.

Mr. Pruitt, 33 years old, who came to Washington from a Wall Street investment banking firm, blamed his departure chiefly on the President's failure thus far to make good on a campaign pledge for a black capitalism program. "There's been lots of rhetoric in Government about helping blacks but no money has been forthcoming," Mr. Pruitt complained.

Mr. Pruitt disclosed that the Administration has been delaying action on a Treasury proposal that could expand loans for minority businesses to about $370 million in the fiscal year that began July 1. The plan's central feature involves the deposit of $300 million of Treasury funds with banks that would agree to make SBA-guaranteed loans in amounts equal to their share of the deposits. The loans would go to Negroes and other minority-group members starting out or stepping up as independent businessmen.

The plan has been under White House consideration since May, but another SBA source suggested that action has been blocked by a desire not to undermine the President's efforts to cool off the economy.

Mr. Pruitt acknowledged that fiscal problems burden black-capitalism efforts, but he also said, "The President has to reaffirm his commitment to the minorities. The credibility gap is growing wider as far as blacks are concerned."

Campaign Pledge Attached

As a Negro, he said, the greatest strain was the difficulty of working for an Administration widely regarded by Negroes as unfriendly. For example, Whitney Young, executive director of the Urban League, recently termed black capitalism a "shambles" and charged that the Nixon campaign pledge "never has been followed up by any concrete plan or proposals."

Mr. Pruitt has spent much time since taking office on March 21 visiting black communities around the country, and fellow Negroes repeatedly made the same point as Mr. Young when Mr. Pruitt sought to explain SBA objectives, he said.

"I'm frustrated," he declared. "I'm not going to stay here and take all the heat from the black community while the Administration is not committed. It's something I feel as a black man."

Mr. Pruitt cited other factors for his departure, including the behind-the-scenes opposition to his appointment by Sen. Javits of New York, ranking Republican on the Senate Small Business Committee. Mr. Javits felt Mr. Pruitt's former highly paid investment-banking position and his plush East Side apartment in New York had put him out of touch with ghetto problems. The preferred Javits choice would have been a more militant Harlemite—an issue further complicated by Sen. Javits' even stronger opposition to President Nixon's appointment of Hilary Sandoval Jr. as SBA administrator, SBA insiders say.

Another Thorn Cited

Another thorn for both Mr. Pruitt and Mr. Sandoval is the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, which the Nixon Administration set up in the Commerce Department with overall responsibility for the "black capitalism" program. Sources say the SBA has completed plans for its part of the program, but must wait while the newly organized minority business office reappraises problems.

One top SBA official, however, was inclined to blame the Pruitt departure on annoyances growing out of lending restrictions imposed on the agency's existing program due to Vietnam costs and related inflation problems. "If we had some lollipops to give out all of these little problems would be unimportant," he said.

The Government's strong commitment to black capitalism actually dates back to mid-1968, when then-SBA administrator Howard Samuels forged Project Own. The Samuels program envisioned a range of support for minority enterprise but leaned on SBA-guaranteed bank loans projected to total $300 million in the year that began July 1. This bank loan program had worked up to an annual rate of around $90 million, but one SBA source says bankers haven't been inclined to go higher because of tight money.

Backers believe the Treasury proposal currently under study would provide the needed impetus for expansion of guaranteed lending. Another benefit would be to end the need for a separate SBA program of participating in bank loans to minority entrepreneurs. Funds switched from this use then could be applied to riskier loans funded 100% by the agency. This would permit such high-risk lending to reach $70 million in the current fiscal year, up from only about $9 million in the year just ended.

Canadian Consumer Price Index

OTTAWA—The Canadian consumer price index rose 0.8% in June to 125.9% of the 1961 average from 124.9% in May, the Bureau of Statistics said. The latest month's index was 5.2% above its year-ending level.

FOOD STAMPS

WHEREAS, some employers, usually farm employers, refuse to sign forms on which they state the amount they pay employees. In those cases, the employer's refusal to cooperate with the Food Stamp Program denies his employees the opportunity to benefit from the program; and

WHEREAS, the present program is nutritionally unfair to poorer families. If two equally sized families, one having a higher income than the other, joined the program on the same day, the richer family would receive more food stamps for the month than their poorer neighbor; and

WHEREAS, food stamps cannot be used for the purchase of soaps and detergents. After purchasing food stamps a family has little money left to answer its housing, clothing and medical expenses. Most often the family, because it is participating in the program cannot afford to keep its house and family clean; and

WHEREAS, the purchase requirement is too high. Large families that live on $100 or $150 a month cannot afford to pay 30% or more for the purchase of food stamps. Although the family does eat better because of the program the family's standard of housing, clothing and medical care deteriorate. Nor can such a family afford to keep their children in school while participating in such an expensive program; and

WHEREAS, the attitude of Food Stamp personnel on the county level often times discourages participating. Clients have no access to information or regulations and, therefore, feel at the mercy of the whim of individual workers.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Seventh Constitutional Convention of the Arkansas State AFL-CIO urge that:

1. The state should make it an offense for an employer to withhold wage statements from the Food Stamp office.

2. The State Food Stamp Guidelines should be amended to pay out an equal quantity of stamps to equal sized families no matter what purchase requirement the family can afford.

(Continued next page)

3. The State Offices should petition the Agriculture Department and members of Congress to take action so as to amend the program to include the purchase of soaps and detergents. If no action is forthcoming the State should, of its own initiation, distribute cleaning products to Food Stamp clients.

4. The state should budget funds so as to lower purchase requirements, especially the purchase requirements of large families.

5. Special training sessions should be held by state authorities for the sole purpose of impressing upon county personnel the goals and the importance of the program to the state and the peoples residing therein. Food Stamp regulations should be made available in simplified form so that the client would be aware of his rights under current legislation.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent to the Governor, the State Welfare Department, and our Congressional delegation.

Respectfully submitted by:

Executive Committee
Arkansas State AFL-CIO

opeiu 105, afl-cio

UNION LABEL

WHEREAS, organized labor must continue to strengthen itself not only on the collective bargaining, political, and legislative fronts, but also as the largest single block of consumers of the nation's goods and services. This must be done to counteract the continuous assaults of anti-union forces; and

WHEREAS, one of the most powerful weapons available to labor in its struggle for industrial democracy is the Union Label. It is a trademark of unionism, signifying that the goods and services were made or rendered in unionized factories, stores, barber shops, and other establishments, under decent working conditions and equitable wages; and

WHEREAS, thus it is time for a rededication to the principle that organized labor takes care of its own by demanding the appropriate Union Label, Shop Card, or Service Button on all goods and services purchased by a union member of his family. Adherence to this principle could effectively destroy business opposition to union organizing efforts. Exploitation of employees in low-wage sweat shops and runaway plants looking for cheap labor could be curtailed.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Seventh Constitutional Convention of the Arkansas State AFL-CIO reaffirms its support of the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department's program of Label promotion and urges all union members and their families to patronize, where possible, only unionized shops, stores, and services, and to demand the Union Label on all manufactured products.

Respectfully submitted by:

Executive Committee
Arkansas State AFL-CIO

opeiu 105, afl-cio

FOOTWEAR IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED STATES

WHEREAS, foreign made shoes continue to enter the United States at an alarming rate and increasingly jeopardize the American shoe industry and the jobs it provides; and

WHEREAS, imports of leather and vinyl footwear -- exclusive of rubber footwear -- have increased from less than 10 million pairs in 1956 to 176 million pairs in 1968 -- amounting to 27% of domestic production and 22% of domestic consumption; and

WHEREAS, U. S. exports of such footwear declined from 5 million pairs in 1956 to less than 3 million pairs in 1968 due to extremely high tariffs and other discriminating obstacles which foreign nations impose against U. S. made footwear; and

WHEREAS, the imbalance of trade in footwear between the United States and other national is due to the vast difference in labor costs such as the following: JAPAN: Imports up from 1954-56 base of 2 1/2 million pairs to 65 1/4 million pairs in 1968 with prevailing hourly wage, including fringe benefits, of 57.2¢; ITALY: Imports up from 1954-56 base of 1 million pairs to 59 million pairs in 1968 with prevailing hourly wage, including fringe benefits, of $1.04; SPAIN: Imports up from 1954-56 base of 23,000 pairs to 14 1/4 million pairs in 1968 with prevailing hourly wage, including fringe benefits, of 55¢; TAIWAN: Imports up from zero in 1954-56 to 15 1/4 million pairs in 1968 with prevailing hourly wage, including fringe benefits, of 14.4¢ for men and 7.9¢ for women; UNITED STATES: Prevailing hourly wage, including fringe benefits, is $2.70; and

WHEREAS, in 1968 an additional 56,000 American shoe workers should have been employed to produce the foreign made footwear sold in the United States; and

WHEREAS, estimates by qualified sources indicate that if imports of foreign footwear are allowed to increase at present rates the shoe industry in the United States and the 235,000 jobs it now provides may well disappear from the American scene within the next ten years; and

(Continued next page)

WHEREAS, American shoe workers reject any assumption that the shoe or any other American industry should be allowed to expire rather than risk a boycott of American produced goods by foreign countries. We believe such countries buy from the United States only because they need the goods we produce at the price and quality we produce them for and will not deviate from this sound economic practice simply because America takes reasonable and necessary steps to protect its industries and the jobs of its workers.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That this Seventh Constitutional Convention of the Arkansas State AFL-CIO urges National AFL-CIO to do everything possible to prevent further reductions of tariffs on shoes entering this country.

2. That the National AFL-CIO will work for more effective and strict enforcement of anti-dumping laws to prevent the disposal of goods onto U. S. markets by foreign countries who easily circumvent present anti-dumping laws.

3. That this convention urges the National AFL-CIO to pledge its support for passage of quota laws or other forms of "Orderly Marketing" legislation which would allow foreign countries a fair share of American markets but prevent them from taking complete possession of our markets simply because American workers and manufacturers cannot compete with imported goods produced at wages so low they would be unlawful in the United States.

Respectfully submitted by:

United Shoe Workers of
America Local 233

opeiu 105, afl-cio

Resolution No. 34

HEALTH AND SAFETY REGULATIONS

WHEREAS, it is empirically clear that garment workers labor in an environment where they constantly inhale dust and dye; and

WHEREAS, it is medically established that the constant inhalation of dust and dye in garment shop causes bronchitis and emphysema; and

WHEREAS, technology has advanced to the plateau where dust and dye clearning machines and devices can easily be integrated into the garment shop and made a part of the operating machinery of this shop; and

WHEREAS, it is the duty of the Commissioner of Labor of the state of Arkansas to promulgate health and safety regulations governing the working conditions of employees in the state of Arkansas.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Arkansas State AFL-CIO go on record as demanding that the Commissioner of Labor for the state of Arkansas promulgate health regulations which will require garment shops to install machinery and other devices that will eradicate the dust and dye environment which will result in the extermination of bronchitis and emphysema caused to garment workers by inhaling those crippling agents.

Respectfully submitted by:

International Ladies Garment
Workers Union District Council

opeiu 105, afl-cio

Resolution No. 35

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

WHEREAS, it is the law of the United States and the state of Arkansas that there should be no discrimination against women regarding wages and other terms and conditions of employment; and

WHEREAS, women can substantially perform work that is comparable to work performed by men; and

WHEREAS, employers discriminate against women regarding wages and other terms and conditions of employment under such pretexts as job content for males is different; men perform "heavy-duty" work; and training programs for the higher paying jobs limited only to men.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Arkansas State AFL-CIO go on record as demanding that employers provide equal employment opportunities for women in this state and that its constituent members agree to be on constant vigilance to insure that this policy is effectuated.

Respectfully submitted by:

International Ladies Garment
Workers Union District Council

opeiu 105, afl-cio

Resolution No. 36

CHIROPRACTIC SERVICES
UNDER MEDICARE

WHEREAS, organized labor has consistently been the principal supporter of the Medicare program for senior citizens; and

WHEREAS, the members of AFL-CIO unions are among the principal beneficiaries of Medicare; and

WHEREAS, chiropractic services, as authorized by Arkansas law and this state's Workmen's Compensation program, have proved to be highly beneficial to workers and their families in this state; and

WHEREAS, Title 18 of the Social Security Act fails to provide such beneficial services in Medicare.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the Seventh Constitutional Convention of the Arkansas State AFL-CIO that we believe that Title 18 of the Social Security Act should be amended to provide for chiropractic services under Medicare.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent to the National headquarters of the AFL-CIO in Washington, D. C. and that the AFL-CIO be urged to adopt the position taken herein as a legislative goal of the labor movement.

Respectfully submitted by:

American Federation of State,
County and Municipal Employees
Local 965

opeiu 105, afl-cio

Resolution No. 37

AMERICA'S FORGOTTEN PEOPLE

WHEREAS, thirty years of welfare legislation in the fifty member states has created a thicket of interlocking and overlapping laws and regulations which has frustrated the intent and purposes of the whole concept and has only succeeded in further debasing a whole segment of our society to the point where the children of many welfare recipient families are taught from the cradle, by example of their parents, the means by which they can qualify, in their own turn, to become welfare cases; and

WHEREAS, a continuation of the process of degeneration of generation after generation of welfare families and the consequent weakening and destruction of family ties, in order to qualify for welfare benefits, is creating a whole host of problems for our cities, our courts and indeed the whole fabric of our social system and is, in fact, a national disgrace.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Arkansas State AFL-CIO go on record as urging the National AFL-CIO to explore one of the several plans, such as "Negative Income Tax", "Employer of Last Resort", and others and to adopt as a legislative goal that plan which will offer the best opportunities for a very substantial portion of fellow Americans to be "delivered from the dole" and become a constructive part of our great American industrial society.

Respectfully submitted by:

International Ladies Garment
Workers Union District Council

opeiu 105, afl-cio

ARKANSAS STATE AFL-CIO VOTING RECORD

How Members of the 66th General Assembly Voted on Vital Issues

JANUARY 9 to MARCH 31, 1967
and
SPECIAL SESSION, FEBRUARY 15 to FEBRUARY 21, 1968*

The 66th General Assembly considered many bills of interest to the working people of Arkansas. The actions of our legislators affect the welfare of all of our citizens and are best revealed by how they voted on crucial bills. **Votes on motions and amendments are also recorded because it is just as important, sometimes more so, than the vote on final passage.** The Arkansas State AFL-CIO has compiled the voting record of Arkansas legislators on 23 issues that labor was vitally interested in. Below are summaries of the bills:

1. HOUSE BILL 44 — DISHONGH — PREVAILING WAGE. This bill provided for the payment of prevailing wages on state, county and municipal construction. Such a law would guarantee that our tax money would not be used by unfair contractors to employ substandard labor at substandard wages. It would assure decent wages, better workmanship, and fair competitive bidding on building and construction projects. An amendment by Nicholson would have crippled the bill. It provided that only towns with 100,000 population would be covered. Opposed by the AFL-CIO, the amendment was defeated.

2. HOUSE BILL 44 — DISHONGH — PREVAILING WAGE. Another amendment, by J. Smith, would have helped kill the bill. It provided that the minimum cost of jobs to which the prevailing wage would apply was $425,000 rather than $25,000 as called for in the bill. Opposed by the AFL-CIO, the amendment was defeated.

3. HOUSE BILL 44 — DISHONGH — PREVAILING WAGE. This is the vote on final passage in the House. Supported by AFL-CIO, it passed by a vote of 64 to 22 but was withdrawn in the Senate after several crippling amendments were adopted by voice vote.

4. HOUSE BILL 116 — BRANDON — GARNISHMENT. This bill provided that the first $25 per week of net wages of all laborers and mechanics shall be "absolutely exempt" from garnishment. Supported by the AFL-CIO, this bill passed both Houses and became Act 65.

5. HOUSE BILL 120 — C. LEDBETTER — ELECTION HOURS. This bill provided that the hours the polls will be open for elections will be extended an hour in the evening, thus permitting the polls to be open from 8:00 a. m. to 7:30 p. m. Supported by the AFL-CIO, the bill passed both Houses and became Act 139.

6. HOUSE BILL 211 — HAMILTON — DUES CHECKOFF. This bill permits payroll deductions for labor unions in state institutions, after proper authorization by employees. Supported by the AFL-CIO, this measure passed both Houses and became Act 133.

7. HOUSE BILL 236 — DURRETT — TAX RELIEF. This bill would have given tax relief where needed most — among the lower and middle income taxpayers. It would have increased the state income tax credit allowance as follows: single individuals, $25 ($17.50 now); head of family or married individual living with husband or wife, $50 ($35 now); each dependent's exemption would be increased from $6 to $9. Supported by the AFL-CIO this bill passed both Houses but was vetoed by the Governor on the grounds that the revenue loss would be too great.

8. HOUSE BILL 252 — WINDSOR — UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE. After passage in the House this bill came up for a vote in the Senate. Opposed by the AFL-CIO, the bill was defeated by a vote of 14 to 14, with 18 votes needed for passage. However, Senator Alagood moved for reconsideration.

9. HOUSE BILL 252 — WINDSOR — UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE. Tremendous pressure was exerted by our opponents, and upon reconsideration this measure, opposed by the AFL-CIO, passed by a margin of one vote.

10. HOUSE BILL 252 — WINDSOR — UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE. After defeat in Committee of the same drastic bill, aimed at many categories of unemployment, that was vetoed by the Governor in 1965, this measure was introduced. It disqualified, for the duration of their unemployment, workers who voluntarily quit. This bill unfairly penalizes workers with different skills and does not take into account periods of heavy unemployment when workers will have a hard time finding any job. Providing that voluntary quits must have thirty days of paid work to be eligible, unscrupulous employers will force workers to quit rather than lay them off or discharge them. Opposed by the AFL-CIO, this bill passed both Houses and became Act 248 without the Governor's signature.

11. HOUSE BILL 604—C. LEDBETTER—HUMAN RESOURCES. This bill declared it to be the public policy of the state that the vital resources of this state include the full utilization of all its citizens without regard to race, color, religion, sex, age, national origin or economic condition. The measure called for a commission to be appointed by the Governor, to investigate, study and report on the policies of the agencies of government. Supported by the AFL-CIO, it passed the House and was tabled by the Senate.

12. SENATE BILL 13 — DOUGLAS — FREE TEXTBOOKS. This bill provided that the state would furnish textbooks for public school pupils in grades 9 - 12. But it is not to be effective until the average salary of teachers reaches 80% of the average salary in the United States. Supported by the AFL-CIO, this bill passed both Houses and became Act 334.

13. SENATE BILL 61 — LOOKADOO — PARTY AFFILIATION. This bill amends our Voter Registration law to require voters to register by party affiliation if they want to vote in either the Democratic or Republican primaries. We believe it is unfair for voters to cross over and vote in the other party's primary. In the General Election no matter what your party affiliation you can vote for any candidate, whether Democrat, Republican or Independent. Supported by the AFL-CIO, this bill passed both Houses and was vetoed by the Governor. The veto was overridden by the General Assembly and became Act 457. The vote recorded here is on overriding the Governor's veto. This Act, by petition, has been referred to a vote of the people in the November General Election and is not now in effect.

14. SENATE BILL 146 — FIRE FIGHTERS HOURS — FLETCHER AND MOORE. This bill reduced the hours of work for Fire Fighters from 72 to 56. Needing 18 votes, the bill was defeated by one vote. The record of this vote was expunged and, therefore, cannot be printed. A key vote was taken on an amendment by Ingram that reduced salaries and would have made the bill unacceptable. Opposed by the AFL-CIO, the amendment failed.

15. SENATE BILL 455 — FIRE FIGHTERS HOURS — MOORE. This bill reduced the hours of work for Fire Fighters from 72 to 64. Supported by the AFL-CIO, it passed the Senate but died on the calendar in the House.

16. SENATE BILL 455 — FIRE FIGHTERS HOURS — MOORE. This bill reduced the hours of work for Fire Fighters from 72 to 64. Because of the rules in effect it could not be brought up for a vote unless a motion to suspend the rules received a two-thirds vote. The vote recorded here is on a motion by Goodwin to suspend the rules and bring Senate Bill 455 up for a vote on final passage. Supported by the AFL-CIO, the motion failed, thus permitting the bill to die on the calendar.

17. SENATE BILL 366 — HOWELL — CITY SALES TAX. This measure authorizes a sales tax for counties and cities, subject to approval by the voters. Opposed by the AFL-CIO, it passed the Senate but died on the calendar in the House.

18. SENATE BILL 366 — HOWELL — CITY SALES TAX. The key vote in the House on the city sales tax measure was on an amendment by Brandon that would have made the bill unacceptable by providing that the tax would not go into effect until every city in the county approved it. Supported by the AFL-CIO, the amendment passed. The bill died on the calendar.

19. SENATE BILL 303 — HOWELL AND B. ALLEN — MINIMUM WAGE. This bill establishes a State Minimum Wage law of $1 per hour the first year, $1.10 the second year, and $1.20 an hour the third year. The key vote on this bill was a motion to suspend the rules and bring the bill up for a vote on final passage. Supported by the AFL-CIO, the motion needed 24 votes, but only received 18. Therefore, the bill died on the calendar.

*20. SENATE BILL 61 — HOWELL, SPRICK, ALAGOOD, B. ALLEN, MOORE — MINIMUM WAGE. An amendment by Day would have excluded from coverage many part time and seasonal workers. Opposed by the AFL-CIO, the amendment was defeated.

*21. SENATE BILL 61 — HOWELL, SPRICK, ALAGOOD, B. ALLEN, MOORE — MINIMUM WAGE. An amendment by Foster would have broadened the definition of excluded agricultural labor. Opposed by the AFL-CIO as being unnecessary, the amendment was defeated.

*22. SENATE BILL 61 — HOWELL, SPRICK, ALAGOOD, B. ALLEN, MOORE — MINIMUM WAGE. Put into the Special Session Call by Governor Rockefeller, this bill called for a State Minimum Wage of $1 an hour, increasing after one year to $1.10 per hour, and increasing after two years to $1.20 an hour. It covered all establishments with five or more workers, with certain exemptions. Supported by the AFL-CIO, it passed both Houses and became Act 25. This Act replaces the 1915 Minimum Wage law for females that provided for $1.25 a day for experienced women and is the first general Minimum Wage law in Arkansas history.

*23. SENATE BILL 62 — GRIFFIN — MINIMUM WAGE. This bill called for a State Minimum Wage of $1 an hour, increasing after one year to $1.10 per hour, and increasing after two years to $1.20 an hour. It covered all establishments with six or more workers, with certain exemptions. Although preferring SB 61, the AFL-CIO supported this measure. It passed both Houses but was vetoed by the Governor when he signed SB 61.

How Your Repr

Dist.	Counties—Representatives	Prevailing Wage (1)	Prevailing Wage (2)	Prevailing Wage (3)	Garnishment (4)	Election Hours (5)	Dues Checkoff (6)	Tax Relief (7)	Unemployment (10)	Human Resources (11)	Free Textbooks (12)	Party Affiliation (13)	Fire Fighters Hrs. (16)	City Sales Tax (18)	*Minimum Wage (20)	*Minimum Wage (21)	*Minimum Wage (22)	*Minimum Wage (23)
1	Benton—James L. Sheets	R	R	R	A	R	A	W	R	R	R	A	R	A	R	R	R	R
	Ivan W. Rose	A	A	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	A	R	W	A	R	R
2	Carroll, Madison—Danny L. Patrick	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	A	R	A	R	A	R	R
3	Boone—Joseph T. Hamilton	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R
4	Marion, Searcy, Pope—James H. Harrell	A	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	W	W	R	R
	L. L. Bryan	W	R	R	R	W	A	R	W	A	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R
5	Baxter, Fulton—Mrs. Vada Sheid	A	A	R	A	A	A	A	W	R	R	R	R	A	W	W	R	R
6	Randolph, Clay—F. B. Manatt	A	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	W	W	R	R
	Jesse C. Hayes	R	R	A	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
7	Washington—Dr. Morriss M. Henry	W	A	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	A	R	R	R	R	R
	Charles W. Stewart	R	R	W	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R
	Charles E. Davis	W	A	R	W	W	W	A	W	R	R	R	A	R	W	W	R	R
8	Newton, Johnson—Garner L. Taylor	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	A	A	W	R	R
9	Stone, Izard, Sharp—John E. Miller	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	A	W	R	R	R
10	Lawrence—Harry "Pop" Hilburn	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R
11	Greene, Craighead—Roscoe D. Brown	A	A	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	A	A	R	W	R	R
	Jerry Bookout	A	R	R	R	A	R	R	W	R	A	R	A	R	A	A	R	R
	Andrew Schug	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	A	R	R	R	W	W	R	R
	Jimmy Doyle Hunt	W	A	R	R	R	R	R	W	A	A	W	R	W	A	W	R	R
12	Crawford, Sebastian—B. G. Hendrix	W	W	A	R	R	R	A	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R
	George E. Nowotny, Jr.	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	A	R	A	R	R	R	R
	Bernice L. Kizer	R	A	R	R	R	R	A	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	A	R	R
	W. E. "Gene" Rainwater	R	A	R	R	R	A	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
	Wm. Clovis Bryant	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R
13	Franklin, Logan, Yell—Charles W. Boyce	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	A	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R
	M. L. "Mike" Womack	W	W	A	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R
14	Van Buren, Cleburne, Faulkner—J. C. Dawson	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R
	Cecil L. Alexander	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	A	R	W	W	R	R
15	Independence—Virgil J. Butler	S	S	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	S	S	S	S
16	Jackson, Woodruff—John A. "Buddy" Sink	W	A	W	R	A	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	R
	Jack S. Oakes	A	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	A	A	R	R
17	Poinsett—Wm. H. Thompson	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	A	R	W	W	R	R
	James H. Roberts	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	A	R	W	R	A	W	R	R
18	Mississippi—Mrs. L. H. Autry														W	W	A	R
	W. R. "Bill" Nicholson	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	A	W	W	A	R
	Walter M. Day	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	A	R
	Eugene F. Still	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	A	R
19	Scott, Polk—Van B. Taylor	W	A	A	A	A	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	A	W	W	R	R
20	Montgomery, Garland—Ray S. Smith, Jr.	R	R	R	R	R	A	A	A	R	R	W	A	A	W	A	R	R
	F. L. "Hugh" Beasley	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	A	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R
	Ode Maddox	W	R	A	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
21	Conway—Loid Sadler	W	W	W	A	R	R	R	W	A	R	R	R	R	W	W	A	R
22	Perry, Pulaski—Charles D. Matthews	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	A	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R
	Harry W. Carter	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R
	Gayle Windsor, Jr.	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	A	W	R	W	W	W	W
	Paul Meers	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	A	R	R
	Leon Holsted	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R
	Cal Ledbetter, Jr.	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R
	Joel Y. Ledbetter	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	A	R	R	R	R	R
	Sterling R. Cockrill, Jr.	-	-	-	-	-	-	SPEAKER				-	-	-	-	-	-	-

esentatives Voted

Dist.	Counties—Representatives	Prevailing Wage (1)	Prevailing Wage (2)	Prevailing Wage (3)	Garnishment (4)	Election Hours (5)	Dues Checkoff (6)	Tax Relief (7)	Unemployment (10)	Human Resources (11)	Free Textbooks (12)	Party Affiliation (13)	Fire Fighters Hrs. (16)	City Sales Tax (18)	*Minimum Wage (20)	*Minimum Wage (21)	*Minimum Wage (22)	*Minimum Wage (23)
	B. D. "Doug" Brandon	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	A	A	R	W	R	R	R
	Sherman Blake Williams	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	W	A	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R
	S. Pete Haydon	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	A	A	R	R	R	R	R
	H. Allan Dishongh	R	R	R	S	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R
	Herbert C. Rule, III	R	A	R	R	R	R	A	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
23	White, Lonoke—John Paul Capps	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	A	R	R	A	R	W	W	R	R
	W. F. "Bill" Foster	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	A	R	W	W	R	R
	James E. Harris	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R
24	Prairie, Arkansas—John P. Bethell	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	W
	Albert M. Hayes	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	R
25	Monroe—Kirby Meacham	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R
26	Cross—J. L. "Jim" Shaver, Jr.	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	W	W	R	R
27	St. Francis—O. P. Hammons	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	A	R	R	R	R	W	W	A	R
	R. E. "Gene" Flanagin	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	R
28	Crittenden—Lloyd C. McCuiston	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	R
	C. B. Nance, Jr.	W	W	W	W	A	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	A	W	W	A	A
	Joe H. Holland	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	R
29	Lee, Phillips—Marcus J. Howell	A	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	A	W	A	R	W	W	A	R
	James L. Linder	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	A
	J. B. Smith	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	A	R	A	A	A	R
	Charles A. Conditt	R	W	R	A	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	A	W	W	A	A
30	Sevier, Little River—Marion H. Crank	A	R	R	R	R	A	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	A	R	R
31	Howard, Pike—John H. Harberson	W	A	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R
32	Saline, Hot Spring—Lacy Landers	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
	Donald Collins	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
	Charles O. Smithers	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	A	A	R	R	R	R
33	Grant, Jefferson—G. W. Turner, Jr.	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R
	Paul Bates	A	A	A	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	A	R	R	W	R	R
	Dr. Sturgis Miller	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	A	R	W	R	A	R	A	R	R
	James O. Stevens	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R
	Gean McDonald	R	W	R	A	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	A	R	R	A	R	R
34	Hempstead—Talbot Feild, Jr.	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	A	A	W	W	R	R
35	Clark, Nevada—Glen E. Kelley	R	R	R	A	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
	Darrell Sam Hasley	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
36	Dallas, Cleveland—Thomas E. Sparks	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	A	R	W	W	R	R
37	Lincoln, Desha—Edwin E. "Bud" Hopson, Jr.	A	R	W	R	A	R	R	W	A	A	R	A	R	W	W	W	W
	Jimmie McKissack	W	A	A	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	A	A	W	R	R
38	Miller—Hayes C. McClerkin	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R
	Damon Young	R	A	A	R	R	A	A	W	A	R	R	A	A	R	W	R	R
39	Lafayette, Columbia—Harry B. Colay	R	A	A	R	R	A	R	W	R	A	W	R	R	A	W	R	R
	Mrs. Gladys Martin Oglesby	W	A	R	R	R	A	R	W	R	R	R	A	R	W	W	A	R
40	Ouachita—Dan Cook	A	A	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	A	A	R	R
	Grady P. Arrington	W	A	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	A	A	R	R
41	Calhoun, Union—Chadd L. Durrett	W	A	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R
	Worth Camp, Jr	A	A	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	A	A	A	R	R
	Robert L. Goodwin	A	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
42	Bradley, Ashley—Nap B. Murphy	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
	Bill G. Wells	A	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R
43	Drew—Bennie Ryburn, Jr.	R	R	A	R	A	A	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	A	A	R	R
44	Chicot—Lamar Dingler	A	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R

How Your Senators Voted

Dist.	Counties—Senators	Garnishment (4)	Election Hours (5)	Dues Checkoff (6)	Tax Relief (7)	Unemployment (8)	Unemployment (9)	Free Textbooks (12)	Party Affiliation (13)	Fire Fighters Hrs. (14)	Fire Fighters Hrs. (15)	City Sales Tax (17)	Minimum Wage (19)	*Minimum Wage (22)	*Minimum Wage (23)
1	Benton, Carroll—Russell Elrod	A	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	A	W	R	W	R
2	Washington—Clifton Wade	R	R	W	A	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	R
3	Madison, Crawford, Franklin, Johnson—David Partain	R	W	R	A	R	R	W	R	A	R	R	R	R	R
4	Sebastian, Scott, Logan, Polk—Dan White	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	R
	Milt Earnhart	R	R	A	R	W	W	R	W	A	R	A	R	R	R
5	Howard, Sevier, Hempstead, Nevada—Olen Hendrix	R	R	A	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	A	R	A
6	Pike, Clark, Dallas, Grant—J. Hugh Lookadoo	R	R	R	R	A	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R
7	Montgomery, Garland—Q. Byrum Hurst	R	R	R	R	A	A	A	A	A	R	W	A	R	R
8	Pope, Yell, Conway, Perry—Carl E. Sorrells	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	A	A	R	A	R	A	R
9	Boone, Marion, Baxter, Newton, Searcy—Ralph Hudson	R	R	R	R	W	W	A	R	A	A	W	R	R	R
10	Saline, Hot Spring—Virgil T. Fletcher	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R
11	Little River, Miller, Lafayette—Bob W. Douglas	R	A	R	A	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	A	W	R
12	Ouachita, Columbia—Melvin T. Chambers	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	A	R	R
13	Union—W. D. "Bill" Moore, Jr.	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
14	Stone, Van Buren, Cleburne, Faulkner—Guy H. Jones	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	W	R	R	R
15	Fulton, Izard, Sharp, Randolph, Lawrence—Thomas A. Penn	R	A	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W
16	Independence, White—J. Ed Lightle	R	R	W	R	R	R	A	R	R	R	R	A	A	R
17	Jackson, Woodruff, Prairie—Robert Harvey	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W
18	Pulaski, Lonoke—Max Howell	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	W	R	R	R
	Oscar Alagood	R	A	R	R	W	W	R	W	A	A	W	R	R	R
	Dan T. Sprick	R	R	R	R	A	A	W	R	W	R	R	A	R	R
	Joe T. Ford	R	R	R	R	A	A	R	W	W	A	R	A	R	R
	R. Ben Allen	R	R	R	R	A	W	A	R	W	W	W	R	R	R
19	Cleveland, Calhoun, Bradley, Ashley—Richard Earl Griffin	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	A	R	R	R	R	R
20	Jefferson, Lincoln—Morrell Gathright	R	R	R	A	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
	Knox Nelson	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
21	Monroe, Lee, Arkansas, Phillips—Joe Lee Anderson	A	W	R	R	A	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	R
	Dorathy Allen	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	R
22	Desha, Drew, Chicot—John F. Gibson	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	A	R	R
23	Clay, Greene—Cecil M. McNeil	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	A	R	R	R	R	R
24	Craighead, Mississippi, Poinsett—J. Lee Bearden	R	R	W	A	A	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
	Raymond Heern	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R
	Fred Stafford	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	A	W	R	R
25	Cross, Crittenden, St. Francis—Clarence E. Bell	R	R	R	A	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	A	W	R
	W. K. Ingram	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	A	W	R

KEY TO VOTING

R—Right
W—Wrong

A—Absent With Favorable Effect

A—Absent With Unfavorable Effect

S—Sick

Because many times a legislator will be absent when a vote is taken, we have broken down the absentees; and by inserting a different colored key, attempted to show that in many cases an absent or not voting situation is actually favorable to our viewpoint on a particular bill. Only if the A is in Red is it to be considered an unfavorable vote by your Senator or Representative.

Compiled by the Arkansas State AFL-CIO, 1408 Rebsamen Park Road, Little Rock, Arkansas

Arkansas State AFL-CIO

1408 REBSAMEN PARK ROAD
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72202 MOHAWK 3-4164

J. BILL BECKER
President
GEORGE H. ELLISON
Vice-President
E. J. JACOBS
Secretary-Treasurer

May 1, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

The Arkansas State AFL-CIO Sixth Constitutional Convention will be held at the Velda Rose Towers, Hot Springs, Arkansas on June 5th, 6th and 7th.

We would like to extend you a cordial invitation to attend our Convention.

We will be looking forward to seeing you then, and will be glad to make reservations for you if you wish.

Always with a good wish, I remain

Fraternally yours,

Bill Becker

J. Bill Becker
President

JBB:jm

June 26, 1967

Mr. J. Bill Becker
President
Arkansas AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsamen Park Road
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202

Dear Bill:

I received your announcement of the Arkansas Institute. It looks to be in good shape and I trust we will have a good turnout. Will you and the other officers be able to follow-up with the more personal touch?

The program is all lined up except for the participation by local Negro leaders and their names should be in my hands next week.

Please be in touch with me if any questions arise.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/csb

Arkansas State Tax Revenue

(1965)

Total (in millions)	$217.9			
Per Capita:	111.0			
		1957 Ark		State Avg. Nat'l Avg
Sales & Gross Receipts	$153.2		70.3%	57.7
General Sales	76.1		35.0%	
Selective Sales:				
Motor Fuels	49.3		22.6%	
Tobacco	11.9		5.5%	
Alcohol	7.2		3.3%	
Insurance	5.5		2.5%	2.8
Other (Amusements, etc)	3.1		1.4%	
Public Utilities	---		---	
Income Taxes:				
Individual	$ 17.9	4.3	8.2%	14.
Corporate	13.7	7.8	6.3%	7.4
Motor Vehicle	18.1		8.3%	
Property Taxes	.44		.2%	
Severance Taxes (Minerals, Petroleum & Natural Gas)	4.6		2.1%	
Corporation Licenses	1.9		.5%	
Death and Gift Taxes	.87	2.3	.4%	
Other	7.8		3.6%	

Arkansas State Tax Revenue

(1965)

Total (in millions)	$217.9	
Per Capita:	111.0	
Sales & Gross Receipts	$153.2	70.3%
General Sales	76.1	35.0%
Selective Sales:		
Motor Fuels	49.3	22.6%
Tobacco	11.9	5.5%
Alcohol	7.2	3.3%
Insurance	5.5	2.5%
Other (Amusements,etc)	3.1	1.4%
Public Utilities	---	---
Income Taxes:		
Individual	$ 17.9	8.2%
Corporate	13.7	6.3%
Motor Vehicle	18.1	8.3%
Property Taxes	.44	.2%
Severance Taxes	4.6	2.1%
Corporation Licenses	1.9	.5%
Death and Gift Taxes	.87	.4%
Other	7.8	3.6%

Arkansas State Tax Revenue

(1965)

Total (in millions)	$217.9	
Per Capita:	111.0	
Sales & Gross Receipts	$153.2	70.3%
General Sales	76.1	35.0%
Selective Sales:		
Motor Fuels	49.3	22.6%
Tobacco	11.9	5.5%
Alcohol	7.2	3.3%
Insurance	5.5	2.5%
Other (Amusements,etc)	3.1	1.4%
Public Utilities	---	---
Income Taxes:		
Individual	$ 17.9	8.2%
Corporate	13.7	6.3%
Motor Vehicle	18.1	8.3%
Property Taxes	.44	.2%
Severance Taxes	4.6	2.1%
Corporation Licenses	1.9	.5%
Death and Gift Taxes	.87	.4%
Other	7.8	3.6%

Supplement to
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT DATA BOOK
REDISTRICTED STATES

June 1966 CDDB Supp. No. 12

ARKANSAS

Districts of the 90th Congress

This report presents selected population, housing, and vote cast data for Arkansas, districts of the 90th Congress. Redistricting legislation was enacted in Arkansas in June 1965. Corresponding data for Arkansas applying to the districts of both the 88th and 89th Congresses were presented in the Congressional District Data Book (Districts of the 88th Congress)[1] issued by the Bureau of the Census in February 1964.

The content of this Supplement differs from that of the basic volume in the following respects:

1. The map presents district boundaries which will be in effect for the 90th Congress;

2. Data from the 1960 Censuses of Population and Housing (Items 29-254 and 399-511) have been retabulated to accord with the newly-defined district boundaries;

3. Data for vote cast in 1964 for President and for Representative have been added; 1952 data for vote cast have been omitted;

4. Other data shown in the original volume (Items 255-398) have been omitted. It was not feasible to retabulate those data which came primarily from the 1958 Censuses of Business, Manufactures, and Mineral Industries, the 1959 Census of Agriculture, and the 1962 Census of Governments.

Supplements to the Congressional District Data Book were issued in January 1965 for the following seven States that redistricted for the 89th Congress: Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Michigan, South Carolina, and Wisconsin.[2]

The source notes and explanations for the vote cast, population, and housing items in the Congressional District Data Book apply also to this report except as follows: The source for vote cast for President, 1964, is Governmental Affairs Institute, America at the Polls, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965 (copyright); the source for vote cast for Representatives, 1964, is Congressional Quarterly, Inc., Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report #13, "Complete Returns of the 1964 Elections by Congressional District," Part 1, March 26, 1965 (copyright).

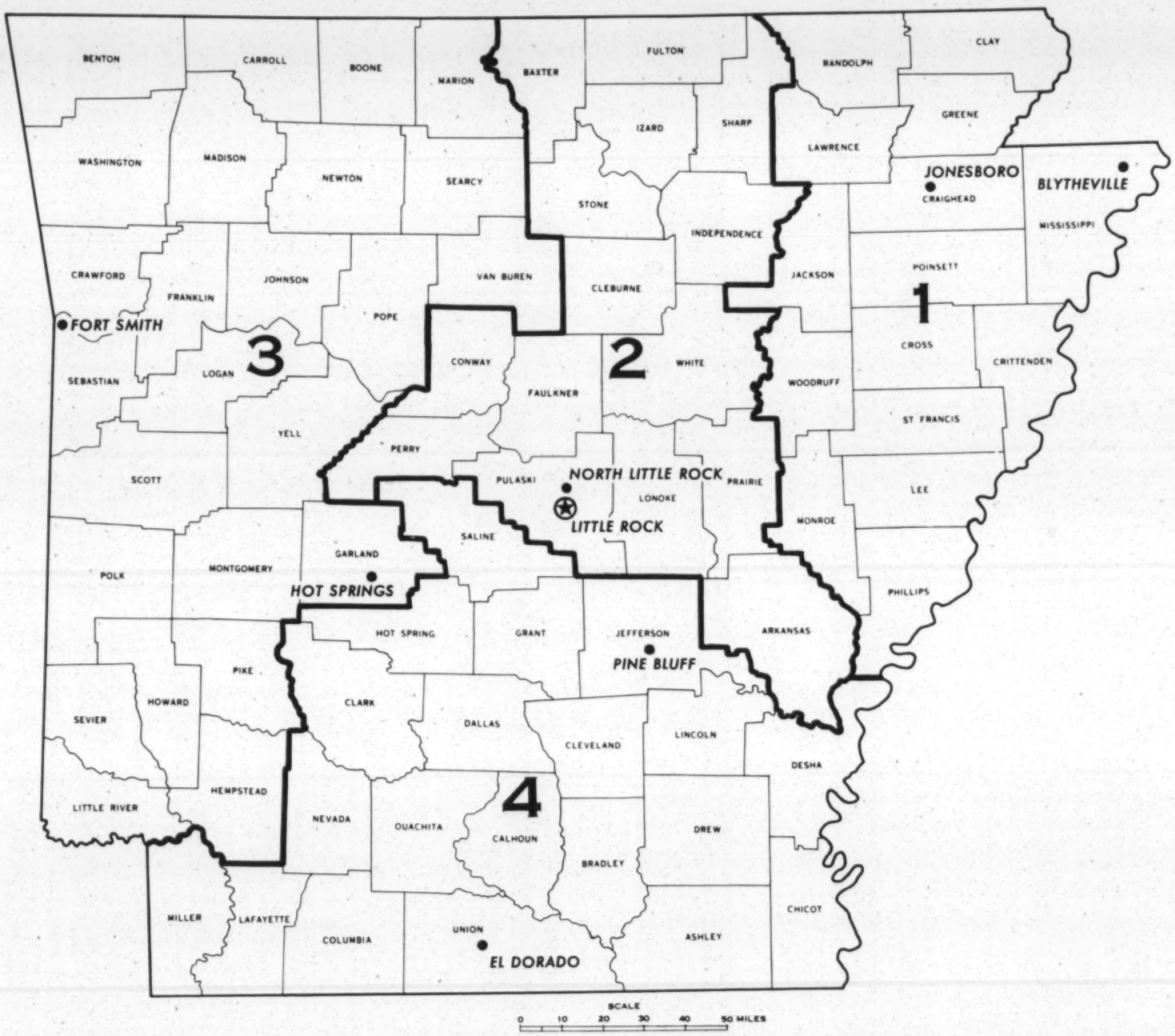
[1] *Congressional District Data Book (Districts of the 88th Congress) for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402; $4.75 (cloth).*

[2] *Single copies available upon request to the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233.*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, John T. Connor, Secretary
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, A. Ross Eckler, Director

Map of Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Cities

(4 Districts)



PAGINATION INCORRECT

Vote Cast and Population

[Items 1a to 4a and 11a to 13a are replacements for items 8 to 10 and 26 to 28, "Total vote cast, 1952," shown in Congressional District Data Book (Districts of the 88th Congress)]

ITEM NO.	ITEM	THE STATE	1st	2d	3d	4th
	VOTE CAST, BY MAJOR PARTY					
	For President					
1a	Total vote cast, 1964	560,426	107,315	153,312	163,928	135,671
2a	Democratic	314,197	64,456	84,196	90,270	75,275
3a	Republican	243,264	42,697	68,307	72,818	59,442
4a	Percent vote for majority party	56.1	60.0	54.9	55.1	55.5
1	Total vote cast, 1960	[1]428,509	77,648	110,990	135,915	103,956
2	Democratic	215,049	40,207	55,319	59,227	60,296
3	Republican	184,508	33,287	44,658	73,710	32,853
4	Percent vote for majority party	50.2	51.8	49.8	54.2	58.0
5	Total vote cast, 1956	406,572	75,977	100,328	127,942	102,325
6	Democratic	213,277	44,833	51,208	56,724	60,512
7	Republican	186,287	29,481	47,404	70,265	39,137
	For Representative					
11a	Total vote cast, 1964	([2])	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
12a	Democratic	([2])	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
13a	Republican	([2])	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
11	Total vote cast, 1962	([2])	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
12	Democratic	([2])	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
13	Republican	([2])	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
14	Total vote cast, 1960	([2])	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
15	Democratic	([2])	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
16	Republican	([2])	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
17	Total vote cast, 1958	([2])	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
18	Democratic	([2])	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
19	Republican	-	-	-	-	-
20	Total vote cast, 1956	269,763	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
21	Democratic	235,445	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
22	Republican	34,318	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
23	Total vote cast, 1954	280,264	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
24	Democratic	280,264	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
25	Republican	-	-	-	-	-
	CENSUS OF POPULATION, 1960					
29	Total population, 1960	1,786,272	444,094	443,892	444,719	453,567
30	Percent of State total	100.0	24.9	24.9	24.9	25.4
31	Total population, 1950	1,909,511	509,174	431,299	490,189	478,849
32	Percent change, 1950 to 1960	-6.5	-12.8	2.9	-9.3	-5.3
33	Land area[3] ... sq. mi.	52,175	9,824	10,261	17,794	14,296
34	Population per square mile, 1960[3]	34.2	45.2	43.3	25.0	31.7
	Residence					
35	Urban	765,303	147,568	244,313	178,834	194,588
36	Percent of total population	42.8	33.2	55.0	40.2	42.9
37	Rural nonfarm	689,324	161,534	142,118	183,540	202,132
38	Rural farm	331,645	134,992	57,461	82,345	56,847
	Race and Nativity					
39	White	1,395,703	309,122	370,046	418,017	298,518
40	Negro	388,787	134,383	73,498	26,229	154,677
41	Percent of total population	21.8	30.3	16.6	5.9	34.1
42	Other races	1,782	589	348	473	372
43	Total foreign stock	33,785	4,630	11,901	12,421	4,833
44	Percent of total population	1.9	1.0	2.7	2.8	1.1
45	Foreign born	7,457	1,148	2,364	2,821	1,124
46	Native of foreign or mixed parentage	26,328	3,482	9,537	9,600	3,709
	Country of origin of foreign stock:					
47	Austria	899	94	310	391	104
48	Czechoslovakia	962	49	432	358	123
49	Germany	9,625	1,074	3,813	3,686	1,052
50	Hungary	330	16	126	165	23
51	Ireland (Eire)	1,173	121	350	512	190
52	Italy	2,561	351	637	878	695
53	Norway	410	18	112	224	56
54	Poland	1,112	134	502	349	127
55	Sweden	1,047	93	268	558	128
56	United Kingdom	4,433	555	1,593	1,655	630
57	U.S.S.R.	1,007	199	286	390	132
58	Canada	2,450	297	977	879	297
59	Mexico	789	382	167	127	113
60	All other and not reported	6,987	1,247	2,328	2,249	1,163
	Age and Sex					
63	Both sexes	1,786,272	444,094	443,892	444,719	453,567
64	Under 5 years	194,443	55,555	47,891	40,678	50,319
65	5 to 13 years	342,421	95,666	80,742	76,142	89,871
66	14 to 17 years	131,959	36,871	29,686	31,227	34,175
67	18 to 24 years	151,843	38,242	39,504	36,710	37,387
68	25 to 34 years	189,582	45,694	51,779	44,064	48,045
69	35 to 44 years	208,750	48,489	56,146	51,338	52,777
70	45 to 59 years	298,521	67,092	73,970	81,224	76,235
71	60 to 64 years	74,381	15,657	18,348	22,064	18,312
72	65 years and over	194,372	40,828	45,826	61,272	46,446

- Represents zero.
NA Not available.
[1]Includes National States Rights electors not formally pledged to any candidate.
[2]According to Arkansas law, it is not required to tabulate votes for unopposed candidates.
[3]Revised data; see Bureau of the Census, "Area Measurement Reports," Series GE-20.

Population

ITEM NO.	ITEM	THE STATE	1st	2d	3d	4th
	Age and Sex--Con.					
	Both sexes--Con.					
73	18 years and over	1,117,449	256,002	285,573	296,672	279,202
74	21 years and over	1,043,269	237,081	267,126	278,296	260,766
75	Median age	29.0	24.2	29.6	33.5	28.1
76	Male	878,987	219,787	217,449	219,088	222,663
77	Under 5 years	98,330	27,863	24,326	20,720	25,421
78	5 to 13 years	174,256	48,686	40,913	38,882	45,775
79	14 to 17 years	67,372	18,830	14,849	16,080	17,613
80	18 to 24 years	74,371	18,922	18,997	18,321	18,131
81	25 to 44 years	188,883	44,355	51,866	45,134	47,528
82	45 to 64 years	180,850	40,821	44,612	49,630	45,787
83	65 years and over	94,925	20,310	21,886	30,321	22,408
84	18 years and over	539,029	124,408	137,361	143,406	133,854
85	21 years and over	502,450	114,812	128,586	134,213	124,839
86	Female	907,285	224,307	226,443	225,631	230,904
87	Under 5 years	96,113	27,692	23,565	19,958	24,898
88	5 to 13 years	168,165	46,980	39,829	37,260	44,096
89	14 to 17 years	64,587	18,041	14,837	15,147	16,562
90	18 to 24 years	77,472	19,320	20,507	18,389	19,256
91	25 to 44 years	209,449	49,828	56,059	50,268	53,294
92	45 to 64 years	192,052	41,928	47,706	53,658	48,760
93	65 years and over	99,447	20,518	23,940	30,951	24,038
94	18 years and over	578,420	131,594	148,212	153,266	145,348
95	21 years and over	540,819	122,269	138,540	144,083	135,927
	Marital Status					
96	Male, 14 years old and over	606,401	143,238	152,210	159,486	151,467
97	Single	145,217	36,465	35,023	36,362	37,367
98	Married	423,049	97,980	107,598	112,875	104,596
99	Widowed	25,207	6,265	5,823	6,892	6,227
100	Divorced	12,928	2,528	3,766	3,357	3,277
101	Female, 14 years old and over	643,007	149,635	163,049	168,413	161,910
102	Single	108,663	26,324	27,205	26,600	28,534
103	Married	428,607	99,944	108,340	114,272	106,051
104	Widowed	89,914	20,340	22,430	23,629	23,515
105	Divorced	15,823	3,027	5,074	3,912	3,810
	Households and Families					
106	Number of households	523,552	120,197	132,169	141,853	129,333
107	Population in households	1,752,144	440,363	431,338	437,556	442,887
108	Population per household	3.35	3.66	3.26	3.08	3.42
109	Number of primary families	446,345	103,370	112,994	119,382	110,599
110	Population in group quarters	34,128	3,731	12,554	7,163	10,680
111	Inmates of institutions	15,252	632	6,180	2,127	6,313
112	Other	18,876	3,099	6,374	5,036	4,367
	Migration					
113	Persons 5 years old and over, 1960	1,591,854	388,539	396,024	404,041	403,250
	Residence in 1955:					
114	Same house as in 1960	779,773	168,826	187,850	207,105	215,992
115	Different house, same State	643,358	181,550	161,043	142,024	158,741
116	Different State or abroad	159,405	36,381	43,638	52,560	26,826
117	Moved, residence in 1955 not reported	9,318	1,782	3,493	2,352	1,691
	Education					
118	Persons enrolled in school, 5 to 34 years old	454,814	119,022	108,465	107,918	119,409
119	Kindergarten	4,255	760	1,353	1,010	1,132
120	Elementary	317,859	90,741	73,438	70,771	82,909
121	Percent in private school	2.8	1.4	4.7	3.3	2.0
122	High school	110,763	25,047	27,369	28,433	29,914
123	Percent in private school	3.0	1.5	5.9	3.0	1.4
124	College	21,937	2,474	6,305	7,704	5,454
125	Persons 25 years old and over	964,032	217,464	245,538	259,553	241,477
126	Completed less than 5 years of school ... percent	15.4	25.0	10.4	10.2	17.3
127	Completed 4 years of high school or more ... percent	28.9	20.5	36.6	29.8	27.7
128	Completed 4 years of college or more ... percent	4.8	3.4	6.4	4.6	4.5
129	Median years of school completed	8.9	8.1	10.0	8.9	8.9
	Income, 1959					
130	All families, 1960	452,471	104,374	114,464	121,409	112,224
131	Under $2,000	146,680	43,130	29,634	38,626	35,290
132	$2,000 to $3,999	126,532	27,804	30,281	38,638	29,809
133	$4,000 to $5,999	85,602	16,357	23,740	23,409	22,096
134	$6,000 to $7,999	46,496	8,168	14,431	11,134	12,763
135	$8,000 to $9,999	22,402	3,989	7,575	4,671	6,167
136	$10,000 to $14,999	16,928	3,159	6,065	3,300	4,404
137	$15,000 and over	7,831	1,767	2,738	1,631	1,695
138	Median income ... dollars	3,184	2,651	3,822	3,142	3,397

Population and Housing

ITEM NO.	ITEM	THE STATE	1st	2d	3d	4th
	Employment Status					
139	Total labor force	609,688	141,880	162,991	155,891	148,926
140	Armed Forces	8,204	2,282	5,183	312	427
141	Civilian	601,484	139,598	157,808	155,579	148,499
142	Employed	565,491	130,149	150,294	146,267	138,781
143	Unemployed	35,993	9,449	7,514	9,312	9,718
144	Percent of civilian	6.0	6.8	4.8	6.0	6.5
145	Male	426,290	103,089	109,931	108,396	104,874
146	Armed Forces	8,170	2,282	5,157	304	427
147	Civilian	418,120	100,807	104,774	108,092	104,447
148	Employed	394,839	95,147	99,899	101,732	98,061
149	Unemployed	23,281	5,660	4,875	6,360	6,386
150	Percent of civilian	5.6	5.6	4.7	5.9	6.1
151	Female	183,398	38,791	53,060	47,495	44,052
152	Civilian	183,264	38,791	53,034	47,487	44,052
153	Employed	170,652	35,002	50,395	44,535	40,720
154	Unemployed	12,712	3,789	2,639	2,952	3,332
155	Percent of civilian	6.9	9.8	5.0	6.2	7.6
	Class of Worker					
156	Total employed	565,491	130,149	150,294	146,267	138,781
157	Private wage and salary workers	387,764	87,204	103,157	95,360	102,043
158	Government workers	63,800	11,317	20,893	16,524	15,066
159	Self-employed workers	107,285	29,569	24,760	32,446	20,510
160	Unpaid family workers	6,642	2,059	1,484	1,937	1,162
	Industry					
	Total employed in[1] --					
161	Agriculture	98,567	43,847	17,192	21,534	15,994
162	Mining	4,848	120	450	1,036	3,242
163	Construction	36,464	6,822	11,807	10,105	7,730
164	Manufacturing	113,513	18,347	25,175	33,057	36,934
165	Durable goods	59,807	9,088	12,849	17,828	20,042
166	Nondurable goods	53,706	9,259	12,326	15,229	16,892
167	Transportation	21,597	3,325	7,438	4,874	5,960
168	Wholesale and retail trade	103,820	22,703	29,270	28,195	23,652
169	Educational services	29,409	5,948	8,092	8,115	7,254
170	Public administration	19,622	3,277	7,202	4,813	4,330
	Occupation					
	Male employed:[2]					
171	Professional, technical, and kindred workers	25,161	4,197	8,066	6,526	6,372
172	Farmers and farm managers	47,674	17,121	9,843	13,558	7,152
173	Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	41,527	7,824	12,336	11,913	9,454
174	Clerical and kindred workers	17,495	3,073	5,661	4,529	4,232
175	Sales workers	22,994	4,756	7,265	6,137	4,836
176	Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	62,479	11,323	17,509	16,539	17,108
177	Operatives and kindred workers	86,236	24,412	16,823	19,954	25,047
178	Service workers, including private household	17,754	2,983	5,586	4,791	4,394
179	Laborers (except mine) and farm foremen	59,922	16,936	12,291	14,337	16,358
	Female employed:[2]					
180	Professional, technical, and kindred workers	20,959	4,020	6,250	5,414	5,275
181	Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	8,717	1,650	2,397	2,693	1,977
182	Clerical and kindred workers	33,370	5,837	11,933	7,938	7,662
183	Sales workers	14,103	3,002	3,962	3,657	3,482
184	Operatives and kindred workers	25,871	5,292	7,495	8,467	4,617
185	Private household workers	24,281	6,505	5,593	3,665	8,518
186	Service workers, except private household	27,278	4,939	8,268	7,840	6,231
187	Total employed in white-collar occupations ... percent	32.6	26.4	38.5	33.4	31.2
	Means of Transportation to Work					
188	All workers, incl. Armed Forces	554,185	126,454	150,840	142,416	134,475
189	Private automobile or carpool	360,604	69,644	102,792	96,883	91,285
190	Public transportation	16,122	1,335	9,679	2,569	2,539
	CENSUS OF HOUSING, 1960					
191	Number of units	586,552	137,601	144,645	160,470	143,836
	Tenure, Color, and Vacancy Status					
192	Owner-occupied units	321,165	56,762	83,181	99,174	82,048
193	Percent of total occupied	61.3	47.2	62.9	69.9	63.4
194	White	276,536	46,896	73,753	94,831	61,056
195	Nonwhite	44,629	9,866	9,428	4,343	20,992
196	Renter-occupied units	202,387	63,435	48,988	42,679	47,285
197	White	149,580	40,936	39,797	39,603	29,244
198	Nonwhite	52,807	22,499	9,191	3,076	18,041
199	Vacant units	63,000	17,404	12,476	18,617	14,503
200	Available for sale or rent	17,582	2,216	4,272	6,412	4,682

[1]Total employed (item 156) includes industries not shown separately.
[2]Totals (items 148 and 153) include occupation groups not shown separately.

Housing

ITEM NO.	ITEM	THE STATE	1st	2d	3d	4th
	Condition and Plumbing					
201	Sound units	358,955	65,951	99,456	110,708	82,840
202	With all plumbing facilities	277,794	45,996	82,592	84,219	64,987
203	Percent of total units	46.6	33.4	57.1	52.5	45.2
204	Lacking only hot water	5,318	1,559	971	1,510	1,278
205	Lacking other plumbing facilities	75,843	18,396	15,893	24,979	16,575
206	Deteriorating units	148,731	42,562	30,683	37,207	38,279
207	With all plumbing facilities	45,121	8,594	11,593	12,199	12,735
208	Lacking only hot water	4,228	1,439	912	799	1,078
209	Lacking other plumbing facilities	99,382	32,529	18,178	24,209	24,466
210	Dilapidated units	78,866	29,088	14,506	12,555	22,717
	Units, by Number of Bathrooms					
211	With 1 or more bathrooms	333,240	56,593	97,454	98,530	80,663
212	With shared, partial, or no bathroom	253,276	81,008	47,155	61,940	63,173
	Units, by Number of Rooms					
213	1 to 3 rooms	132,658	38,889	31,076	31,075	31,618
214	4 to 6 rooms	413,071	91,251	103,153	116,718	101,949
215	7 or more rooms	40,823	7,461	10,416	12,677	10,269
216	Median rooms per unit	4.4	4.4	4.6	4.7	4.6
	Units, by Number in Structure					
217	1 unit	543,494	130,879	128,885	149,268	134,462
218	2 units	19,428	3,902	6,659	4,196	4,671
219	3 and 4 units	10,858	1,699	3,882	2,854	2,423
220	5 to 9 units	7,407	732	3,075	2,296	1,304
221	10 or more units	5,329	389	2,108	1,856	976
	Units, by Year Structure Built					
222	1950 to March 1960	138,034	28,349	39,889	35,114	34,682
223	1940 to 1949	129,162	29,563	30,742	32,952	35,905
224	1939 or earlier	319,308	79,689	73,966	92,404	73,249
	Occupied Units					
225	Number of units	523,552	120,197	132,169	141,853	129,333
	Occupied Units, by Number of Persons					
226	1 person	70,500	15,119	17,153	20,413	17,815
227	2 persons	157,641	32,476	39,915	47,770	37,480
228	3 to 5 persons	228,759	51,553	60,821	60,113	56,272
229	6 or more persons	66,652	21,049	14,280	13,557	17,766
230	Median persons per unit	2.9	3.2	2.9	2.6	2.9
	Occupied Units, by Persons per Room					
231	1 person or less	432,840	91,115	112,185	123,039	106,501
232	More than 1 person	90,712	29,082	19,984	18,814	22,832
	Occupied Units, by Year Moved In					
233	1958 to March 1960	181,791	47,463	48,035	47,187	39,106
234	1954 to 1957	109,967	25,984	28,604	28,321	27,058
235	1940 to 1953	166,866	34,367	40,223	47,234	45,042
236	1939 or earlier	64,928	12,383	15,307	19,111	18,127
	Occupied Units, by Automobiles Available					
237	None	155,458	44,209	33,972	36,917	40,360
238	1 automobile	276,240	60,175	72,800	79,049	64,216
239	2 or more automobiles	91,825	15,813	25,368	25,887	24,757
	Value					
240	Owner-occupied units	218,329	38,300	59,577	60,715	59,737
241	Less than $5,000	80,757	17,093	14,860	23,174	25,630
242	$5,000 to $9,900	72,171	10,826	20,103	22,230	19,012
243	$10,000 to $14,900	39,702	6,392	14,480	9,346	9,484
244	$15,000 to $19,900	14,343	2,249	5,807	3,235	3,052
245	$20,000 to $24,900	5,313	874	2,041	1,250	1,148
246	$25,000 or more	6,043	866	2,286	1,480	1,411
247	Median value ... dollars	6,700	5,900	8,700	6,600	6,100
	Gross Rent					
248	Renter-occupied units[1]	172,799	45,278	45,419	39,810	42,292
249	Less than $40	53,785	13,240	10,677	14,499	15,369
250	$40 to $59	37,367	7,618	10,929	9,574	9,246
251	$60 to $79	24,775	4,657	9,367	5,525	5,226
252	$80 to $99	10,792	2,655	4,635	1,848	1,654
253	$100 or more	6,232	1,121	2,978	1,235	898
254	Median rent ... dollars	47	43	55	43	41

[1]Includes units with no cash rent, not shown separately.

Nonwhite Population

DISTRICTS WITH 10 PERCENT OR MORE

ITEM NO.	ITEM	THE STATE	1st	2d	3d	4th
	CENSUS OF POPULATION, 1960					
	Age and Sex					
399	Total	390,569	134,972	73,846	26,702	155,049
400	Under 5 years	58,344	21,783	10,953	3,500	22,108
401	5 to 13 years	91,943	33,741	16,325	5,823	36,054
402	14 to 17 years	31,205	11,352	5,265	2,067	12,521
403	18 to 24 years	31,612	10,482	6,334	1,953	12,843
404	25 to 34 years	33,015	10,503	7,091	2,187	13,234
405	35 to 44 years	35,131	11,297	7,486	2,481	13,867
406	45 to 59 years	55,994	18,269	10,738	4,280	22,707
407	60 to 64 years	14,374	4,670	2,664	1,218	5,822
408	65 years and over	38,951	12,875	6,990	3,193	15,893
409	18 years and over	209,077	68,096	41,303	15,312	84,366
410	21 years and over	192,626	62,566	38,114	14,289	77,657
411	Median age	20.5	18.4	22.8	25.0	21.7
412	Male	188,225	65,378	35,305	12,624	74,918
413	Under 18 years	91,204	33,378	16,337	5,761	35,728
414	18 years and over	97,021	32,000	18,968	6,863	39,190
415	21 years and over	88,976	29,257	17,441	6,370	35,908
416	65 years and over	19,452	6,714	3,332	1,507	7,899
417	Female	202,344	69,594	38,541	14,078	80,131
418	Under 18 years	90,288	33,498	16,206	5,629	34,955
419	18 years and over	112,056	36,096	22,335	8,449	45,176
420	21 years and over	103,650	33,309	20,673	7,919	41,749
421	60 years and over	27,029	8,613	5,045	2,328	11,043
	Households and Families					
422	Number of households	97,436	32,378	18,607	7,406	39,045
423	Population in households	383,950	134,081	71,619	26,448	151,802
424	Number of primary families	77,699	25,680	14,889	5,776	31,354
425	Population in group quarters	6,619	891	2,227	254	3,247
426	Inmates of institutions	3,802	250	1,455	172	1,925
427	Other	2,817	641	772	82	1,322
	Migration					
428	Persons 5 years old and over, 1960	332,000	113,172	62,917	22,941	132,970
	Residence in 1955:					
429	Same house as in 1960	180,349	53,467	35,022	14,178	77,682
430	Different house, same State	138,696	54,508	25,459	7,530	51,199
431	Different State or abroad	11,367	4,854	1,747	1,099	3,667
432	Moved, prior residence not reported	1,588	343	689	134	422
	Education					
433	Persons 25 years old and over	177,697	57,712	35,342	13,419	71,224
434	Completed less than 5 years of school ... percent	36.4	44.9	25.1	26.6	36.9
435	Completed 4 years of high school or more ... do.	9.7	5.6	17.3	14.4	8.4
436	Completed 4 years of college or more ... do.	2.1	1.4	3.1	2.0	2.2
437	Median school years completed	6.5	5.5	8.0	7.7	6.4
	Family Income, 1959					
438	Number of families, 1960	79,057	25,963	15,275	5,981	31,838
439	Under $2,000	48,280	18,861	7,078	3,347	18,994
440	$2,000 to $3,999	22,089	5,560	5,432	1,841	9,256
441	$4,000 to $5,999	5,754	1,080	1,810	543	2,321
442	$6,000 to $7,999	1,767	243	585	164	775
443	$8,000 to $9,999	749	122	252	61	314
444	$10,000 and over	418	97	118	25	178
445	Median income ... dollars	1,636	1,376	2,205	1,786	1,676
	Employment Status					
446	Total labor force	111,480	34,760	24,400	8,867	43,453
447	Male	72,156	24,347	14,159	5,329	28,321
448	Armed Forces	434	145	273	5	11
449	Civilian	71,722	24,202	13,886	5,324	28,310
450	Employed	65,580	22,079	12,839	4,916	25,746
451	Unemployed	6,142	2,123	1,047	408	2,564
452	Percent of civilian	8.6	8.8	7.5	7.7	9.1
453	Female	39,324	10,413	10,241	3,538	15,132
	Occupation					
454	Male employed[1]	65,580	22,079	12,839	4,916	25,746
455	Professional, technical, and kindred workers	1,668	433	452	103	680
456	Farmers and farm managers	5,888	3,000	565	260	2,063
457	Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	899	293	183	72	351

[1]Includes occupation groups not shown separately.

Nonwhite Population and Housing

DISTRICTS WITH 10 PERCENT OR MORE

ITEM NO.	ITEM	THE STATE	1st	2d	3d	4th
	Occupation--Con.					
	Male employed--Con.					
458	Clerical and kindred workers	875	86	395	69	325
459	Sales workers	432	151	59	28	194
460	Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	4,341	1,196	1,106	292	1,747
461	Operatives and kindred workers	18,824	7,373	2,830	1,022	7,599
462	Service workers, incl. private household	6,110	1,054	2,047	1,082	1,927
463	Laborers (except mine) and farm foremen	23,929	7,983	4,296	1,713	9,937
464	Female employed[1]	35,348	9,001	9,508	3,292	13,547
465	Professional, technical, and kindred workers	2,723	704	635	258	1,126
466	Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	552	120	128	26	278
467	Clerical and kindred workers	521	107	188	27	199
468	Sales workers	448	163	89	33	163
469	Operatives and kindred workers	2,503	429	1,150	137	787
470	Private household workers	18,083	4,903	3,962	1,589	7,629
471	Service workers, exc. private household	7,351	1,280	2,644	1,014	2,413
472	Total employed in white-collar occupations ... percent	8.0	6.6	9.5	7.5	8.4
	CENSUS OF HOUSING, 1960					
473	Nonwhite occupied units	97,436	32,378	18,607	7,406	39,045
	Condition and Plumbing					
474	Sound units	26,622	6,366	7,421	2,307	10,528
475	With all plumbing facilities	12,476	1,684	5,285	1,439	4,068
476	Percent of total	12.8	5.2	28.4	19.4	10.4
477	Lacking some or all facilities	14,146	4,682	2,136	868	6,460
478	Deteriorating units	37,709	13,051	6,121	3,207	15,330
479	With all plumbing facilities	5,608	825	1,901	902	1,980
480	Lacking some or all facilities	32,101	12,226	4,220	2,305	13,350
481	Dilapidated	33,105	12,961	5,065	1,892	13,187
	Units, by Number of Rooms					
482	1 to 3 rooms	35,829	15,324	6,297	1,785	12,423
483	4 to 6 rooms	57,907	16,491	11,482	5,137	24,797
484	7 or more rooms	3,700	563	828	484	1,825
485	Median rooms per unit	4.0	3.6	4.2	4.6	4.3
	Units, by Number of Persons					
486	1 person	17,286	5,780	3,208	1,453	6,845
487	2 persons	25,074	8,142	4,767	2,023	10,142
488	3 to 5 persons	30,886	9,481	6,350	2,438	12,617
489	6 or more persons	24,190	8,975	4,282	1,492	9,441
490	Median persons per unit	3.1	3.2	3.1	2.7	3.1
	Units, by Persons per Room					
491	1 person or less	65,508	19,850	12,906	5,591	27,161
492	More than 1 person	31,928	12,528	5,701	1,815	11,884
	Units, by Year Moved In					
493	1958 to March 1960	28,566	11,044	5,859	1,441	10,222
494	1954 to 1957	21,138	7,169	4,378	1,230	8,361
495	1953 or earlier	47,715	12,454	10,084	3,056	22,121
	Units, by Number in Structure					
496	1 unit	92,341	29,081	18,407	4,972	39,881
497	2 units	2,890	1,043	1,055	353	439
498	3 or 4 units	1,180	306	477	242	155
499	5 or more units	990	259	331	189	211
	Units, by Year Structure Built					
500	1950 to March 1960	14,965	4,002	3,310	733	6,920
501	1940 to 1949	22,542	6,716	3,844	1,280	10,702
502	1939 or earlier	59,912	19,949	13,167	3,714	23,082
	Owner-Occupied Units, by Value					
503	Less than $5,000	26,931	6,008	4,817	2,237	13,869
504	$5,000 to $9,900	7,239	982	2,593	699	2,965
505	$10,000 to $14,900	1,165	82	757	124	202
506	$15,000 and over	418	20	267	13	118
507	Median value ... dollars	[2]5,000	[2]5,000	[2]5,000	[2]5,000	[2]5,000
	Renter-Occupied Units, by Gross Rent					
508	Less than $40	21,643	7,002	3,972	1,503	9,166
509	$40 to $59	5,041	1,274	2,297	413	1,057
510	$60 and over	1,570	364	778	105	323
511	Median rent ... dollars	29	29	35	29	23

[1]Includes occupation groups not shown separately.
[2]True median is below number shown.

Urban Places With 10,000 or More Inhabitants, by Congressional Districts

Place	Population 1960	Place	Population 1960
DISTRICT 1		DISTRICT 3	
Blytheville	20,797	Fayetteville	20,274
Forrest City	10,544	Fort Smith	52,991
Helena	11,500	Hot Springs	28,337
Jonesboro	21,418	Springdale	10,076
West Memphis	19,374	DISTRICT 4	
DISTRICT 2		Benton	10,399
Jacksonville	14,488	Camden	15,823
Little Rock	107,813	El Dorado	25,292
North Little Rock	58,032	Magnolia	10,651
		Pine Bluff	44,037
		Texarkana	19,788

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20233

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1966

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The figures presented herein were accumulated during the summer and late summer of 1966. While they do not represent the final registration figures for the November elections, the difference is not expected to be large. The figures were compiled from a variety of sources---public and private, official and unofficial.

For four states---Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia---complete or near-complete county-by-county figures showing white and Negro registration were not available. For these four states, statewide estimates have been made, based on the best information obtainable.

For two states---Florida and Mississippi---figures did not indicate the race of a sizeable number of registrants. These have been divided between the white and Negro columns on the basis of VEP estimates.

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NEGRO-WHITE VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1966

STATE	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alabama*	1,353,058	481,320	1,192,075	246,396	88.1	51.2
Arkansas	850,643	192,626	598,000	115,000	70.3	59.7
Florida***	2,617,438	470,261	2,093,274	286,446	80.0	60.9
Georgia**	1,797,062	612,910	1,378,005	289,545	76.7	47.2
Louisiana	1,289,216	514,589	1,071,573	242,130	83.1	47.1
Mississippi***	748,266	422,256	470,920	139,099	62.9	32.9
North Carolina	2,005,955	550,929	1,653,796	281,134	82.4	51.0
South Carolina	895,147	371,104	718,061	190,609	80.2	51.4
Tennessee	1,779,018	313,873	1,375,000	225,000	77.3	71.7
Texas	4,884,765	649,512	2,600,000	400,000	53.3	61.6
Virginia	1,876,167	436,720	1,159,000	205,000	61.8	46.9
TOTALS	20,096,735	5,016,100	14,309,704	2,620,359	70.2	52.2

*Even division of 10,000 voters not registered by race.

**Two-thirds and one-third Negro-white division of 14,000 voters not registered by race.

***A later Mississippi figure put white registration at approximately 481,000 and Negro registration at 163,000. The October figure for Florida pushed white registration to 2,160,587 and Negro registration to 303,245.

A L A B A M A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Autauga	6,353	3,651	6,932	2,308	100+	63.2
Baldwin	22,236	4,527	19,692	1,242	88.6	27.4
Barbour	7,338	5,787	9,825	3,666	100+	63.3
Bibb	5,807	1,190	8,087	933	100+	78.4
Blount	14,368	378	13,709	140	95.4	37.0
Bullock	2,387	4,450	3,323	3,197	100+	71.8
Butler	8,363	4,820	7,850	1,803	93.9	37.4
Calhoun	44,739	9,036	33,472	4,404	74.8	48.7
Chambers	15,369	6,497	11,889	1,439	77.4	22.1
Cherokee	8,537	752	9,651	482	100+	61.6
Chilton	12,861	1,947	16,006	747	100+	38.4
Choctaw	5,192	3,982	5,833	3,024	100+	75.9
Clarke	7,899	5,833	10,336	2,564	100+	44.0
Clay	6,470	926	8,534	399	100+	43.1
Cleburne	5,870	385	7,493	139	100+	36.1
Coffee	14,221	2,985	11,334	1,002	79.7	33.6
Colbert	21,680	4,575	20,569	2,818	94.9	61.6
Conecuh	5,907	3,635	5,559	2,084	94.1	57.3
Coosa	4,201	1,794	5,678	956	100+	53.3
Covington	18,446	2,876	16,486	1,010	89.4	35.1

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Crenshaw	6,310	2,207	6,469	1,213	100+	55.0
Cullman	25,848	285	24,622	122	95.3	42.8
Dale	14,861	2,743	11,658	1,414	78.4	51.5
Dallas	14,400	15,115	12,787	10,513	88.8	69.6
DeKalb	23,878	441	26,680	217	100+	49.2
Elmore	12,510	4,808	15,710	2,813	100+	58.5
Escambia	12,779	5,685	15,631	1,825	100+	32.1
Etowah	48,565	7,661	41,820	4,120	86.1	53.8
Fayette	8,277	1,291	9,141	664	100+	51.4
Franklin	12,412	645	13,616	725	100+	100+
Geneva	11,357	1,606	10,321	585	90.9	36.4
Greene	1,649	5,001	2,001	3,927	100+	78.5
Hale	3,594	5,999	4,515	4,096	100+	68.3
Henry	5,165	3,168	6,629	1,459	100+	46.1
Houston	22,095	6,899	15,604	1,813	70.6	26.3
Jackson	19,298	1,175	18,526	629	96.0	53.5
Jefferson	256,319	116,160	175,087	62,992	68.3	54.2
Lamar	7,503	1,027	9,927	367	100+	35.7
Lauderdale	31,089	3,726	18,434	1,339	59.3	35.9
Lawrence	10,509	2,471	14,731	1,315	100+	53.2
Lee	17,547	8,913	13,470	2,818	76.8	31.6

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Limestone	16,173	3,579	14,272	1,278	88.2	35.7
Lowndes	1,900	5,122	2,823	2,758	100+	53.8
Macon	2,818	11,886	4,997	7,130	100+	60.0
Madison	54,516	10,666	41,333*	3,183*	75.8	29.8
Marengo	6,104	7,791	7,288	5,799	100+	74.4
Marion	12,656	403	16,418	267	100+	66.3
Marshall	26,997	637	17,174	152	63.6	23.9
Mobile	121,589	50,793	107,455*	24,794*	88.4	48.8
Monroe	6,631	4,894	7,542	2,497	100+	51.0
Montgomery	62,911	33,056	43,514	19,268	69.2	58.3
Morgan	30,955	4,159	25,741	1,194	83.2	28.7
Perry	3,441	5,202	5,495	3,847	100+	74.0
Pickens	7,336	4,373	7,407	1,717	100+	39.3
Pike	9,126	5,259	11,788	3,180	100+	60.5
Randolph	9,196	2,366	10,230	1,182	100+	50.0
Russell	13,761	10,531	12,682	3,932	92.2	37.3
St. Clair	12,244	2,035	11,044	906	90.2	44.5
Shelby	14,771	2,889	13,208*	985*	89.4	34.1
Sumter	3,061	6,814	3,775	3,392	100+	49.8
Talladega	25,635	9,333	21,389	3,406	83.4	36.5
Tallapoosa	15,310	4,999	17,807	1,818	100+	36.4
Tuscaloosa	47,076	15,332	29,049	5,707	61.7	37.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Walker	28,148	2,890	26,885	1,277	95.5	44.2
Washington	5,293	2,297	7,690	1,469	100+	64.0
Wilcox	2,624	6,085	3,639	3,765	100+	61.9
Winston	8,559	47	11,179	40	100+	85.1
TOTALS	1,353,058	481,320	1,187,075	241,396	87.7	50.2

*Figures do not include a total of more than 10,000 voters for whom race is not designated in Madison, Mobile, and Shelby counties.

F L O R I D A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alachua	30,555	9,898	24,767	6,214	81.1	62.8
Baker	3,203	807	3,445	554	100+	68.6
Bay	31,940	4,964	23,223	3,330	72.7	67.1
Bradford	5,580	1,345	4,900	893	87.8	66.4
Brevard	58,433	6,494	63,271	4,147	100+	63.9
Broward	189,517	27,009	179,977	19,713	95.0	73.0
Calhoun	3,434	582	4,091	379	100+	65.1
Charlotte	8,659	427	11,588	346	100+	81.0
Citrus	5,174	829	6,626	589	100+	71.0
Clay	9,508	1,276	9,443	1,013	99.3	79.4
Collier	8,163	1,364	8,173	623	100+	45.7
Columbia	8,092	3,122	8,676	2,517	100+	80.6
Dade	537,448	75,573	373,413	50,621	69.5	67.0
De Soto	6,339	1,343	4,564	1,010	72.0	75.2
Dixie	2,138	363	2,775	371	100+	100+
Duval	203,804	58,430	134,175	36,691	65.8	62.8
Escambia	76,688	18,041	58,651	13,058	76.5	72.4
Flagler	1,789	846	1,944	391	100+	46.2
Franklin	3,186	779	3,428	537	100+	68.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Gadsden	11,711	12,261	6,338	4,237	54.1	34.6
Gilchrist	1,513	154	1,737	110	100+	71.4
Glades	1,061	741	1,130	269	100+	36.3
Gulf	4,196	1,138	3,652	710	87.0	62.4
Hamilton	2,486	1,621	2,683	1,087	100+	67.0
Hardee	6,734	552	5,475	354	81.3	64.1
Hendry	3,430	1,180	3,322	756	96.8	64.1
Hernando	5,689	1,151	5,597	719	98.4	62.5
Highlands	10,997	2,251	10,587	1,547	96.3	68.7
Hillsborough	213,950	31,114	152,995	19,803	71.5	63.6
Holmes	6,131	249	6,472	199	100+	79.9
Indian River	13,182	2,637	11,713	1,376	88.9	52.2
Jackson	14,087	5,390	11,370	3,515	80.7	65.2
Jefferson	2,383	2,600	2,470	1,540	100+	59.2
Lafayette	1,536	152	1,767	102	100+	67.1
Lake	30,535	6,438	25,241	2,665	82.7	41.4
Lee	30,636	4,677	31,301	1,668	100+	35.7
Leon	28,241	12,322	25,360	7,240	89.8	58.8
Levy	4,483	1,568	3,730	536	83.2	34.2
Liberty	1,525	240	2,073	155	100+	64.6

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Madison	4,380	3,067	4,250	2,023	97.0	66.0
Manatee	42,291	5,278	35,354	3,493	83.6	66.2
Marion	21,001	9,283	22,129	6,006	100+	64.7
Martin	9,291	1,753	9,106	1,225	98.0	69.9
Monroe	25,512	2,919	16,781	2,077	65.8	71.1
Nassau	7,054	2,076	5,680	1,476	80.5	71.1
Okaloosa	30,816	2,097	23,818	1,289	77.3	61.5
Okeechobee	2,870	533	3,140	419	100+	78.6
Orange	137,780	21,771	98,598	10,344	71.6	47.5
Osceola	11,697	1,122	10,049	609	85.9	54.3
Palm Beach	119,342	29,541	104,229	17,204	87.3	58.2
Pasco	22,329	2,391	23,461	1,160	100+	48.5
Pinellas	255,369	18,121	216,174	11,155	84.6	61.6
Polk	97,314	19,224	73,713	10,045	75.7	52.2
Putnam	13,095	5,089	9,056	2,049	69.2	40.3
St. Johns	13,771	4,331	10,225	2,241	74.2	51.7
St. Lucie	17,238	6,527	14,837	3,933	86.1	60.3
Santa Rosa	14,710	1,082	13,043	740	88.7	68.4
Sarasota	49,533	4,125	42,833	2,100	86.5	50.9
Seminole	24,372	7,050	17,125	2,989	70.3	42.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Sumter	5,396	1,523	5,308	911	98.4	59.8
Suwannee	6,409	2,149	5,388	1,083	84.1	50.4
Taylor	5,454	1,724	5,439	939	99.7	54.5
Union	2,880	1,082	2,049	171	71.1	15.8
Volusia	74,209	11,615	63,253	6,881	85.2	59.2
Wakulla	2,120	753	2,681	602	100+	79.9
Walton	7,958	1,086	7,816	857	98.2	78.9
Washington	5,364	1,021	5,596	840	100+	82.3
TOTALS	2,617,438	470,261	2,093,274	286,446	80.0	60.9

G E O R G I A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Appling	5,862	1,401	7,286	1,187	100+	84.7
Atkinson	2,486	812	3,202	800	100+	99.2
Bacon	4,203	536	4,535	264	100+	49.3
Baker	1,139	1,285	1,517	722	100+	56.2
Baldwin	16,109	9,235	6,555	1,871	40.7	20.3
Banks	3,850	213	3,405	63	88.4	29.6
Barrow	7,865	1,332	6,230	403	79.2	30.3
Bartow	14,942	2,373	15,594	1,417	100+	59.2
Ben Hill	5,931	2,436	3,607	977	60.8	40.1
Berrien	6,179	964	5,133	575	83.1	59.6
Bibb	60,429	26,812	27,084*	5,251*	44.8	19.6
Bleckley	4,508	1,350	3,613	172	79.8	12.5
Brantley	2,854	384	3,005	300	100+	78.1
Brooks	5,059	3,711	3,320	591	65.6	15.9
Bryan	2,289	1,111	2,335	1,165	100+	100+
Bulloch	10,101	4,337	8,528	2,196	84.4	50.6
Burke	4,358	6,600	3,835	1,595	88.0	24.2
Butts	3,195	2,099	4,101	936	100+	44.6
Calhoun	1,654	2,393	1,895	509	100+	21.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Camden	3,447	2,059	3,140	1,431	91.1	69.5
Candler	2,714	1,200	2,996	965	100+	86.4
Carroll	19,234	3,595	13,201	1,965	68.6	54.7
Catoosa	12,370	172	11,231	75	90.8	43.6
Charlton	2,077	810	2,539	444	100+	54.8
Chatham	78,118	37,563	54,676	21,174	70.0	56.4
Chattahoochee	8,061	1,830	462	119	5.7	6.5
Chattooga	11,460	1,025	8,983	927	78.4	90.4
Cherokee	13,964	617	13,749*	608*	98.5	100+
Clarke	23,895	6,740	13,897	4,723	58.2	70.1
Clay	1,130	1,441	968	256	85.7	17.8
Clayton	23,996	2,456	17,725	723	73.9	29.4
Clinch	2,373	1,256	2,350	371	99.0	29.5
Cobb	63,291	4,568	29,680*	1,800*	47.0	39.6
Coffee	9,682	2,977	11,224	1,304	100.+	43.8
Colquitt	13,982	4,081	12,778*	1,673*	80.0	41.0
Columbia	5,096	2,364	4,278	801	83.9	33.9
Cook	5,213	1,755	5,513	652	100+	37.2
Coweta	11,891	5,579	11,919	2,352	100+	42.2
Crawford	1,596	1,611	1,468	354	92.0	22.0
Crisp	6,451	3,858	6,301	1,805	97.7	46.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Dade	4,803	70	4,242	60	88.3	85.7
Dawson	2,148	1	2,373	0	100+	.0
Decatur	9,070	5,515	8,144	1,218	89.8	22.1
DeKalb	148,167	12,407	120,129	7,862	81.1	63.4
Dodge	7,392	2,328	7,013	1,871	94.9	80.4
Dooly	3,581	2,866	4,392	890	100+	31.1
Dougherty	29,897	14,163	13,715*	4,800*	45.9	33.9
Douglas	8,595	1,268	8,653	955	100+	75.3
Early	4,013	3,277	4,048	502	100+	15.3
Echols	832	246	838	19	100+	7.7
Effingham	4,008	1,756	3,974	569	99.2	32.4
Elbert	7,752	3,127	9,335	1,315	100+	42.1
Emanuel	7,627	3,005	6,318	2,098	82.8	69.8
Evans	2,738	1,308	2,355	547	86.0	41.8
Fannin	8,111	31	8,494	18	100+	58.1
Fayette	3,585	1,190	300	6	83.7	5.1
Floyd	38,230	5,949	24,932	2,600	65.2	43.7
Forsyth	7,328	4	6,539	0	89.2	.0
Franklin	7,611	776	7,599	112	99.8	14.4
Fulton	247,892	117,049	172,112	69,885	69.4	59.7
Gilmer	5,431	7	7,997	3	100+	42.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Glascock	1,281	351	1,487	22	100+	6.3
Glynn	18,750	6,762	8,628	2,715	46.0	40.0
Gordon	11,441	669	8,643	358	75.5	53.5
Grady	7,205	3,364	4,461	809	61.9	24.0
Greene	3,565	2,998	3,395	2,570	95.2	85.7
Gwinnett	24,299	1,841	22,633	1,515	93.1	82.3
Habersham	10,676	518	7,276	507	68.2	97.9
Hall	27,726	2,789	16,750	1,149	60.4	41.2
Hancock	1,727	3,576	1,661	1,706	96.2	47.7
Haralson	8,571	642	7,375	412	86.0	64.2
Harris	3,310	3,102	3,749	757	100+	24.4
Hart	7,382	1,832	6,481	425	87.8	23.2
Heard	2,661	590	3,067	365	100+	61.9
Henry	6,429	3,539	8,161	3,015	100+	85.2
Houston	17,742	4,228	13,390	1,976	75.5	46.7
Irwin	3,759	1,602	4,527	688	100+	42.9
Jackson	10,225	1,309	7,850	693	76.8	52.9
Jasper	1,926	1,705	2,152	735	100+	43.1
Jeff Davis	4,116	909	6,293	108	100+	11.9
Jefferson	4,937	4,780	4,524	4,306	91.6	90.1
Jenkins	2,985	2,210	2,764	652	92.6	29.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Johnson	3,455	1,261	3,329	555	96.4	44.0
Jones	2,655	2,185	2,695	956	100+	43.8
Lamar	4,078	2,118	3,758	1,030	92.2	48.6
Lanier	2,158	756	1,807	364	83.7	48.1
Laurens	13,176	6,248	13,490	4,195	100+	67.1
Lee	1,427	1,795	1,373	177	96.2	9.9
Liberty	5,310	3,176	2,950	2,594	55.6	81.7
Lincoln	1,974	1,336	2,500	519	100+	38.8
Long	1,527	635	2,255	1,081	100+	100+
Lowndes	20,746	8,459	13,093	2,680	63.1	31.7
Lumpkin	4,500	79	4,413	105	98.1	100+
McDuffie	4,625	2,740	8,030	931	100+	34.0
McIntosh	1,643	1,823	1,612	1,935	98.1	100+
Macon	3,171	4,077	3,514	1,644	100+	40.3
Madison	5,962	989	4,823	106	80.9	10.7
Marion	1,353	1,609	1,563	236	100+	14.7
Meriwether	6,547	4,990	5,402	1,871	82.5	37.5
Miller	3,095	946	1,594	153	51.5	16.2
Mitchell	6,055	4,971	5,592	1,242	92.4	25.0
Monroe	3,607	2,652	4,077	809	100+	30.5
Montgomery	2,520	1,288	2,449	745	97.2	57.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Morgan	3,415	2,469	1,667	993	48.8	40.2
Murray	6,209	51	6,210	25	100+	49.0
Muscogee	74,662	22,549	30,485	7,366	40.8	32.7
Newton	9,045	3,767	6,110	984	67.6	26.1
Oconee	3,228	681	2,554	120	79.1	17.6
Oglethorpe	2,964	1,709	2,873	328	96.9	19.2
Paulding	7,353	603	8,170	529	100+	87.7
Peach	3,650	4,562	2,930	1,011	80.3	22.2
Pickens	5,264	251	6,034	195	100+	77.7
Pierce	4,432	1,135	4,518	610	100+	53.7
Pike	2,584	1,643	2,601	669	100+	40.7
Polk	15,065	2,443	12,381	1,709	82.2	70.0
Pulaski	3,018	1,843	3,128	336	100+	18.2
Putnam	2,297	2,204	2,446	725	100+	32.9
Quitman	581	707	670	160	100+	22.6
Rabun	4,392	43	4,237	33	96.5	76.7
Randolph	2,878	3,663	2,598	867	90.3	23.7
Richmond	61,315	24,785	37,498	12,313	61.2	49.7
Rockdale	4,708	1,512	4,829	877	100+	58.0
Schley	961	903	1,142	210	100+	23.3
Screven	4,557	3,729	3,698	1,144	81.1	30.7

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Seminole	2,648	1,255	3,017	418	100+	33.3
Spalding	16,657	5,252	11,178	2,872	67.1	54.7
Stephens	9,975	1,355	9,518	743	95.4	54.8
Stewart	1,465	2,681	1,793	619	100+	23.1
Sumter	7,730	6,710	8,321	3,040	100+	45.3
Talbot	1,437	2,507	1,406	661	97.8	26.4
Taliaferro	917	1,073	1,052	1,165	100+	100+
Tattnall	7,377	3,135	6,515	2,995	88.3	95.5
Taylor	2,767	2,004	3,071	495	100+	24.7
Telfair	4,938	2,087	4,459	1,622	90.3	77.7
Terrell	3,038	4,057	3,305	449	100+	11.1
Thomas	13,179	7,644	8,697*	1,652*	66.0	21.6
Tift	10,211	3,513	7,828	1,637	76.7	46.6
Toombs	7,513	2,444	7,571	920	100+	37.6
Towns	2,942	1	2,600	0	88.3	.0
Treutlen	2,473	968	2,050	564	82.9	58.3
Troup	20,579	8,577	12,817	2,856	62.3	33.3
Turner	3,422	1,535	2,853	477	83.4	31.1
Twiggs	1,969	2,255	1,749	317	88.8	14.1
Union	3,457	1	3,500	0	88.4	.0
Upson	1,159	3,615	6,675	888	59.8	24.6
Walker	26,511	1,388	31,415	1,131	100+	81.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Walton	9,392	3,076	6,565	963	69.9	31.3
Ware	15,671	4,763	12,994	2,720	82.9	57.1
Warren	1,911	2,224	1,938	1,380	100+	62.1
Washington	5,373	5,451	5,367	1,672	99.9	30.7
Wayne	8,204	1,878	7,878	1,171	96.0	62.4
Webster	775	975	826	231	100+	23.7
Wheeler	2,236	824	2,172	682	97.1	82.8
White	4,047	169	4,631	230	100+	100+
Whitfield	24,437	1,085	19,767	991	80.9	91.3
Wilcox	3,309	1,282	3,840	541	100+	42.2
Wilkes	3,621	3,101	4,052	1,039	100+	33.5
Wilkinson	3,135	2,279	3,302	715	100+	31.4
Worth	6,324	3,776	6,246	823	100+	21.8
TOTALS	1,797,063	612,910	1,373,388	280,212	76.4	45.7

*Totals do not include more than 14,000 registered voters for whom race is not indicated. Most of these are in Bibb, Cobb, Dougherty and Thomas counties. A smaller number is found in Cherokee, Colquitt and several other counties.

L O U I S I A N A

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent white reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Acadia	22,399	4,557	21,651	4,118	97	90
Allen	8,357	2,310	8,303	1,981	99	86
Ascension	10,110	4,171	9,116	2,688	90	64
Assumption	5,877	3,237	5,356	1,997	91	62
Avoyelles	15,845	4,717	13,657	2,396	86	51
Beauregard	8,682	2,145	9,123	1,182	100+	55
Bienville	5,617	4,077	5,130	1,693	91	42
Bossier	23,696	6,847	15,460	1,117	65	16
Caddo	87,774	41,749	60,494	10,141	69	24
Calcasieu	62,987	14,924	49,151	9,396	78	63
Caldwell	3,843	1,161	3,944	377	100+	32
Cameron	3,642	239	3,485	195	96	82
Catahoula	4,110	1,919	4,287	798	100+	42
Claiborne	6,415	5,032	5,300	1,345	83	27
Concordia	5,963	4,582	5,928	1,350	99	30
DeSoto	6,543	6,753	5,866	2,317	90	34
E. Baton Rouge	87,985	36,908	78,497	15,715	89	43
E. Carroll	2,990	4,183	2,577	2,735	86	65
E. Feliciana	7,043	6,081	5,378	2,195	76	36
Evangeline	13,652	3,342	14,869	3,731	100+	100+
Franklin	8,954	4,433	4,584	409	51	9

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Grant	6,080	1,553	6,042	685	99	44
Iberia	20,200	7,165	18,143	4,854	90	68
Iberville	8,733	7,060	7,831	5,252	90	74
Jackson	6,607	2,535	6,274	1,486	95	59
Jefferson	98,103	14,970	92,549	9,404	94	63
Jefferson Davis	12,892	2,881	10,716	1,753	83	61
Lafayette	35,513	9,473	32,872	5,814	93	61
Lafourche	25,737	3,078	25,140	2,215	98	72
LaSalle	6,799	849	7,237	661	100+	78
Lincoln	9,611	5,723	7,480	1,835	78	32
Livingston	12,306	1,818	13,687	1,445	100+	80
Madison	3,334	5,181	2,971*	2,734*	89	53
Morehouse	10,311	7,208	8,154	1,158	79	16
Natchitoches	11,328	7,444	10,357	4,264	91	57
Orleans	257,495	125,752	162,452	52,336	63	42
Ouachita	40,185	16,377	31,044	7,596	77	46
Plaquemines	8,633	2,897	9,746	1,300	100+	45
Pointe Coupee	6,085	5,273	4,834	2,976	79	56
Rapides	44,823	18,141	33,982	6,870	76	38
Red River	3,294	2,181	3,627	969	100+	44

*Race is not indicated for 280 persons registered in Madison Parish.

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Richland	7,601	4,608	6,140	764	81	17
Sabine	8,251	2,143	9,047	1,445	100+	67
St. Bernard	15,836	1,105	18,843	705	100+	64
St. Charles	8,117	2,621	7,840	2,411	97	92
St. Helena	2,363	2,082	2,327	1,520	99	73
St. James	4,892	3,964	4,736	2,834	97	72
St. John	4,982	4,279	4,593	3,047	92	71
St. Landry	25,550	14,982	23,129	11,650	91	78
St. Martin	9,781	4,664	9,824	3,449	100+	74
St. Mary	17,991	7,176	15,986	5,179	89	72
St. Tammany	16,032	5,038	18,727	2,920	100+	58
Tangipahoa	22,311	9,401	20,654	4,323	93	46
Tensas	2,287	3,533	2,237	719	98	20
Terrebonne	24,393	5,464	19,646	1,711	81	31
Union	7,021	3,006	6,585	1,079	94	36
Vermilion	19,710	2,429	19,977	2,424	100+	100-
Vernon	9,279	1,268	10,311	751	100+	59
Washington	16,804	6,821	16,157	3,330	96	49
Webster	15,713	7,045	11,008	3,163	70	45
W. Baton Rouge	3,974	3,502	3,791	1,749	95	50

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
W. Carroll	6,171	1,389	4,516	186	73	13
W. Feliciana	2,814	4,553	1,113	1,817	39	40
Winn	6,790	2,590	7,092	1,362	100+	53
TOTALS	1,289,216	514,589	1,071,573	242,130	83.1	47.1

M I S S I S S I P P I

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Adams	10,888	9,340	6,306	6,005	57.9	64.3
Alcorn	13,347	1,756	8,603	398	64.4	22.7
Amite	4,449	3,560	3,831	949	86.1	26.7
Attala	7,522	4,262	NV	NV		
Benton	2,514	1,419	2,419	956	96.2	67.4
Bolivar	10,031	15,939	6,209	5,732	61.9	36.0
Calhoun	7,188	1,767	NV	NV		
Carroll	2,969	2,704	3,077	1,248	100+	46.1
Chickasaw	6,388	3,054	6,620	535	100+	17.5
Choctaw	3,728	1,105	NV	NV		
Claiborne	1,688	3,969	1,679	2,906	99.4	73.2
Clarke	6,072	2,988	5,211	1,026	85.8	34.3
Clay	5,547	4,444	3,535	1,695	63.7	38.1
Coahoma	8,708	14,604	7,215	7,761	82.8	53.1
Copiah	8,153	6,407	8,382	1,455	100+	22.7
Covington	5,329	2,032	4,339	937	81.4	46.1
De Soto	5,338	6,246	5,592	2,129	100+	34.1
Forrest	22,431	7,495	14,827	2,064	66.1	27.5
Franklin	3,403	1,842	3,919	358	100+	19.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
George	5,276	580	4,625	123	87.7	21.2
Greene	3,518	859	3,147	264	89.4	30.7
Grenada	5,792	4,323	5,962	1,752	100+	40.5
Hancock	6,813	1,129	5,574	510	81.8	45.2
Harrison	55,094	9,670	17,450	3,833	31.7	39.6
Hinds	67,836	36,138	63,952	15,663	94.3	43.3
Holmes	4,773	8,757	5,080	4,655	100+	53.1
Humphreys	3,344	5,561	2,861	1,283	85.5	23.1
Issaquena	640	1,081	768	446	100+	41.3
Itawamba	8,523	463	6,258	66	73.4	14.2
Jackson	24,447	5,113	NV	NV		
Jasper	5,327	3,675	4,643	976	87.2	26.6
Jefferson	1,666	3,540	1,913	2,049	100+	57.8
Jefferson Davis	3,629	3,222	3,443	1,833	94.8	56.8
Jones	25,943	7,427	NV	2,077(est.)		28.0
Kemper	3,113	3,221	3,342	369	100+	11.4
Lafayette	8,074	3,239	4,784	778	59.2	24.0
Lamar	6,489	1,071	6,062	174	93.4	16.2
Lauderdale	27,806	11,924	19,895	5,343	71.5	44.8
Lawrence	3,878	1,720	NV	1,074(est.)		62.4
Leake	6,754	3,397	6,358	849	94.1	24.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Lee	18,709	5,130	11,403	736	60.9	14.3
Leflore	10,274	13,567	NV	7,161(est.)		52.8
Lincoln	11,072	3,913	NV	NV		
Lowndes	16,460	8,362	9,813	1,267	59.6	15.1
Madison	5,622	10,366	6,334	5,991	100+	57.8
Marion	8,997	3,630	10,810	1,227	100+	33.8
Marshall	4,342	7,168	4,741	2,562	100+	35.7
Monroe	13,426	5,610	NV	NV		
Montgomery	4,700	2,627	4,250	591	90.4	22.5
Neshoba	9,143	2,565	6,783	953	74.2	37.1
Newton	8,014	3,018	6,198	1,127	77.3	37.3
Noxubee	2,997	5,172	NV	NV		
Oktibbeha	8,423	4,952	8,443	889	100+	17.9
Panola	7,639	7,250	6,555	2,411	85.8	33.2
Pearl River	9,765	2,473	NV	NV		
Perry	3,515	1,140	NV	NV		
Pike	12,163	6,936	8,760	2,162	72.0	31.2
Pontotoc	8,772	1,519	6,398	261	72.9	17.2
Prentiss	9,535	1,070	6,810	112	71.4	10.5
Quitman	4,176	5,673	3,391	1,382	81.2	24.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Rankin	13,246	6,944	12,321	1,504	93.0	21.7
Scott	7,742	3,752	5,677	705	73.3	18.7
Sharkey	1,882	3,152	1,768	433	93.9	13.7
Simpson	8,055	3,186	NV	NV		
Smith	6,597	1,293	NV	NV		
Stone	2,965	868	2,473	114	83.4	13.1
Sunflower	8,785	13,524	8,287	2,325	94.3	17.1
Tallahatchie	5,099	6,483	4,913	1,174	96.3	18.1
Tate	4,506	4,326	3,980	1,429	88.3	33.0
Tippah	7,513	1,281	5,957	374	79.2	29.2
Tishomingo	8,068	359	5,248	54	65.0	15.0
Tunica	2,011	5,822	1,558	505	77.4	8.7
Union	9,512	1,626	7,033	298	73.9	18.3
Walthall	4,536	2,490	4,261	1,293	93.9	51.9
Warren	13,530	10,726	12,169	5,229	89.9	48.7
Washington	19,837	20,619	12,683	5,094	63.9	24.7
Wayne	5,881	2,556	4,838	370	82.2	14.4
Webster	4,993	1,174	NV	NV		
Wilkinson	2,340	4,120	2,777	1,127	100+	27.3
Winston	6,808	3,611	NV	NV		

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Yalobusha	4,572	2,441	3,511	235	76.8	9.6
Yazoo	7,598	8,719	7,580	1,050	99.7	11.9
TOTALS	748,266	422,256	470,920	139,099	62.9	32.9

Note: Race is not indicated for many recent registrants in a number of Mississippi counties. Where these figures occurred, they have been divided between the races in the totals above. Most are counted as Negro registration, since it is thought that most of these recent registrants are Negroes. NV indicates statistics not available when these figures were assembled.

NORTH CAROLINA

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alamance	42,755	7,429	47,604	4,801	100+	64.6
Alexander	8,370	506	10,478	460	100+	90.9
Alleghany	4,588	119	6,899	83	100+	69.7
Anson	7,847	5,218	6,800	1,700	86.7	32.6
Ashe	11,276	115	13,038	110	100+	95.6
Avery	6,507	124	6,081	41	93.4	33.1
Beaufort	13,737	6,196	10,144	1,114	73.8	18.0
Bertie	6,156	6,261	5,925	3,879	96.2	61.9
Bladen	9,173	5,147	10,109	2,721	100+	52.9
Brunswick	7,602	3,170	10,298	2,588	100+	81.6
Buncombe	72,249	8,510	67,653	6,565	93.6	77.1
Burke	29,506	1,921	34,657	2,247	100+	100+
Cabarrus	35,165	5,380	31,463	2,899	89.5	53.9
Caldwell	25,520	1,723	22,486	1,938	88.1	100+
Camden	1,988	1,054	1,923	417	96.7	39.6
Carteret	16,030	1,932	12,087	1,065	75.4	55.1
Caswell	6,026	4,129	5,200	1,600	86.3	38.7
Catawba	38,542	3,296	22,068	1,557	57.3	47.2
Chatham	11,227	4,026	13,722	900	100+	22.3
Cherokee	9,102	226	9,055	152	99.5	67.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Chowan	3,825	2,507	3,424	822	89.5	32.8
Clay	3,112	37	2,454	25	78.9	67.6
Cleveland	30,356	6,474	19,883	2,490	65.5	38.5
Columbus	17,830	7,382	16,458	5,459	92.3	73.9
Craven	22,994	8,242	12,001	3,473	52.2	42.1
Cumberland	58,279	18,789	25,794	7,461	44.3	39.7
Currituck	2,845	1,076	2,574	378	90.5	35.1
Dare	3,467	237	NV	NV		
Davidson	41,462	4,491	31,839	2,404	76.8	53.5
Davie	8,898	1,080	9,967	966	100+	89.4
Duplin	14,477	6,955	15,812	3,185	100+	45.8
Durham	47,098	19,475	37,022	16,389	78.6	84.1
Edgecombe	15,515	12,330	12,247	3,624	78.9	29.4
Forsyth	87,219	24,952	68,221	17,028	78.2	68.2
Franklin	9,842	5,554	10,642	1,853	100+	33.4
Gaston	64,154	8,365	43,288	4,185	67.5	50.0
Gates	2,714	2,344	3,061	1,289	100+	55.0
Graham	3,324	125	NV	NV		
Granville	11,584	6,996	10,022	2,475	86.5	35.4
Greene	4,793	3,268	4,257	777	88.8	23.8
Guilford	116,748	27,292	84,838	16,711	72.7	61.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Halifax	16,496	13,766	17,529	4,821	100+	35.0
Harnett	20,061	6,150	15,326	3,799	76.4	61.8
Haywood	23,055	500	22,182	393	96.2	78.6
Henderson	21,062	1,170	17,419	651	82.7	55.6
Hertford	5,606	6,102	4,605	3,025	82.1	49.6
Hoke	3,998	3,747	2,984	1,375	74.6	36.7
Hyde	2,201	1,100	1,970	399	89.5	36.3
Iredell	31,094	5,517	23,338	2,958	75.1	53.6
Jackson	9,227	841	7,234	148	78.4	17.6
Johnston	28,259	6,395	22,188	2,550	78.5	39.9
Jones	3,248	2,251	4,508	1,571	100+	69.8
Lee	12,041	2,803	11,537	1,882	95.8	67.1
Lenoir	19,260	10,293	15,448	3,670	80.2	35.6
Lincoln	14,893	1,546	16,591	1,491	100+	96.4
McDowell	14,693	755	14,232	626	96.9	82.9
Macon	8,573	180	8,168	67	95.3	37.2
Madison	9,574	75	8,098	42	84.6	56.0
Martin	8,052	5,683	7,706	2,027	95.7	35.7
Mecklenburg	123,787	34,150	98,779	18,087	79.8	53.0
Mitchell	7,977	29	7,083	8	88.8	27.6
Montgomery	8,119	2,075	7,855	1,387	96.7	66.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Moore	15,733	4,803	12,821	2,136	81.5	44.5
Nash	21,761	10,573	14,837	2,655	68.2	25.1
New Hanover	31,641	10,569	22,241	6,788	70.3	64.2
Northampton	6,178	7,304	6,062	4,016	98.1	55.0
Onslow	33,988	5,015	14,995	2,694	44.1	53.7
Orange	19,385	4,978	16,619	3,265	85.8	65.6
Pamlico	3,708	1,593	3,207	807	86.5	50.7
Pasquotank	9,409	4,936	6,079	2,127	64.6	43.1
Pender	5,631	4,085	5,486	1,672	97.4	40.9
Perquimans	3,083	2,027	2,291	985	74.3	48.6
Person	9,994	4,227	9,664	2,070	96.7	49.0
Pitt	22,621	13,575	27,039	4,449	100+	32.8
Polk	6,104	766	8,408	683	100+	89.2
Randolph	33,477	2,591	23,421	1,245	70.0	48.0
Richmond	16,019	5,514	13,985	3,515	87.3	63.7
Robeson	20,851	21,424	12,904	9,401	61.9	43.9
Rockingham	33,438	7,398	26,419	4,289	79.0	58.0
Rowan	42,866	7,209	32,219	4,332	75.2	60.0
Rutherford	24,020	2,572	23,986	1,515	99.9	58.9
Sampson	17,378	8,203	22,491	7,510	100+	91.5
Scotland	7,812	4,686	4,913	1,644	62.9	35.1

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Stanly	22,056	2,164	19,136	1,322	86.8	61.1
Stokes	11,786	1,025	7,500	1,500	63.6	100+
Surry	26,796	1,423	37,075	955	100+	67.1
Swain	3,878	756	6,547	81	100+	10.7
Transylvania	8,687	405	8,509	398	97.9	98.3
Tyrrell	1,597	849	1,089	422	68.2	49.7
Union	20,044	4,423	13,209	1,428	65.9	32.3
Vance	11,005	6,520	8,145	2,507	74.0	38.4
Wake	76,799	22,856	62,912	12,022	81.9	52.6
Warren	4,439	5,490	5,207	2,562	100+	46.7
Washington	4,365	2,643	3,855	1,308	88.3	49.5
Watauga	9,639	126	10,927	94	100+	74.6
Wayne	29,349	15,754	17,527	4,939	59.7	31.3
Wilkes	23,779	1,444	24,440	1,826	100+	100+
Wilson	20,566	10,770	12,503	3,096	60.8	28.7
Yadkin	13,039	576	NV	NV		
Yancey	7,856	76	8,917	68	100+	89.5
TOTALS	2,005,955	550,929	1,653,796	281,134	82.4	51.0

NOTE: Non-white figures include Indians, but these are not a major portion of the statewide total. NV indicates statistics not available at the time the figures were assembled.

S O U T H C A R O L I N A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Abbeville	8,733	3,215	7,113	1,099	81.4	34.2
Aiken	33,646	10,040	32,958	8,585	97.9	85.5
Allendale	2,531	3,205	3,018	1,626	100+	50.8
Anderson	47,542	9,598	31,718	2,924	66.7	30.5
Bamberg	4,371	3,807	4,485	1,407	100+	37.0
Barnwell	5,652	3,242	7,029	1,759	100+	54.3
Beaufort	12,098	7,247	6,378	3,999	52.7	55.2
Berkeley	10,122	7,619	10,649	4,717	100+	61.9
Calhoun	2,623	3,318	2,663	1,621	100+	48.9
Charleston	77,909	35,499	52,815	17,422	67.7	49.1
Cherokee	16,037	3,360	14,824	1,757	92.4	52.3
Chester	11,172	5,664	11,123	2,558	99.6	45.2
Chesterfield	12,099	5,219	10,597	3,965	87.6	76.0
Clarendon	5,223	7,735	5,436	5,339	100+	69.0
Colleton	8,203	6,180	8,527	2,705	100+	43.8
Darlington	16,706	9,900	14,940	4,364	89.4	44.1
Dillon	8,725	5,529	7,593	2,840	87.0	51.4
Dorchester	7,121	5,370	8,624	3,941	100+	73.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Edgefield	4,103	3,764	4,128	1,022	100+	27.2
Fairfield	4,975	5,536	4,894	2,227	98.4	40.2
Florence	27,047	15,951	24,770	7,759	91.6	48.6
Georgetown	8,855	7,173	8,418	4,189	95.1	58.4
Greenville	102,365	18,605	67,538	8,700	66.0	46.8
Greenwood	19,218	6,764	15,977	2,914	83.1	43.1
Hampton	4,711	4,052	4,889	2,355	100+	58.1
Horry	27,518	7,429	20,132	2,889	73.2	38.9
Jasper	2,689	3,333	2,879	2,079	100+	62.4
Kershaw	11,258	5,903	11,434	3,034	100+	51.4
Lancaster	16,213	4,762	17,465	1,944	100+	40.8
Laurens	19,775	6,818	11,149	6,222	56.4	91.3
Lee	4,394	5,446	4,616	2,564	100+	47.1
Lexington	28,774	4,782	25,002	2,519	86.9	52.7
McCormick	1,915	2,248	2,153	972	100+	43.2
Marion	8,103	7,684	7,204	3,047	88.9	39.7
Marlboro	8,230	5,932	8,462	1,514	100+	25.5
Newberry	12,204	4,954	10,833	1,884	88.8	38.0
Oconee	19,762	2,230	13,761	1,226	69.6	54.9
Orangeburg	16,381	17,355	16,039	8,397	97.9	48.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Pickens	24,015	2,356	17,339	1,077	72.2	46.1
Richland	79,050	32,670	55,509	19,265	70.2	59.0
Saluda	5,573	2,327	5,583	1,104	100+	47.4
Spartanburg	73,317	17,047	58,200	7,782	79.4	45.7
Sumter	22,004	15,380	13,849	9,238	63.0	60.1
Union	12,826	4,125	12,969	1,715	100+	41.6
Williamsburg	7,560	10,535	9,285	5,810	100+	55.1
York	31,799	10,196	23,094	4,516	72.6	44.3
TOTALS	895,147	371,104	718,061	190,609	80.2	51.4

Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council

on

Consumer Legislation

February 24, 1967
Bal Harbour, Florida

High on the list of items which demand immediate and extensive attention from the 90th Congress are the problems of the American consumer.

Of primary concern to consumers are the specific products bought for personal use. Consumers need and should have adequate protection against fraudulent practices, assurance that the products are safe to use, and that product and price information is adequate and accurate.

In testing the current state of affairs by these standards, we find that much Congressional concern and action is needed. Specifically we will seek:

1. Action to remedy the exploitation of consumers by those who provide consumer credit.

Consumers are indebted for loans and installment sales purchases in an amount totaling $95 billion. They are paying finance and interest charges at the rate of $13 billion a year on this debt. A first step toward consumer self-protection in this area is the enactment of the long-standing "Truth-in-Lending" Bill to require all credit vendors to tell the borrower what the dollar cost of the finance charges will be on his credit and to state these charges in terms of a true annual interest rate.

Legislation is also needed to end misleading price advertising of articles sold on credit, where the reader is told only the monthly payment required and not the total actual cost of the article if bought on time.

High pressure door-to-door salesmen frequently sign up buyers on the spot for products they may not really want and for costly credit obligations they cannot carry. Legislation should be enacted to give buyers a legal "breathing spell" to change their minds.

The tangled field of consumer credit is not limited to these abuses. We urge the Congress to undertake or authorize a comprehensive study of consumer credit laws and practices.

2. A general investigation by the Congress of the insurance industry in all its aspects.

There is mounting evidence of excessive charges for credit life insurance in consumer credit contracts, fraud in the sale of mail-order insurance, and automobile insurance that is overpriced, often capriciously cancelled, and of consumer losses from liquidations of "high risk" insurers. Congress should devise and

-more-

enact legislative remedies for these conditions and bring the entire industry under federal regulation.

3. Action on the over-pricing of key consumer products.

We ask for a re-opening of general investigations into the pricing of prescription drugs with a view to framing new legislation to curb excessive costs to the buying public and to government purchasing agencies. Special legislation is needed to prevent overcharging and overprescribing by physicians with a direct financial stake in the products they prescribe.

In the past year the rising price of food has caused widespread public concern. We ask that the food price situation be thoroughly reviewed, with special emphasis on the built-in, cost-plus effect of excesses in advertising games, trading stamps and other promotional gimmicks. Congress should maintain a continuing review of the facts on the market structure and competitive situation in the food industry.

4. Legislation to provide consumers with unbiased product information to aid in the wise purchase of consumer products and to end misleading, false or fraudulent information about consumer products including the sale of land.

Appropriate support should be given both to strengthening the authority and to increasing the appropriations of the Federal Trade Commission as the public's principal agent against frauds, swindles and misleading advertising in interstate commerce.

The Department of Agriculture, which now administers a voluntary food grading system, should be authorized to establish a compulsory consumer grading system for basic food products. Such a system would aid in the economical and satisfying procurement of these necessities of life based on knowledge rather than promotional claims.

We are convinced of the value of consumer education to supply impartial information about consumer products and product characteristics for the myriad of items competing for the consumer's pocketbook. We support increased government effort to make information available and we will continue the AFL-CIO's own efforts in this area that are conducted by our Community Services Department.

5. Swift action to insure the safety of consumer products and to prevent accidental death and injury to those who buy them.

The Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act should be tightened to insure that all drugs sold for human use actually meet prescribed standards of safety, quality and efficacy, that cosmetics are tested for safety before sale to the public, and that medical equipment and devices are safe and effective before being prescribed by doctors.

-more-

Accidents from consumer misuse of drugs, cosmetics and pressurized food containers can be reduced by requiring clear and adequate warning labels. Indiscriminate distribution of "drug samples" should be brought under control as a further safety measure.

In the food field, consumer safety requires inspection for wholesomeness and cleanliness of all meat and poultry, whether or not the meat crosses interstate lines.

The Flammable Fabrics Act needs updating to reach beyond its limited coverage of flammable clothing.

A National Commission on Product Safety, as proposed in a bill sponsored by Senator Warren Magnuson, should be established to study the need for compulsory safety standards in the design of other household equipment and appliances.

6. Establishment of formal governmental machinery to help assure that consumer problems will receive the attention they deserve and that solutions will not only be devised but aggressively promoted both by the Congress and the Executive Branch.

We welcome the formation of consumer subcommittees as parts of existing standing committees of the Congress. In the Executive Branch, we endorse the long-standing proposal for the creation of either a Department of Consumer Affairs or a statutory Office of Consumer Affairs.

President Johnson has focused the attention of the Congress and the nation on the problems of the consumer in his far-reaching message to the Congress last week.

The AFL-CIO, which is probably the largest organized group of consumers in the nation, is delighted that the President has singled ~~signaled~~ out the problems of the consumer for concerted action.

The Administration intends to make this a major legislative undertaking and so do we. The 90th Congress can -- and should -- become the consumer-conscience Congress and we are going to do our part to make sure that it does.

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AFL-CIO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Sponsored by the

ARKANSAS STATE AFL-CIO

in cooperation with the

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Holiday Inn
Forrest City, Arkansas
April 21-22, 1967

PROGRAM

AFL-CIO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Forrest City, Arkansas

April 21-22, 1967

Friday, April 21:

7:00 p.m.	Registration
7:15 p.m.	Welcome: J. Bill Becker, President Arkansas State AFL-CIO Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council
7:30 p.m.	"Perspectives on the Changing South and a New Look at Eastern Arkansas" Emory Via
9:30 p.m.	Adjourn

Saturday, April 22:

9:00 a.m.	"Understanding Arkansas Taxes" E.T. Kehrer, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, Southern Office
10:30 a.m.	"Consumer Problems: What Can Be Done?" Burl C. Rotenberry Legal Aid Bureau of Pulaski County
12:00 Noon	Lunch - Holiday Inn
1:30 p.m.	"Cooperative Programs for a Better Arkansas" Panel Discussion
4:30 p.m.	Closing Remarks
4:45 p.m.	Adjourn

S A V E

WHEN YOU BUY A **USED CAR**

Do you gamble

when you buy a used car?

You'll probably lose!

The first thing to decide is ... what kind of car you need: low cost? big car? long trips? just to drive to work?

Decide before you look what you want to buy -- (year, body style, etc.) Find out if that year and model was a "good buy" when it was new. Has the repair record been good for that year and model? If not -- watch out: they never get better than they were.

Don't let a salesman talk you into the kind he wants you to buy. When you find a car you think you like...

Get a good mechanic you trust to look at it with you. It's worth paying a small fee for this.

If repairs are needed, get them done before you buy the car.

One of a series of leaflets

on better buying and credit

If you can't do this,
look for these things yourself:

1. Ripples, bumps, grainy surfaces, or mismatching paint, along the body of the car. If there's a lot of this, the car probably was in a serious accident.

2. Doors, windows, trunk lids that don't open and close easily, or have too much space between the edges. If they stick, maybe the car's frame was damaged in an accident.

3. Uneven tire wear. More than two inches free play in the wheel. A clunking noise when you shake the front wheels firmly. If you find any of these, the front end needs repairs.

4. Sinking brake pedal. Brakes that grab or make the car swerve. Any of these mean the brakes need repairs. Any good service station can check the brake linings for you.

5. Any clunking noise in the transmission or motor. This could mean serious trouble.

6. Blue exhaust smoke or a film of oil inside the mouth of the exhaust pipe. These are signs that the motor needs new rings, an expensive job.

7. Accessories that don't work: radio, heater, wipers.

When you find a car that passes these tests ...

Be sure the dealer can pass his test, too.

Here's the " dealer's test " :

1. Will he let you drive the car?

2. Does he make you wait around all day so you're ready to sign anything to get off the lot?

3. Does he offer "no down payment" deals? Does he try to prove you're paying less instead of more?

4. Does he want you to sign a contract with blank spaces? ... WATCH OUT!

5. Does he shift you from one salesman -- to another -- to another?

6. Does he try not to give you a copy of the contract?

7. Does he try not to tell you exactly what the total cost of the car is in dollars?

~~$0?~~ ~~$0~~ ~~$25 a month?~~

= $1300 cash or
$1700 financed

8. Does he try to sell you insurance himself?

If the answer to any of these questions is YES:

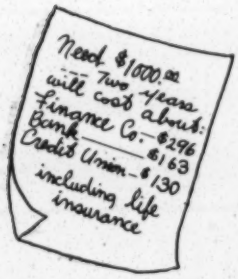
BE C A R E F U L !

Once you sign, it's too late to change your mind.

You may bring home -

A CLUNK !

BE SMART!



DO
demand a copy of the contract.

DO
shop around for your loan.

DO
buy your auto insurance through an agent or broker.

- - - - - -

DON'T gamble!

DON'T
discuss what you can afford to pay for a car at the dealer's. (Work it out at home; the dealer's office may be bugged!)

DON'T
believe the mileage shown on the dial. (It's probably been turned back!) Sometimes rugs, foot pedal pads, upholstery tell you more.

DON'T
sign any contract that has blank spaces.

ADVISOR's LEAFLET # 1

Produced by **BAND**
3009 16th St., Room 25
San Francisco, Cal. 94103
--- as a guide to better buying

SAVE

WHEN YOU BUY **COSMETICS**

AND:

Protect your Health

"Beauty" is big business!
New products appear every day. And advertising tries to make all of them wonderful, glowing, romantic. You wonder how you can get along without them!

What do you know about cosmetics?

How can you tell which to use?

Will they be safe?

The Food and Drug Administration enforces a law on safety of cosmetics. Many consumer injuries led Congress to pass this law. But you can't depend on FDA to do it all. You need to know too!

REMEMBER -
Cosmetics are used on the skin and hair -- and these are sensitive. Infection easily occurs if they are mistreated.

1. Don't believe extravagant or impossible claims.

2. Always read the label.

3. Note warnings, follow instructions carefully.

KNOW THE LAW

The law says the label must tell the truth. It may not claim the impossible. BUT: new ideas come up all the time -- and it takes the LAW a while to catch up. SO: BE ON YOUR GUARD!

Anything known to cause an allergic reaction must be shown on the label. BUT: you may be allergic to most anything. And all ingredients don't have to be listed (except for drugs). Give yourself a preliminary patch or skin test to be sure.

Hair dye labels must show the way to use them safely. They must warn against use on eyebrows and eyelashes.

Colors used in cosmetics must be proved safe.

All cosmetics that are also drugs must list ingredients on the label.

The label must tell you the net weight, the name and address of the manufacturer or distributor.

FDA may remove from sale any cosmetic that is harmful or falsely labelled. FDA may sue the distributor in federal court.

BE CAREFUL - when you use skin bleaches, hormone creams, deodorants, hair dyes, wave preparations.

1. Most skin bleaches use ammoniated mercury. Many are allergic to this. Always make a preliminary skin test. Never leave skin bleaches on more than a half hour. Never use them over a large area. Children under 12 should never use them.

2. Royal jellys and hormone creams can't cure the wrinkles of age. Claims for these products have been proved false. Hormone creams are dangerous -- you may absorb estrogen through the skin.

3. There are two kinds of deodorants. One only stops bacterial action on perspiration. The other kind, anti-perspirant, is a "drug." The aluminum compounds used in these reduce secretion from the sweat glands. Too long use may irritate and injure the sweat glands.

4. There are several hair dyes on the market. Some color hair directly and can be washed out by a few shampoos. They are called tints or rinses.
   A more permanent dye works by oxidation - mixing with peroxide. Always make a skin patch test before you use it.
   A third kind of dye contains metallic salts (often lead or sulfur: these are poison if swallowed). The effect comes from repetition. Do not use this type of dye if the scalp is cut or bruised.

5. Most wave preparations and hair sprays on the market have been proved safe.
   But keep these away from your nose and mouth.

ALWAYS -

Think before you buy; NO cosmetic will grow hair on a bald head, remove wrinkles, or restore lost youth to the skin.

IMPORTANT -

If you believe you've been gypped or injured by a cosmetic, report the facts to the nearest FDA office or to your local or state regulatory agency.

Seek medical help if needed.

Save the rest of the product or the container.

Report it to the packer or distributor.

See your doctor if you've a skin infection. Don't rely on a cosmetic.

****

A service of

BAND — a non-profit foundation

. . . dedicated to consumer education and organization

Main Office: 3009 16th St., Room 25
San Francisco, Cal. 94103 Phone 431-4309

S A V E

WHEN YOU BUY

FABRICS

When you sew, you can save lots of money ... if you buy the right fabric. To choose the right one, you need to know these things:

- What the fabric is made of.
- How it will wear, how to care for it.
- If it is suitable for your use.

1. What is it made of?

Natural fibers: cotton, wool, silk & linen.

COTTON: Inexpensive, cool, comfortable, practical. Easy to sew, easy to wash and iron. Good for variety of uses. Many colors, designs, weaves.

WOOL: Wears well, warm and comfortable. Easy to sew. Ideal for coats, suits, dresses. May be washable, with care, if so labeled. Use cool water, steam iron with pressing cloth.

SILK: Often expensive; many different textures, some smooth, some "nubby." If properly cared for, lasts for years. Pure silk may wash well, with care: mild soap and cool water. Never use a hot iron or chlorine bleach. Damaged by perspiration; stains easily.

LINEN: Many weights, from sheer to heavy. Often very expensive. Rayon "linen" is usually treated to be wrinkle-proof, looks like real linen; make sure you know. Real linen wears longer. If not specially treated, wrinkles easily, may be hard to iron.

Man-made fibers (synthetics): these are some of the most common:

NYLON: Durable, lightweight, washes and dries easily, does not shrink. Use most soaps and detergents, oxygen type bleach, not chlorine bleach. Not weakened by perspiration. Blended with other fibers adds strength.

RAYON & ACETATE: (Some tradenames: Ecele, Celanese, Estron.) Weaker than nylon. Can look like cotton, wool, silk, satin, linen, fur. Color-fast. Resists wrinkles. Good for women's garments.

POLYESTER FIBERS: (some brandnames: Dacron, Fortrel, Kodel) - Blend well with cotton, rayon, wool. Wash and wear, little or no ironing, colorfast. Hold permanent pleats, resist wrinkles. Good for women's and children's clothes.

ACRYLIC FIBERS: (Some brandnames: Orlon, Creslan, Acrilan) - Bulky but lightweight. Washable, colorfast, hold creases. Not as strong as nylon. Blend well with other fibers. Good for clothing and curtains.

GLASS FIBERS: (One brandname: Fiberglas) - Very strong, washable, colorfast, quick drying. Sunlight doesn't hurt it. Excellent for curtains. Don't wash in machine - glass fibers spin off , cling to family clothes, cause skin irritation.

SPANDEX: Some tradenames: Lycra, Vyrene) Stretch fabric used in bathing suits, girdles, other garments where stretch is needed. Washes well, dries quickly, use oxygen bleach, not chlorine type.

Other brand names of man-made fibers are: Arnel, Vyeron, Zefram, Zefkrome, Dynel, Verel, Spandelle, Glospan, Fortisan, Celaperm.

Many fabrics are blends of two or more fibers. This may give them the best features of each fiber.

2. How will the fabric wear? How must you care for it?

Get the facts before you buy - don't gamble! READ THE LABEL (on the end of the bolt). It should tell you:

- what it's made of . natural or synthetic fibers, or a blend.

- if it has special finishes to make it look better, wear longer, be easy to care for. Is it wrinkle resistant? Squeeze a corner in your hand. Do the wrinkles go away? If so, it won't need much ironing. It may be treated to be water-repellant, or moth-proof.

- if it is washable
  whether bleach should be used; if it's preshrunk. ("Sanforized" cotton shrinks only 1%; "preshrunk" cotton may shrink 3%. Don't buy woven fabric that will shrink more than 2.5%. Don't buy knitted fabrics that will shrink more than 3.5%.)

- if it's colorfast
  if it will keep its color through washing and exposure to sun. Colors last best when dyed before weaving. When torn ends of solid color look white or light, fabric was dyed after weaving. Vat dyes, properly applied, last best.

If the label doesn't tell you, ask the salesperson or the buyer.

Check knitted material closely. If the knit loops are round, the knit will keep its shape better than if they are long and tight.

3. Is it suitable for your use?

- Does it suit the pattern you'll use? Buy the pattern first so you'll know how much you'll need. Be sure to get enough material. The pattern gives hints about fabrics you should use.

- Does the color and design suit the personality, age, and figure type of the wearer?

- Is it easy for you to sew? If you have not done much sewing, plaids, stripes, and one-way prints are difficult; all-over designs or solid colors will be easier, and probably look better.

For curtains and upholstery, choose strong fabrics the sun won't hurt. Some good curtain materials are cottons, fiberglas, nylon (if treated for sunlight), orlon and dacron. For upholstery, get a durable, heavy, closely woven fabric. A Scotchgard finish is a good idea; it resists oil and dust stains.

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Main Office: 3009 16th St., Room 25
San Francisco, Cal. 94103 Phone 431-4309

S A V E

WHEN YOU BUY **FURNITURE**

Furniture is expensive. And remember: if you make a mistake . . . you have to live with it!

First . . .

DECIDE WHAT YOU WANT

Before you start to look, talk things over at home. What color do you want? What style? Will it "go with" what you have now? Will it fit into the room? How much do you plan to pay?

Once you know what you want

SHOP AROUND

You can buy new, used, or unfinished furniture. Which do you want?

You can find real bargains at non-profit "thrift" stores. Second-hand stores can be a smart choice too, if you're very careful. Be sure though . . . you usually can't return second-hand purchases.

You can buy well-made unfinished furniture -- and there are many easy-to-use paints and stains.

One of a series of leaflets

on better buying and credit

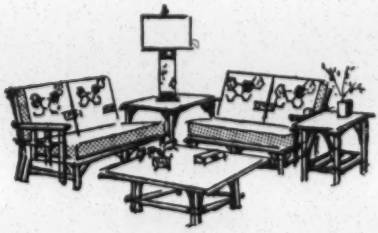
TEST YOUR DEALER

Compare at least two stores. Then, when you see something you like, be sure you know about the company that makes it . . . and the dealer who sells it. Is the company well-known? Does it give a guarantee? Has the dealer been in business long? If the answer to any of these questions is "no,"
BE CAREFUL.

Does the dealer display furniture without price tags -- or with "phoney" prices? Does he advertise a good buy to get you into his store (this is called "bait") -- then try to sell you something else?

Does he rush you? Does he offer you "free" gifts? Does he confuse you about the total price you'll pay? If the answer to any of these questions is "yes,"
WALK OUT!

Now you've found a dealer you can trust . . .



LOOK CAREFULLY AT THE FURNITURE

Frame: Are the joints strong and reinforced? Lean on it. Does it wobble? If it's made of metal, be sure there are no jagged edges.

Fabric: All fabrics wear well if they're made well. Look closely at how the fabric is woven: the tighter the weave, the longer it will last.

Fiber: Some fibers are waterproof; some aren't. Ask your dealer about each kind, and READ THE LABELS.

THINGS TO LOOK FOR

Upholstered furniture: Is it comfortable? Can you sit on it without hitting the frame? Can you push against the back without hitting the frame?

Are seams and patterns even and matched? Are hems and pleats straight? Are there loose threads? Does the underside sag?

Wood furniture: Do drawers glide smoothly? Are they made with interlocking joints so they're strong and rigid? Are joints well-glued -- or just nailed?

Do doors swing freely without rubbing? Are all knobs on tight? Are there any splits in the wood? Any scratches?

S O . . .

Before you buy,

BE SURE YOU'RE READY

Have you compared prices? Have you READ ALL THE LABELS? Have you studied all guarantees? Are there any blanks in your sales contract?
(DON'T SIGN!)

Do you know the true annual interest rate? (Be sure you check this out -- it can be a shocker!)

Do you understand all terms including total price? If you can answer "yes" to all these questions you're ready. GOOD LUCK!

ADVISOR'S LEAFLET # 4

Produced by **BAND**
3009 16th St., Room 25
San Francisco, Cal. 94103
--- as a guide to better buying

CONSUMER SERVICE CENTERS

Mission
2707 Folsom St.
San Francisco 94110
Phone 282-6724

Hunters Point
4701 - 3rd St.
San Francisco 94124
Phone 285-4515

North Oakland
5827 San Pablo Ave.
Oakland 94608
Phone 658-8686

East Oakland
8924 Holly St.
Oakland 94621
Phone 568-2421

A SAFER CAR CAN

SAVE YOUR LIFE

What do you look for in a car? Color, style, size, speed and comfort? But how safe is that car? Of course you need to be a careful driver. But was your car built to save your life?

Does your car have the built-in safety the Federal Government demands in its new cars? Does your 1966 compact or medium-size car have:

1. Front and rear safety belts
2. Padded dashboard and padded sun visors
3. Two-speed windshield wipers and washer
4. Back-up lights
5. Outside rear-view mirror.

Some 1966 cars have even more safety features. Ask your dealer for them. Some older cars are safer than others -- check this list.

1967 cars should be even safer to drive. Besides the things already listed, look for -

6. Recessed or set-in instrument panel and accessories
7. Steering wheel and column that absorb a crash
8. Safety door latches and hinges that won't snap off
9. Firmly-anchored seat frames
10. Safety glass in windshield, windows

11. Four-way flasher to signal when the car's stalled

12. Dual braking system (if one fails, the other takes over)

13. Standard bumper heights on all cars

14. Standard gear-shift positions (P R N D L on automatic transmissions)

15. Car surfaces that reduce glare

16. Tires that meet government safety requirements, with safety rims

17. Exhaust-fume control or smog device

Safety can be built into new cars to protect <u>you</u>. It's included in the cost of your car.

But you need <u>more</u> safety than this. Look for these too, when you shop for a car:

1. Glove compartment doors and ash trays that don't flop open

2. Improved parking brakes you can use as an emergency brake

3. Anti-skid brake device

4. Headlights and taillights you can see from the <u>sides</u> of your car

5. No dangerous handles, knobs and ledges, tail fins (On the steering column, the thin ring that blows the horn is very dangerous)

6. Strengthened and improved bumpers

7. Roll bars inside the sides and top to keep a rolled-over car's top from collapsing (very important on convertibles and hard tops)

8. Improved protection for gasoline tanks

9. Body colors that don't blend into the background. (Experts say red and black are the most dangerous colors. They seem part of the distant scene in daylight. They disappear into the dusk.

The Federal Government is working now for safer cars. You can help get them for everyone when you shop for yours. Look for safety features on cars in the showroom. Ask your dealer about them. Use this as a checklist to start with; some experts list even more.

Automobile makers say they give the customer what he wants. Tell the dealer you want a safe car. He'll give the car manufacturer your message. If enough car buyers demand safe cars, they'll get them.

A WORD ABOUT TIRES:

Some experts think two-ply tires aren't safe. Some cars come to you with tires that aren't strong enough to carry a full load. For your safety, we suggest you ask for the next larger size in a four-ply tire.

Ask for our leaflets on "Tires" and "Used Cars".

We have money-saving references at our Consumer Centers. We invite you to visit us before you buy.

RX: FOR SAFE DRIVING -

TO ONE SAFER CAR
ON SAFER ROADS
ADD ONE SAFER DRIVER.

So: Keep your car in safe condition -- tires, brakes, windshields

And DRIVE SAFELY --

- don't take chances
- watch out for the other driver
- fasten your seat belts
- obey all traffic laws
- don't speed
- don't drink when you drive.

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S A V E

WHEN YOU BUY

AUTO REPAIRS

Mechanical failures cause many auto accidents. Keep your car in good repair. Regular inspection and service by a reliable serviceman is your best protection. You'll drive safer and save your car. Here are some parts of your car that you should check:

1. Spark plugs should last 12,000 to 15,000 miles. But they need cleaning at 6,000 to 8,000 miles.

2. Distributor points last about as long as spark plugs. You should check them at the same time. New points may cost you $2 to $4. Labor is $3 to $5 more.

3. Tuneup may be needed when your engine misses or starts hard. This job includes replacing spark plugs, points, condenser, plus adjusting timing and carburetor. Parts cost from $9 (6-cylinder engine) to $12 (8-cylinders). Labor is another $10 to $15.

4. Carburetor may need overhaul when your engine sputters and runs unevenly. Perhaps only 1 or 2 parts must be replaced. But if you need another carburetor, don't buy a "rebuilt" one. It may not be very well "rebuilt." A new carburetor doesn't cost much more. A 2-barrel type costs less than a 4-barrel carburetor: $12 to $70.

5. Smog valve: check when you have a "lube" job. It needs regular servicing. You can do this yourself. A new smog valve may cost from $1.50 to $2.50.

6. Exhaust system: check regularly for leaks, rattles and stone damage.

7. Automatic transmission: check every 3 years or 30,000 miles. This job includes leakage and pressure checks, and a band-and-linkage adjustment. The job takes about an hour.

8. Brake cylinders: check if your brake pedal feels "spongy" when you step on it. Don't delay; your brakes may fail. It costs $16 to $25 for a new master cylinder, and $7 to $10 for each wheel cylinder. Ask for new parts; they last longer.

9. Brake drums may not need refacing if they're smooth and shiny; but sometimes heat can distort them. Check the drums for wear marks when the mechanic takes off the wheels. Drum-turning costs about $1.50 a wheel.

10. Brake linings may last 25,000 to 50,000 miles. After 20,000 miles, check this every 10,000 miles. New linings cost $30 to $40 a set, including labor.

11. Shock absorbers: replace after 30,000 miles. They are worn when the car bounces, or swerves on a turn. They cost $12-$15 each.

12. Front end alignment: needed if your front tires wear more (or more unevenly) than do your rear tires. The job costs $9 to $12.

13. Tire balancing: needed if your steering wheel shimmies when you drive fast. This job costs about $2 a tire.

14. Horn and windshield wipers: fix as soon as they fail. Wiper blades may last only a year.

15. Headlights alignment: needed every year. If the car's front end is bumped hard, the lights may be thrown out of line.

16. Tail lights, parking and other safety lights: check often. Ask someone to watch them while you work the lights. Replace burned-out bulbs right away.

Your auto mechanic has your life -- and your car -- in his hands. Be sure he's reliable. When you go in, tell him what you think needs to be done on your car.

Ask the mechanic how much the job will cost. If he finds more trouble, - and expense - ask him to phone you before he goes ahead. If you can go back to the garage, ask him to show you the bad parts - before he starts the job. (After may be too late for you to tell what's been done).

If your car doesn't work right after it's been repaired, take it back; speak to the manager. If your job was part of your new car warranty service, write the manufacturer, giving details.

IF IT ISN'T RIGHT --

If the garage won't make it right, tell your Better Business Bureau. Report any fraud to your local District Attorney. Write the Consumer Counsel, State Capitol, Sacramento. You can also write Automobile Consumers Protective Association, Star Route Box 10, Woodside, Calif., if you want to give or get information on a particular repair garage.

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S A V E

WHEN YOU BUY

Appliances

Major appliances (refrigerators, freezers, washing machines, ranges) take a big bite out of your income . . . so CHECK before you shop. And CHECK when you shop.

DECIDE WHAT YOU NEED

Talk it over with your family. How often will you use it? Where will you put it? (Be sure to measure the space you'll use before you shop.)

Is your house or apartment wired to take a new appliance? (Find out if you're not sure.) How many people will use it? Check the cost of the "extras": will you use them?

Now what about your future needs? Most appliances last 10 or 15 years: Will your family be bigger? Smaller? Remember: you don't save money by paying less now - if you have to replace it in 2 or 3 years.

And you are wasting money if you buy the "super deluxe" model with all the fancy "gadgets" . . . and don't need them.

One of a series of leaflets

on better buying and credit

DECIDE WHERE TO BUY

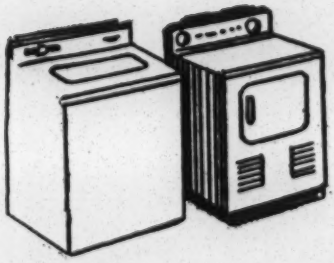
This is very important! Does your dealer have a well-equipped repair shop, factory-trained repairmen? Does he sell well-known brands? Will he still be there in 2 years - your appliance may need him then. How about 5 years - 10 years? These are important questions.

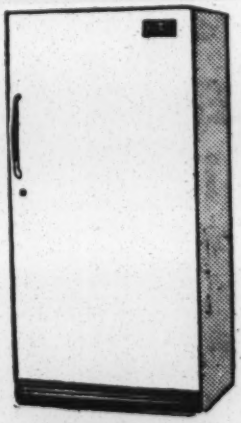
How about the price? Does it include delivery, installation, service? Or are these "add-ons" you don't know about until it's too late?

What kind of man is your dealer? Will he help you, and let you shop around? Does he try to "rush" you into something you're not sure about? Does he use "bait" to get you into his showroom - then try to sell you something that costs more? If he does,

WALK OUT AT ONCE!

Or does your dealer seem honest and fair, Will he help you, and let you shop around? Answer these questions before it's too late.





Find a dealer you can trust - then

SHOP CAREFULLY

Learn what are the "best buys". Read reports on makes and models. Study all labels and guarantees. Find out

1. who makes it
2. size
3. what it's made of
4. how to use it
5. how to care for and clean it
6. exactly what the guarantee means

Some organizations set standards and give seals of approval. **Look** for them.

The American Gas Association's Gold Star (This means that a gas appliance is safe.)

ASA (approved by the American Standards Association)

NEMA (approved by The National Electrical Manufacturer's Association)

UL (This means that electrical connections are safe)

A seal of approval doesn't mean it's a "best buy". A seal of approval means it's safe.

Do you think you're ready to buy now?

BE SURE

Did you compare prices and models? Did they show you how to use it? Do you know how to clean and care for it? (This can save you costly repairs.)

Is this the right time to buy? Or will there be a sale soon - to clear the way for new models.

Do you know the total price you're paying? If you're buying on time, do you understand the true annual interest rate? (Be careful of this one!)

Did you ask your credit union or a bank about a loan? (This almost always costs less than a loan from the dealer.)

Do you know what your guarantee means . . .? Will you get free service? NOW maybe you're ready to buy! GOOD LUCK.

ADVISOR'S LEAFLET # 3

Produced by **BAND**
3009 16th St., Room 25
San Francisco, Cal. 94103
--- as a guide to better buying

S A V E

WHEN YOU BUY

APPLIANCE REPAIRS

First step: Try to buy a brand and model that's been tested by a consumer group -- or by your friends and neighbors. And buy from a dealer who's been "tested," too -- find out what people think about the dealer before you buy. You don't want repair bills. Avoid them! Do you use your appliance correctly? Do you follow the manufacturer's manual? If you do -- you shouldn't need many repairs.

IF SOMETHING GOES WRONG -- DON'T PANIC! Before you call a repairman, check some things yourself. Did you plug it in? Is the fuse blown? Maybe you don't really need a repairman.

IF YOU CAN'T FIND THE PROBLEM -- you'll need help. Ask your friends for a good repair service. Or find out who the bad ones are!

RADIO OR TV NEED REPAIR?

Ask to see the repairman's registration certificate. Then you can protect yourself if something goes wrong.

See the back page of this leaflet: this service applies only to TV, phono and radio repairs. For other appliances, you're on your own.

IF YOU HAVE A WARRANTY

Read it! Is your appliance still covered? Does it tell you who to call? Maybe the repair won't cost you anything.

IF YOUR STORE CAN'T HELP YOU --

Call a Factory Authorized Serviceman. He's listed in the yellow pages. Look under "Washers" or "Refrigerators" or whatever. Make sure it's for the right brand.

Don't call the local "all purpose repair man". He'll probably charge you more -- and take longer to fix it. Few repairmen really know more than one or two brands well; distrust the advertisement that says "we service all brands." And the Factory Authorized Serviceman will probably guarantee the new parts. The local man probably won't.

FIND OUT ABOUT SERVICE CHARGES

Will he charge you just to come to your home? Maybe someone else will charge less. But watch out for "free" or "$1.00" service call operators. Most honest service men do charge a nominal amount for a call. $8 to $9 is a normal minimum. ($6 or $7 is reasonable to install a washer.)

DON'T LET HIM TAKE IT AWAY . . .

without a written promise to put it back together and to bring it back free -- (or for a nominal delivery charge) if he can't fix it -- or if you don't ok the repair. You can be the victim of a vicious racket, if you don't have this promise in writing.

BEFORE THE REPAIRMAN BEGINS . . .

Get an estimate in writing. You may decide the job isn't worth it -- especially if your appliance is old. If you want to replace it instead, decide now -- not after the repair is done.

A complete shop overhaul for a washer should cost you less than $45, plus pickup and return. For a refrigerator, it should cost you less than $38 (if there's no need for a new evaporator or condenser).

ASK FOR AN ITEMIZED BILL

All parts and labor should be on it. And ask the repairman to show you the new parts. Make sure you really got them! Ask to see the old parts too.

ARE THE NEW PARTS GUARANTEED?

You should get a copy of the guarantee. If you have more trouble with your appliance, call the same repairman. Maybe his job wasn't good. He should make it good.

* * *

SOME TIPS TO SAVE WEAR

The cooler the kitchen, the longer your refrigerator will last. When you're on vacation, empty your refrigerator and put it on low -- don't disconnect. A combination washer-dryer isn't good for a large family.

Modern appliances are very complicated. You can't know all about them. So you must protect yourself!

KNOW . . . . who your repairman is,
what he is doing to your appliance,
what you are paying for,
how much you will have to pay,
what the guarantee is.

CALL SOMEONE YOU CAN TRUST.

Repair Dealer Registration

California requires any radio, TV or phonograph repairmen to register with the bureau listed below. Don't let any dealer repair your set unless he has a registration certificate!

This Bureau can cancel registration of any service dealer who makes a misleading statement, if he knows it's not true. The same can happen to a dealer who makes a false promise, or is dishonest or negligent. Dealers must give each customer an invoice and a written estimate. Words like "guarantee," "seconds," "rebuilt" are strictly controlled. Picture tubes are graded "AA" (new), "B" and "C".

Anyone can file a complaint against a service dealer. The Bureau investigates, may suggest adjustment by the dealer. If the dealer refuses, the Bureau can take court action, force the dealer to meet certain standards, or fine him. Write to:

Bureau of Electronic Repair Dealer Registration
Room 541, 1020 N. Street, Sacramento, Calif.
or
Room 7117, State Bldg., 107 S. Broadway, L.A.

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S A V E

WHEN YOU BUY

RUGS & CARPETS

BE CAREFUL! Rugs and carpets cost plenty!
So . . . you can lose plenty.

Before you leave the house --

DECIDE WHAT YOU WANT

1. Where will you use it? Floors that you use a lot need a good grade of material. Remember...cheap material wears out so fast it can cost you more.

2. How big? Multiply the length of the space by the width. (Example: 9' long times 12' wide: 108) You need this figure when you shop.

3. What color? Will it "go" with the rest of your room? Medium color rugs look cleaner. Light ones show spots and stains. Dark ones show lint, threads, and dust.

4. What material? Most materials on the market are good if the rug is well made. READ THE LABELS. Ask your dealer about each material.

   WARNING: Don't let brags like "100% nylon pile" or "100% wool pile" impress you too much. If the rug is poorly made, it won't last long no matter what they make it of.

One of a series of leaflets

on better buying and credit

5. Wall-to-wall? You can't take it with you! If you plan to move in the next 10 years, forget wall-to-wall! You can move regular rugs; you can send them out to be cleaned.

6. Do you want an underlay? A good pad can add years to the life of the rug. A 40 ounce pad 1/4 to 3/8 inches thick is usually best.

Now you're ready to . . .

DECIDE WHERE TO BUY

There's no sure way to tell which dealers are honest...but here are some hints:

An honest dealer will

1. Have a showroom.

2. Deal in well-known goods.

3. Tell you about prices, fiber, the way its made.

4. Urge you to shop around before you buy.

5. Be in good standing in the business community (phone your Better Business Bureau if you're not sure).

An honest dealer will not

1. Use terms to confuse you like "broadloom" (this only tells the kind of loom the rug is woven on). Or "factory unit measurements" (there's no such thing).

2. Use "bait" to get you to buy. ("Bait" is a free gift--but of course you pay for it.)

3. Try to "switch" you to a rug that costs more than the one he put in his ad.

4. Pressure you to buy.

5. "Steal" your money by telling you you'll need a bigger rug than you really do.

6. Leave out delivery or other costs (or cost of the padding) when he tells you the "total" price.

Once you know what you want and where you want to buy it, you're ready to SHOP.

QUALITY

Look first at the cheapest rug. Bend it between your fingers. Does it seem flimsy? Can you see the backing between the fibers?

Now look at a more expensive one. See how closely packed the fibers are. This is called "density." Density is very important. The denser the rug, the better the rug. Try to choose the densest rug you can find at the price you can pay.

PRICE

There are few real "bargains". Watch our for the most expensive or the cheapest.

GENERAL RULE: Your rug should last a year for every dollar you pay per square yard. (If you pay $6 a square yard, it should last about 6 years.)

When you're ready to buy . . .

BE SURE you have a contract or sales slip that tells you:

1. Manufacturer's name or trade name.
2. Color of rug.
3. Fiber content of rug.
4. Installation cost.
5. Size of rug.
6. Price per square yard.
7. Description of pad.
8. Full contract price.

WARNING:

Never sign a contract that has any blank spaces in it.
If a salesman makes a promise, have them write it in the contract.

ADVISOR'S LEAFLET # 5

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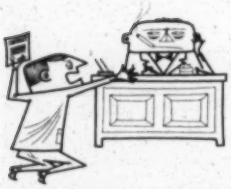


DON'T LET CREDIT TRAP YOU!

Stores, banks credit unions, loan companies all offer you credit. You can pay 12% - - - you can pay 42%! You need to know all you can. Then plan the way your family will use it.

MANAGE YOUR CREDIT . . . or it will manage you.

1. Are your monthly payments less than 20% of your take-home pay?

2. Do you have any cash on hand for emergencies?

3. Are your job and health prospects good?

4. Will buying on credit help you and your family - - not add worries and trouble?

If you answer "yes" credit can help you.

USE CREDIT FOR GOOD REASONS!

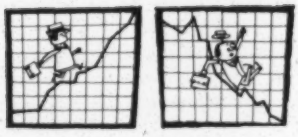
- To meet emergencies

- For necessities, not for luxuries

- For high-price items

- For goods and services you can use long after you finish your payments.

We have money-saving references at our Consumer Centers. We invite you to visit us before you buy.



KEEP YOUR CREDIT GOOD

This is a valuable asset. Your credit rating is based on:

- Character - your former payment habits.
- Capacity - your present ability to pay, shown by your income, responsibilities and debts.
- Capital - What you own.
- Collateral - what you offer as security.

KNOW THE COST OF CREDIT

You can measure the cost of consumer credit in two ways . . . dollar cost, and interest rate.

- Dollar Cost Subtract the cash price (or the cash you get) from the total amount you pay to the lender.

- Interest Rate Dollar cost compared to the money used or borrowed.

Dealers and lenders quote interest many different ways. Always ask for the true annual interest. Ask also for the total dollar cost. Then you'll know just how much you're paying for the loan.

KEEP THE COST DOWN

- Make as big a down payment as you can.
- Pay off the debt as fast as you can.
- Borrow only what you need.

KNOW THE KINDS OF CREDIT

There are two main kinds: retail credit - and cash loans.

There are many kinds of retail credit:

- Charge Accounts (30 and 90 day)
- Revolving Accounts
- Bank Revolving Accounts
- Installment Sales Plans

There are three main kinds of cash loans.

- Bank loans
- Finance Company loans
- Credit Union loans

SHOP FOR CREDIT

As we said before: you can pay 12% - you can pay 42%! It pays to shop around . . . the way you shop for a pair of shoes or a stove.

Here's how . . .

1. Get the cash price from several dealers.
2. Find out if there's a discount for paying cash.
3. Get the cost of loans from the dealers, a bank, a credit union, some finance companies.
4. Small payments and long contracts cost you money.
5. Compare full costs from all your sources.

Monthly payments may seem about the same. But over a year, a few cents turns into a few dollars. Don't pay more than you have to!

Generally, you'll find that	Annual Interest
- a credit union loan costs less	12%
- a bank loan is next	14.7%
- an installment plan costs more	18.5-19.5%
- a finance company loan costs most	24-42%

But a LOAN SHARK may cost you 100% or 200% or 1000%!

UNDERSTAND YOUR CONTRACT!

Contracts are legal documents. You're bound by what you sign. Remember these rules!

1. Read a contract carefully - small type, too - before you sign.
2. Don't sign if you don't understand!
3. Don't sign away your rights!
4. Be sure ALL blanks are filled in before you sign!
5. Get guarantees and service agreements in writing.
6. Know who you'll make payments to - the dealer or a loan company or a bank.

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S A V E

WHEN YOU BUY A **TELEVISION**

Keep your eyes open when you buy TV!

Before you Buy:

Visit several dealers--
look at several brands--
several price ranges

Try to buy your TV when the old models are being sold out--at a discount. This usually is in the spring. At any rate, read the written guarantee. Are parts-especially the picture tube guaranteed for 90 days only, or for a year? They should be guaranteed for at least a year.

Do you have to get a big, heavy TV set? A "portable" TV is one that has a carrying handle, even if it is rather heavy to carry. You can move a portable around the house. You can take it to the repair shop yourself. This can save you many $10 service charges.

Does the set give a clear, sharp picture? The picture should be crisp and in focus. The lines across the lighted picture tube should be sharp, and the same distance apart. You should be able to see small details in the picture, like the pattern on a vase.

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When a scene jumps from a bright living room to a dark basement, can you still see the actors? Does an actor seem to gain weight as he walks across the screen? Do titles seem bulgy and distorted?

Does music sound clear and pleasing? Do voices sound natural? How big a set? In a small room, a small picture may look best. You have to get away from a large picture to see it well.

WHAT ABOUT COLOR TV?

Look twice -- think twice.

Color TV sets cost more than black-and-white TV sets. Special or discounted prices are harder to find. A portable color TV may cost you as much as a cabinet model ordinary TV.

Color TV also costs more to repair. It may need more frequent servicing than an ordinary TV. The color TV tube may cost you $150 to replace, compared to $50 for the same size black-and-white tube. Color TV also costs more to operate. Can you wait a while? Color TV sets will cost you less, and be better a year or two later.

But if you do find a color TV you like, try it out in your own home before you buy it. A tryout in the store won't tell you how it will work for your family, in your home. Does it work well, in your own home, with an indoor antenna on all local channels? Try to get a set that has UHF plus Channels 2 through 13. Are the tuning and picture adjusting knobs easy to use?

Does the set get black-and-white programs clearly? antenna? With ordinary adjusting of the knobs, can you get all local TV channels clearly?

Usually a small-screen TV gives you a sharper picture than a large-tube TV. Also, you may be located in an area where TV reception isn't too good.

A TV serviceman may have to adjust your new color set. If you need an outdoor antenna, he'll install and adjust it for best reception. Find out the cost of this before you buy.

WHAT ABOUT THE TV DEALER?

Shop for the best TV, the best price, the lowest cost. How much does the dealer charge if you buy your set over a period of months? Shop for credit. Check your credit union.

"No down payments" doesn't mean you're getting something for nothing. You're paying more "carrying charges" or more interest.

Often "no down payment" dealers have higher prices, use pressure tactics. Does the dealer advertise a "bargain", then try to switch you to a higher priced one? Does the dealer mark the cash price on each set? Or does he try to trick you with "$29.00 up"?

And read the sales contract. Are all blanks filled in? Do you know how much you'll have to pay each week or each month? And for how many months? What's the total cost in dollars?

After the guarantee period is up, you'll have to find your own repairman. Shop for him, too. Ask your neighbors who does good work. Always ask the repairman to tell you how much it will cost to fix your set before you tell him to go ahead on the job. Be sure he'll bring the set back to your home if you decide not to have him do the work.

Repair Dealer Registration

California requires anyone in the business of radio, TV or phonograph repair to register with the bureau listed below. He must list every business name and address. Don't let any dealer repair your set unless he has a registration certificate!

This Bureau can cancel registration of any service dealer who makes a misleading statement, if he knows it's not true. The same can happen to a dealer who makes a false promise, or is dishonest or negligent. Dealers must give each customer a copy of the invoice and a written estimate if he asks for one. Words like "guarantee," "seconds," "rebuilt" are strictly controlled. Picture tubes are graded "AA" (all new), "B" and "C".

Anyone can file a complaint against a service dealer. The Bureau investigates it, and may suggest adjustment by the dealer. If the dealer refuses, the Bureau can take court action and force the dealer to meet certain standards or make him pay a heavy fine.

Address complaints to:

Bureau of Electronic Repair Dealer Registration
Room 541, 1020 N Street, Sacramento, Cal.
or
Room 7117, State Bldg., 107 S. Broadway, Los Angeles.

ADVISOR'S LEAFLET # 2

Produced by **BAND**
3009 16th St., Room 25
San Francisco, Cal. 94103
--- as a guide to better buying

RETAIL CREDIT... A HELP OR A TRAP?

IT'S UP TO YOU!

Stores are in business to sell . . . so they tempt and urge us to buy - buy - buy! And they make it so easy, with all sorts of "buy now, pay later".

Now, retail credit can be a helpful tool; you and your family can live more comfortably and conveniently. But you need to plan how to use it. If not, those "small, monthly payments" can push you into a bottomless pit of debt!

BEFORE YOU "BUY" RETAIL CREDIT . . . ASK:

1. Does the monthly payment fit your spending plan?

2. How long will the things you buy last?

3. How long will your income hold up?

4. What does the credit cost you? (Ask for the total cost in dollars.)

THE MOST COMMON KINDS OF STORE CREDIT ARE:

1. Open charge account - you pay the full amount at the end of the month. They don't charge you interest.

2. Revolving credit - (they often call it "easy payment" or "budget" plan). You charge anything you buy. Your monthly payments are set by what you owe. Some banks have this plan (like Bank Americard); you can buy at member stores, then pay the bank once, at the end of the month.

3. Installment plan - for big purchases like appliances. You make equal payments for several months.

WHAT KIND OF RETAIL CREDIT SHALL I CHOOSE?

Know the facts about all types of credit, then choose what's best for you. But remember, you always pay more when you buy on credit. The store may call it "service," "carrying charge" or just plain interest. (The 30-day open charge may not cost extra -- but check to be sure.)

Revolving Accounts -

1. Use for small items . . . clothing, housewares, notions.
2. Store limits what you can charge.
3. You agree to pay so much a month on what you owe. (Example: on a balance of $100, $10 a month.)
4. Store charges 1½% interest per month on the unpaid balance. Doesn't sound like much? Well, it's really 18% a year! So . . . if you owe $100, and pay $10 a month and charge $10 of merchandise each month, you pay $18 in interest over the year. And your debt is as high as ever!

Installment Accounts -

1. Use to buy big items - like a refrigerator or a stove.
2. You pay 18.5% to 19.5% interest per year. Don't be fooled by the dealer who says $10 interest per $100 per year.
3. You sign a contract, with equal payments over several months.
4. You receive the goods. Seller keeps the contract until you finish paying for it.
5. Watch out for added charges like notary fees . . . fire and credit insurance. You pay all these and the high interest rate!

IF YOU BELONG TO A CREDIT UNION: BORROW THERE . . . PAY THE DEALER CASH

Compare a $225 loan from a credit union for a year with a store's installment contract.

	INTEREST RATE		This costs you	You pay each month	You pay total
	"They say"	This means			
Instal.	$10 per $100 per yr. on orig. debt	18.5%	$22.50	$20.62	$247.50
Credit Union	1% per mo. on unpaid balance	12.3%	$15.00	$20.00	$240.00

RULES FOR INSTALLMENT LOANS:

1. Make as big a down payment as you can. Pay back the rest as fast as you can.
2. Find out what the loan costs you <u>in dollars</u>.
3. Look for "NOTICE TO BUYER" before you sign any contract. It tells you your rights.
4. A contract is a legal document; you are bound by what you sign. READ CAREFULLY. Be sure <u>ALL</u> SPACES are filled.
5. Ask about any insurance charge. Find out what kind it is, and just what it covers.
6. Find out if your payments go to a bank or loan company. What reputation does it have?
7. Is penalty for late payment reasonable?
8. Are extra charges stated in the contract? (Notary fees, clerk fees, etc.)
9. Will you get a fair notice before they take item back?

10. Understand just what security you're giving. Don't give them the right to collect your salary through wage assignment.

11. Don't sign away your legal rights. Keep the right to refuse merchandise that's not what you wanted.

12. Do you get a refund if you make payments ahead of time?

THESE TRAPS ARE DEADLY IN REVOLVING ACCOUNTS!

1. Don't pay interest on small items . . . . groceries and soap and bobby pins.

2. Don't stay in debt all the time.

3. Don't open accounts all over town. $10 payments add up, when you have 4 or 5 of them.

4. Don't buy on impulse. Don't say "charge it" unless you really need it.

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San Francisco, Cal. 94103 Phone 431-4309

CONSUMER SERVICE CENTERS

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San Francisco 94110
Phone 282-6724

Hunters Point
1562 McKinnon Ave.
San Francisco 94124
Phone 285-4515

North Oakland
5827 San Pablo Ave.
Oakland 94608
Phone 658-8686

East Oakland
8924 Holly St.
Oakland 94621
Phone 568-2421

WHERE OH WHERE

DOES YOUR MONEY GO?

You may not think it's fun to plan what you spend. But it can be! It's a kind of challenge -- a game you can win if you really want to.

AND it's the only way you'll ever find out where your money goes! Or where your money is taking you! Then you can decide what you want most. You can plan to get what you really want.

FIRST STEP:

Be honest with yourself.

Right down to the last penny.

What Are You

MONTHLY EXPENSES

Food (milk, bakery and what you usually buy in a supermarket.) $ _____

Shelter (Rent, house payments, fire insurance, home repairs, payments on furniture and appliances, phone, water, gas, electricity.) $ _____

Clothing (New, cleaning; repairs.) $ _____

Transportation (Bus fares, auto insurance, gas, oil, license, auto repairs, auto payments.) $ _____

Life Insurance (Premiums.)

on Breadwinner $ _____

on others $ _____ $ _____

Medical (Health insurance premiums, doctor bills, hospital bills, x-rays, glasses, drugs, etc.) $ _____

Savings (In bank or credit union, for emergencies.) $ _____

Miscellaneous (trips, gifts, haircuts, beauty shop. $ _____

_____

Total $ _____

Spending Now?

(Copy total from Page 2 here). $_____

All Other Payments

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

Total $_____

Add the <u>two</u> <u>totals</u> together $_____

Your Notes:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Your car wears out someday, you may have to get another. Did you plan for this?

Monthly Take Home Pay

Yourself . . . . . $ _____

Your wife or husband . . . . . $ _____

All other monthly income:

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

_____ $ _____

_____

Total Income $ _____

Now subtract the last total on Page 3 $ _____

This is what you have extra -- to save or to spend -- <u>or</u> what you need to cut down in your spending. $ _____

_____

This is my statement of my ability to pay.

_____ _____

Signed Date

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S A V E

WHEN YOU BUY **FOOD**

SHOP SMART AND SAVE

You can save $200 a year when you buy your food! Want to try it -- and find out for yourself? A $200 prize is worth a trial!

STEP ONE

PLAN AHEAD Write down what you want before you go to the store. You can get more food for less money if you shop once a week -- plan meals ahead and keep away from all the "goodies" you don't really want!

STEP TWO

KNOW WHEN TO BUY Read the newspapers. Find out what days of the week your supermarket has its sale . . . and SHOP THE SPECIALS then. Look for meats, fruits, and vegetables that are "in season". You can save lots. Don't take anything for granted! Be sure "featured", "special", and "cents off" items are really cheaper than they were last week. Sometimes they're not.

STEP THREE

READ LABELS Know what you're buying. Each package must say what's in it. There's always more of the first thing listed on the label than of the second. (If a can of hash lists "potatoes, beef", etc., there's more potatoes than beef.)

Some packages only look bigger. Check their weight. You may find you can get more for the same price by buying a different package. You may find the "giant economy size" costs more per serving than the smaller size. . . . SO BE CAREFUL!

STEP FOUR

PAY ONLY FOR WHAT's INSIDE Be sure you're paying for what's inside. Fancy wrappers, colorful displays, pink lights over the meat counter, handy "dump bins" -- all these "extras" only make the food look good. Remember: You can't eat the wrapper.

And don't forget the "extras" inside either. Chuck steak, for example, can have so much bone and fat it gives only two servings per pound . . . hamburger, for a few cents more, may serve four.

Just because you've seen a product on TV, doesn't always mean it's the best. In fact, a brand that costs less may be better.

See if there's a retailer's "STORE BRAND" at a lower price. Compare it with the manufacturer's national "NAME BRAND."

How do you tell a STORE BRAND?

Usually they're marked "packed for So-and-So's stores." If you can't tell ask the manager which are his STORE BRANDS. He'll be glad to tell you.

Also --
Most co-ops, large independents and chain stores have STORE BRANDS. Some stores have many different STORE BRANDS. Ask the manager which one is most like the NAME BRAND you like. Then try it and see.

It's your money you save, so speak up. STORE BRANDS almost always cost less than national NAME BRANDS. STORE BRANDS are often just as good.

Here are a few prices:

ITEM	NAME BRAND Price	STORE BRAND Price	Savings per Item
Instant coffee	$1.39	$1.15	24¢ (10 oz.)
Margarine	.27	.20	7¢ (1 lb.)
Salad dressing	.59	.45	14¢ (1½ pts.)
Orange juice (canned)	.59	.45	14¢
Canned peas	.23	.14	9¢
Canned tomatoes	.33	.20	13¢
Canned beets	.27	.17	10¢
Frozen peas	.27	.20	7¢
Aspirin, 5-gr.	.89	.19	70¢ (100)
Bufferin	1.39	.59	80¢ (100)
1-a-day vitamins	2.94	1.00	$1.94
Mayonnaise	.59	.53	6¢ (1½ pts.)
Toilet tissue	.37	.43	4¢ (4 roll)

Check the price stamped on each item. WATCH the checkers ring up your bill. Ask them to call your prices out loud. Be sure you pay only the lower SPECIAL price. It's easy to make mistakes!

Now you can relax -- all the way to the bank!

YOU CAN SAVE $200 A YEAR OR MORE IF YOU --

SHOP SMART!

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S A V E

WHEN YOU BUY

LIFE AND HEALTH INSURANCE

There are four kinds of insurance; most of us need some of each: Life insurance, Health Insurance, Auto Insurance, Fire Insurance. This leaflet tells you about the first two kinds.

LIFE INSURANCE

THREE SPECIAL NOTES

To Veterans: Keep your GI insurance paid up. This costs much less than what you'll pay anywhere else.

To Credit Union Members: Most credit unions carry group life insurance that adds a dollar of life insurance to every dollar you save (before age 55). Credit union loans are insured this way, too.

So, if you die every dollar you save is doubled; every dollar you borrow is paid off. This can make your credit union membership a very important part of your life insurance. Always check on this with your credit union.

To Employees and Union Members: Ask your employer or union office about group life insurance where you work. It almost always costs less than insurance you buy by yourself. But sometimes you can't take it with you when you change jobs.

Social Security is the start of a family's life insurance. Almost every worker has some social security life insurance, if he's married and has children. It usually is not enough to protect your family. The amount payable to your family depends on how much you earn and how long you've worked. Your employer, your life insurance agent or the Social Security Office can probably tell you what benefits you and your family have earned. Social Security insurance is a "BEST BUY".

Usually social security, GI (veterans) and group life all together aren't enough to take care of your family if you die.

When you buy individual life insurance, buy it first on the life of the ones who earn money for the family. This "protects" the rest of the family if he (or she) dies. Most families cannot afford to buy separate life insurance on the children. (If you think you can, think first about more insurance on the life of the "breadwinner".

Your family needs income if you die. One "BEST BUY" life insurance policy is the "family plan". This usually gives lifetime life insurance on the breadwinner, plus low-cost insurance on the wife and children -- all in one. Most companies make this plan very attractive to people who don't have a lot of money.

Here's the typical cost each year of a "Family Life Plan" for $5,000 of life insurance on the husband, plus from $1,000 to $2,500 insurance on the wife and $1,000 on each child. The cost depends on the husband's age.

Age 20 - $107	Age 30 - $131	Age 40 - $170
Age 25 - $117	Age 35 - $148	Age 45 - $198

If you pay more than this, you may be paying too much.

Your next best buy is a "whole life" or "ordinary life" policy on the breadwinner. It gives lifetime protection at low cost. Some of your premuim goes into a savings fund. A younger person (say, under 35) often gets all his money back if he pays premiums from then until he is 65. Here are typical costs each year:

Age 20 - $ 85	Age 30 - $109	Age 40 - $149
Age 25 - $ 95	Age 35 - $127	Age 45 - $177

You can also buy "term" insurance. This protects your family for a short period of time -- usually 5 or 10 years; sometimes you can renew for another 5 or 10 years, and then another 5 or 10 years. The cost goes up each time you renew. You'll pay much less for protection during your younger years, but you build up no savings fund. You can't renew past age 60 or 65.

Usually you can change to permanent insurance later on; if your income is low now, and you hope you'll earn more later, this may be a good way to start. You can buy a lot more protection for your family right now, but it may cost you more over a 20 or 30 year period. $5,000 for five-year renewable term insurance may cost you, each year:

Age 20 - $ 31	Age 30 - $ 33	Age 40 - $ 45
Age 25 - $ 32	Age 35 - $ 37	Age 45 - $ 59

Low-income families never can afford "endowment" life insurance. That's the kind that promises to pay you $1,000 or $5,000 at the end of 20 years or at some future age, like 65. Your family gets much less protection for what you spend than with other kinds. (Salesmen usually make more money when they sell this kind.)

If your life insurance total (all these kinds added together) is at least 5 times your yearly income, You've protected your family more than most people do.

HEALTH AND ACCIDENT INSURANCE

That's the general name for hospital insurance, insurance to pay doctor's fees, or insurance that pays you so much a week if you're sick or injured.

Very few families, even with fairly good incomes, can afford to buy individual insurance of this kind. Watch out for the mail order insurance companies that seem to promise to cover all these medical espenses for only a few dollars a year. These policies usually are filled with escape clauses. They may pay you only for certain kinds of illness or accidents. They may pay nothing at all for the things that are most apt to happen to you.

Your "BEST BUY" is to sign up with your employer, your union, or your co-op for group health insurance. Always check for this first. A group health plan that has its own clinic or hospital often is your best buy; such a group often includes the special skills of many kinds of doctors.

About Mutual Funds

A savings account for emergencies, and enough life insurance to protect your family -- these come first. After that, (and after auto and fire insurance) -- only then should you think about mutual funds. Most low-income consumers probably shouldn't invest in them.

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. . . dedicated to consumer education and organization

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San Francisco, Cal. 94103 Phone 431-4309

A SMALL LOAN?

WHERE DO YOU GO?

You may need a small loan for a good reason:

- To pay taxes or doctor bills.
- For a high-priced appliance.
- For goods that last long after you finish your payments.
- To combine many debts into one.

Usually, you can borrow . . .if:

- You've a steady job and good health.
- All of your monthly payments are less than 20% of your take home pay.
- You have some cash laid aside.

But . . . where do you go?

Check on these:

1. Finance Companies

   A. They lend on your signature or on a chattel mortgage. (This means you "own" the goods, but they can take the goods and sell them, if you don't pay on time.)

B. Interest rates run from 2% to $3\frac{1}{2}$% a month on the unpaid balance. True annual rate is 24% to 42%! Watch out for extra service charges, too

C. You pay back once a month. Payments should be equal. Watch out for "balloon" notes . . . the last payment is a big one; you may have to take out another loan!

2. Credit Union

A. A co-operative organized by people with a common interest . . . employee groups, churches, clubs, people who live in the same area.

B. Makes small loans at low interest rates to members. The highest rate is 1% a month on the unpaid balance. True annual rate is 12%. There are no extra service charges.

C. To join, you invest in one or more $5 shares. You can pay in 25¢ per week, more if you want to.

D. Your credit union lends on your good name - or on the shares you own, or a chattel mortgage; sometimes you need a cosignor.

E. How much your Credit Union lends, and for how long, depends on the Credit Union. You pay back equal monthly payments.

3. Bank

A. Lends to persons who can meet their credit rules. These usually are much stiffer than those of a Finance Company or a Credit Union.

B. Interest rate for unsecured consumer loans is usually about $8 on each $100 borrowed. They may call this an "8% loan". True annual rate is 14.7%.

C. You pay it back in equal monthly payments.

Who you borrow from depends on you . . . .
but - - usually:

	Annual Interest
- a credit union loan costs less	12%
- a bank loan is next	14.7%
- a finance company loan costs you much more	24-42%

But a LOAN SHARK can cost you 100% or 200% ..... or 1000%!

We have money-saving references at our Consumer Centers. We invite you to visit us before you buy.

USE CREDIT WISELY . . . .

1. Know the total cost of credit in dollars and true annual interest rates. Get the best buy you can.

2. Check on loans from many sources.

3. Borrow only what you need. Pay the loan back as soon as you can: you pay less interest.

4. Save to buy when you can - - and wait to buy it.

5. Don't borrow more than you can pay back.

6. And before you sign a contract, be sure you understand it.

   - READ IT CAREFULLY - small type too.
   - Be sure all figures are filled in.
   - Be sure you know how much the loan costs, and when you must pay it back.
   - Know what happens if you miss a payment.

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8924 Holly St.
Oakland 94621
Phone 568-2421

* Wage Hour — Kit.

For Briefing ~~Panel~~ Negro Leaders —

About Unions — Coll. Bar
— Contribution to people

Interracial — yes some real discussion

They are organizations

Local people will not have thought about "Coalition" — working together

State AFL-CIO interest

National — Civil Rts Legs; Freedom Budget

There will be tricky problems of working together on long run

In the discussion, we are willing to take some risks — speak freely
however, bringing out every problem or focus on key ones
getting angry may be of little value —

Try to think of places already "cooperating"
or at least working for same thing

Think of areas of mutual interest

E.T. Kehoe
Rochester NY Op 45
325-7260
436-9880

Ronald Jones

other community people

Problems re Institute

Right Subjects -

Getting Local Negro Leaders to attend AM

Should ACHR or Local Negro Leaders participate (Speak & question) in the AM

Promotion & Recruitment

W. Helena (IWA) interest

Name Tags

Informal attendees

Joint Civ Rts - Labor Conference

Local Union person on panel

Arkansas Inst

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Friday, July 14

7:00 p.m.	Registration
7:30 p.m.	"Perspectives on the Changing South" "A New Look at Eastern Arkansas"
9:30 p.m.	Adjourn

Saturday, July 15

9:00 - 10:30 a.m.	"Understanding Arkansas Taxes"
10:30 - 12:00	Consumer Problems: What Can Be Done?
12:00 - 1:30 p.m.	Lunch
1:30 - 4:30 p.m.	Cooperative Programs for a Better Arkansas
4:45 p.m.	Adjourn

REGISTRATION FEE: $2.50 (Actual cost of lunch)

REGISTRATION BLANK
SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Mr. E. J. Jacobs, Sec.-Treas.
Arkansas State AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsamen Park Rd.
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Sir and Brother:

The following delegates from Local Union _____

at _____ will attend the Special Educational Institute at the

Holiday Inn in Jonesboro, Friday, July 14, and Saturday, July 15, 1967.

1. _____ 8. _____

2. _____ 9. _____

3. _____ 10. _____

4. _____ 11. _____

5. _____ 12. _____

6. _____ 13. _____

7. _____ 14. _____

Fraternally yours,

_____
(Name of Officer)

REGISTRATION FEE OF $2.50
PER DELEGATE WILL BE PAID
AT TIME OF REGISTRATION.

_____
(Title of Officer)

_____
(Address)

Date: _____

(BLANK SHOULD BE RETURNED TO THIS OFFICE NO LATER THAN JULY 12, 1967)

Arkansas State AFL-CIO

1408 REBSAMEN PARK ROAD
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72202 MOHAWK 3-4164

J. BILL BECKER
President
GEORGE H. ELLISON
Vice-President
E. J. JACOBS
Secretary-Treasurer

June 19, 1967

TO: All Local Unions in Northeast Arkansas

SUBJECT: Special Educational Institute
"Eastern Arkansas: Its Unions, People, and Problems"

Dear Sir and Brother:

In cooperation with the Southern Regional Council, we are planning to hold an Educational Institute this coming July 14th and 15th at the Holiday Inn in Jonesboro, Arkansas. The program will begin Friday evening at 7:00 p.m. and run through Saturday.

All local union officers, Executive Board members, Stewards and other leadership in your local union are invited.

This program is designed to bring local union leaders important information about the problems and possibilities in a changing South and in a developing Eastern Arkansas. The state's tax needs and tax problems will be discussed --especially as they relate to working men and women. Also important issues concerning consumer protection, including such matters as credit and garnishment, will be considered.

This institute will help bring new insight to problems facing Arkansas and suggest constructive ways that unions and other groups can work cooperatively for better life for all of our people.

Outstanding experts and labor educators will be on hand to work with us on this fine program. Your union should make plans now to have a good delegation attend these sessions.

We will be looking forward to seeing you then.

Always with a good wish, I remain

Fraternally yours,

Bill Becker

J. Bill Becker
President

JBB:jm

February 21, 1967

Mr. Art Halgren,
Vice-President
Florida AFL-CIO
1400 N.W. 36th St.
Miami, Florida 33142

Dear Art:

This rather full report may not have come to your attention. I thought the attitudes expressed towards unions would be of special interest.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

February 21, 1967

Mr. Art

Make file
Fla. AFL-CIO conference

May 8, 1969

Mr. Art Hallgren
First Vice-President
P. O. Box 537
Allapattah Station
Miami, Florida 33142

Dear Art:

Thanks for your invitation to participate in the Florida AFL-CIO's COPE Conference on June 21-22.

I plan to be there and will see that such materials as Dan Powell and I agree on are sent to the Sheraton Jacksonville Hotel.

I look forward to the meeting and seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Working Folder - FLA. AFL-CIO COPE Conference
June 21, 22, 1969

Florida afl-cio

AFFILIATED WITH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

HAND IN HAND FLORIDA GROWS WITH ORGANIZED LABOR

EXECUTIVE BOARD:

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113 John Sims Parkway
Ofc. Ph. OR 8-7121
Valparaiso, Fla. 32580

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1116 N. W. 40th Terrace
Res. Ph. 376-4242
Gainesville, Fla. 32601

GUY A. LAYFIELD
Vice-President District 2
1819 W. Tennessee St.
Ofc. Ph. 224-0434
Tallahassee, Fla. 32304

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Vice-President District 3
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Jacksonville, Fla. 32206

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211 N. Ridgewood Ave.
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Daytona Beach, Fla. 32014

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Miami, Fla. 33125

MORRIS DRAPKIN
Vice President Districts 11 and 12
821 N. E. 2nd Ave.
Ofc. Ph. 373-7603
Miami, Fla. 33132

GLATYS D. HARSIN
Vice-President-At-Large
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ART HALLGREN
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FRANK G. ROCHE
President Emeritus
Res. Ph. 634-8012
2500 N. W. 26th St.
Miami, Fla. 33142

Miami, Florida
April 22, 1969

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga., 30303

Dear Emory:

This will serve as a formal and official invitation for you to participate in our COPE Seminar to be held June 21st and 22nd at the Sheraton Jacksonville Hotel, Jacksonville, Florida.

As per our telephone conversation and your discussion with Brother Dan Powell, any material that you feel would add to the Seminar may be sent directly to the hotel and we will distribute it in whatever manner you see fit.

On Saturday evening, we will have a banquet at 7:30 at which time Mr. John Henry Faulk will be the guest speaker.

Thanking you for your consideration and interest and willingness to participate in this effort, and looking forward to seeing you again, I am with best personal regards,

Sincerely and Fraternally,

Art

Art Hallgren
First Vice-President

AH:ed
opeiu:128
afl-cio

cc; Mr. Dan Powell

"DEMAND THE UNION LABEL"

10

July 3, 1969

Mr. Art Halgren
Vice-President
Florida AFL-CIO
1400 N. W. 36th Street
Miami, Florida 33142

Dear Art:

First, it was good to have been with you for your Education Conference. I enjoyed teaching the groups that I had. Thanks for your hospitality and especially for the wonderful seafood dinner.

Sometime in our conversations I believe you asked about our Voter Education Project's funding of registration efforts in Florida. On checking I find that in 1968 fifteen grants were made in widely distributed areas across the state. There are now new guidelines for making grants but where an applying group and the local situation meets the standards set a local application will be given serious attention.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

retyped
eby

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Florida afl-cio

AFFILIATED WITH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

HAND IN HAND FLORIDA GROWS WITH ORGANIZED LABOR

EXECUTIVE BOARD:

KENNETH RICHARDS
Vice-President District 1
113 John Sims Parkway
Ofc. Ph. OR 8-7121
Valparaiso, Fla. 32580

JACK A. HARRIS
Vice-President District 2
1116 N. W. 40th Terrace
Res. Ph. 376-4242
Gainesville, Fla. 32601

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Vice-President District 2
1819 W. Tennessee St.
Ofc. Ph. 224-0434
Tallahassee, Fla. 32304

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966 Liberty St.
Ofc. Ph. 355-4569
Jacksonville, Fla. 32206

DAN ROSETTI
Vice-President District 4
211 N. Ridgewood Ave.
Ofc. Ph. CL 2-6227
Daytona Beach, Fla. 32014

R. D. BAKER
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4032 Friar Tuck Lane
Res. Ph. 254-4579
Eau Gallie, Fla. 32935

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2002½ Florida Ave.
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Tampa, Fla. 33602

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Hollywood, Fla. 33020

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Vice President Districts 11 and 12
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Ofc. Ph. 635-4546
Miami, Fla. 33125

MORRIS DRAPKIN
Vice President Districts 11 and 12
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Ofc. Ph. 373-7603
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Tampa, Fla. 33603

FRANK G. ROCHE
President Emeritus
Res. Ph. 634-8012
2500 N. W. 26th St.
Miami, Fla. 33142

Miami, Florida
July 7, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Emory:

I should have written to you before now to thank you for participating in our COPE Seminar. I know from some of the conversations I overheard, you at least "caught their ears" and certainly made them think. I don't believe they all agree, but I know we made some progress!!

I'm pleased to hear that the Council did make some grants in Florida, and I do agree that standards must be made and adhered to.!!

Thanking you again for your contribution to our program, and looking forward to seeing you in the near future, I am with best personal regards

Sincerely,

Art

Art Hallgren
First Vice-President
Florida AFL-CIO

AH:ed
opeiu:128
afl-cio

cc: Mr. Dan Powell

"DEMAND THE UNION LABEL"

10

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 28, 1966

Mr. William E. Allen, Sec.-Treas.
Florida State AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 7097
Tampa, Florida

Dear Bill:

This letter follows our conversation in Tampa a few days back. What I would like to propose to you and the other officers of the Florida AFL-CIO is a two day educational institute to be held later in the spring. The details of subject matter can be worked out cooperatively at a later date.

After looking at my calendar here I realized that you would not be able to set your Board meeting for April 9 - Easter week end. I assume it will be on the 16th. As you know, I will be with the Virginia AFL-CIO for an education program that week end. If you need further information please phone or write. Perhaps if the state officers agree that a trial program would be a good idea, you would like for arrangements to be made directly with the unions or central bodies in an area you select. I could give some assistance in this regard as well.

The attached statement will supply more information on the purposes and program for the proposed institute.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest opportunity as to what next steps you think it advisable for me to take. I look forward to the opportunity to work with you and the Florida AFL-CIO.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

cc: Charlie Harris, President
Art Hallgren, Vice-President
Florida AFL-CIO

STATE OF FLORIDA

From the Desk of....

WILLIAM E. "BILL" ALLEN

3/28/66

Emory —

This is the meeting I talked to you about.

Bill

Florida afl-cio

AFFILIATED WITH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

HAND IN HAND FLORIDA GROWS WITH ORGANIZED LABOR

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P. O. Box 7097
Tampa, Fla. 33603

FRANK G. ROCHE
President Emeritus
Res. Ph. NE 4-8012
2500 N. W. 26th St.
Miami, Fla. 33142

March 23, 1966

To: The Executive Board Members of the Florida AFL-CIO.

Dear Board Member:

President Harris asked that an Executive Board Meeting be called for 9:30 A.M., Saturday, April 16, 1966, to be held at the Daytona Plaza Hotel, Daytona Beach, Fla.

We will ask the 1966 Convention Host Committee of the Daytona Beach area to meet with us Saturday morning, April 16, 1966, 9:30 A.M., for firming up plans for our forthcoming Annual Convention to be held in Daytona Beach, Fla. - tentative dates October 17, 18, 19 and 20, 1966.

We will discuss any subjects of the Florida AFL-CIO that is timely and will expect to complete our business in one day. Make your own reservations...mention this meeting.

Looking forward to seeing you Saturday, April 16, 1966, 9:30 A.M.

Fraternally yours,

Bill

Wm. E. (Bill) Allen
Secretary-Treasurer

WEA:mw
opeiu #46
afl-cio

P.S. Brother Art Hallgren was operated on Wednesday, March 16th for a hernia and is now in the Hialeah Hospital, is expected to be there until Friday, March 25th and will be recuperating at home for a few days.

"DEMAND THE UNION LABEL"

Dead Labor Project — Program

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL UNDERSTANDING OF UNION LEADERS

PROPOSAL FOR AN INSTITUTE

Purpose of Institute.

The purpose of the Institute is to provide an educational program for a selected group of union leaders which will increase their understanding of current economic and social changes. Primary emphasis will be placed on how such changes relate to unions. Special attention will be given to race relations as a part of the changing scene in American life. Based on past experience, we believe that such training can make union leaders more effective within their organizations and in their communities. Both of these things, in turn, will contribute toward more effective unions.

Possible Subjects.

The subjects which might be included in an Institute are quite varied. Although any one Institute would focus on only two or three subjects, the topics may be selected from the following suggestions (other topics are quite possible):

Perspectives on the South of 1966

Economic Problems of the South

The Impact of Reapportionment on State Politics

The Civil Rights Movement -- in the Nation and in the State

Case Studies in Southern Union Civil Rights Problems

Understanding the Local Community

The Union's Role in Poverty Programs

Union Administration

Labor Problems

The Civil Rights Law -- What It Says and How It is being Interpreted

Developments in the Field of Civil Rights

Southern Labor History
Changing Southern Voting Patterns
Negro-Union Political Coalitions
Labor's Role in Politics

Alternate Approaches.

Two different approaches as to the selection of subjects for an Institute are offered. In each case thought should be given to which approach better suits the needs of the unions in the area where the conference will be held. The first approach places primary emphasis on civil rights and related matters. It would be understood that the interests of the group were such that they would welcome an opportunity to concentrate on these kinds of problems as they relate to unions and their community. In general, this approach would be used in situations where unions are more advanced in their dealings with such problems and/or where they have accepted that it is important for them to meet race relations problems more directly or to find constructive ways of improving community relations and their relations with Negro organizations.

The second approach would put the main emphasis on general union courses such as union administration, labor problems, or labor's role in politics. Such materials that deal with civil rights would be introduced in the natural context of such courses. In other words, the leaders participating in such a program would find out how these problems relate to their on-going interests as unionists.

Actually, there is a third approach which might well emerge here, and that is some combination of the two outlined above.

An argument that has a good deal of merit is to use the second, or more general, approach. Unions must be

interested in a whole range of problems in the modern world. Many unionists now recognize the relation between broader economic and social issues to collective bargaining. There is no doubt that Southern economic and social problems are affected by racial relations and by new views and actions related to civil rights. Given this kind of situation can local union leaders gain greater understanding of race relations developments by considering them as they relate to other matters of interest to unions? In any case, the approach and particular subjects can be worked out cooperatively between the Labor Program and the sponsoring union group.

Faculty and Staff Assistance.

The Southern Regional Council's Labor Program will assist fully in arranging for an appropriate faculty for the Institute. Staff assistance will also be available for planning and promotion.

The faculty will be drawn from qualified experts from the Council, universities, public agencies, civil rights groups, and the labor movement. Such faculty will be a matter of mutual agreement between the sponsoring group and the Labor Program. The faculty proposed by the Labor Program will, in the main, be persons who understand and accept the labor movement, know the fields in which they are asked to teach, and who are able to teach union leaders.

The Labor Program will cooperate fully with AFL-CIO departments and will work especially closely with the Departments of Civil Rights and Education.

Financing.

In general there will be no charge for the planning and administrative services provided by the Labor Program. In some cases, especially in a first program, very substantial

financial assistance can be given in securing an appropriate faculty. Certain mailing costs, costs of rooms, housing (where required), transportation of delegates (where required), and lost time (if needed) would be born by the sponsoring unions or participating individuals. In general this will mean that programs of high quality and interest can be sponsored at a minimum cost.

Size and Location of Institute.

The Institutes are not intended to reach a large number of persons so much as to reach a selected group of leaders who can profit from a serious education program. In general it would be good to have from twenty to thirty persons attending an Institute. Under special circumstances a smaller or larger group will be considered.

The location of the Institute should conform to the best judgment of the union leadership as to convenience and interest.

It would be possible to have a conference in each of several areas. In this event careful thought should be given to using a different approach appropriate to the particular section of the state.

About the Southern Regional Council's Labor Program.

The Labor Program was established in September, 1965. It is under the direction of Emory F. Via who is on leave from the University of Wisconsin's School for Workers. The program was set up in cooperation with the National Institute of Labor Education in Washington, D. C. Both the NILE and the SRC receive financial support from the AFL-CIO.

An advisory committee to the Labor Program is being established which is composed of the labor-related

members of the SRC Board plus a representative each from the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department and the National Institute of Labor Education. These members are:

Labor-connected SRC Board members:

William Becker, President, Arkansas AFL-CIO

Hank Brown, President, Texas AFL-CIO

Claude Ramsay, President, Mississippi AFL-CIO

Paul Christopher, Director, Region VIII, AFL-CIO

James Youngdahl, Labor Attorney, Little Rock, Arkansas.

National Institute of Labor Education member:

Joseph Mire, Director, NILE.

AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department member:

E. T. Kehrer, Director, Southern Office.

For Further Information Contact:

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone: (404) 522-8764.

File

DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

KENTUCKY STATE AFL-CIO

583-7761 706 EAST BROADWAY LOUISVILLE, KY. 40202

June 28, 1966

Ky Labor School

Memo To: All Faculty Members

From: Henry C. Lake, Director

It is getting very close to that day when our Labor School will commence. I feel that we are going to have a very successful school. The applications are pouring in.

I have made arrangements for all the faculty members to be housed at the nearby Center Motel, 900 South Lime, Lexington, Kentucky. Reservations have been made in each of your names. Upon arriving in Lexington, you can check in at the motel or at the registration center in Haggin Hall. If anyone needs transportation from the airport, please advise and arrangements will be made.

Our Orientation Session will be on Sunday evening at 7:15 P.M., in Donovan Hall, where all the classes will be held.

I am enclosing a map of the University's campus to be used for your convenience. Also enclosed you will find class schedules. The class roster will be given to you at the Orientation Session on Sunday evening.

If there are any questions, please contact me at my office.

Looking forward to seeing you at Labor School.

jb

Enclosures

KENTUCKY STATE AFL-CIO LABOR SCHOOL

JULY 10-15, 1966

ADVANCED CLASS

	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
8:30 – 10:00		Techniques of Effective Leadership – – – – – – – – – – – – Emory Via, Director, Southern Regional Labor School				
10:00 – 10:15		Coffee Break				
10:15 – 11:45		Arbitration Workshop – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – Robert Cregar, Director of Training, American Arbitration Association				
11:45 – 1:15		Lunch				
1:15 – 2:45	1:30 – 4:30 Registration	COPE – Jerry Thompson, COPE Director Kentucky State AFL-CIO		National Legislation – Jackie Kienzel Department of Education, AFL-CIO		1:15 – 3:45 New Factors in Collective Bargaining Herbert Segal, Labor Attorney
2:45 – 3:00		Break				
3:00 – 4:30		The Union and The Community – Harlan Noel, Indiana State AFL-CIO and Charles Clark, Community Services Representative				
4:30 – 7:15		Dinner Hour				
7:15 – 9:15	Greetings and Orientation	Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosures Act, Harry Bovshow, Asst. Reg. Dir. Dept. of Labor	Ky. Dept. of Labor Dr. Carl Cabe Commissioner	Party	Mock Arbitration Robert Cregar American Arbitration Association	6:30 P.M. Graduation Banquet

KENTUCKY STATE AFL-CIO LABOR SCHOOL

JULY 10-15, 1966

LEADERSHIP CLASS

	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
8:30 – 10:00		Organizing Techniques -Jess Gallagher, Regional Director AFL-CIO				
10:00 – 10:15		Coffee Break				
10:15 – 11:45		Arbitration Workshop - - - - - - - - - Robert Cregar, Director of Training, American Arbitration Association				
11:45 – 1:15		Lunch				
1:15 – 2:45		The Union and The Community - - - - - - - - -Harlan Noel, Indiana State AFL-CIO, and Charles Clark, Community Services Representative				1:15–3:45 New Factors in Collective Bargaining, Herbert Segal, Labor Attorney
2:45 – 3:00	1:30–4:30 Registration	Break				
3:00 – 4:00		Labor's Role in the War on Poverty, Jack Sessions, Department of Education, AFL-CIO				
4:00 – 5:00		COPE and Legislative Activities, Wilbur Hobby, Area COPE Director AFL-CIO, and Jerry Thompson, COPE Director, Kentucky State AFL-CIO				
5:00 – 7:15		Dinner Hour				6:30 P.M. Graduation Banquet
7:15 – 9:15	Greetings and Orientation	Labor-Management Reporting & Disclosure Act, Harry Bovshow, Asst. Reg. Dir., U.S. Dept. of Labor	Kentucky Dept. of Labor Dr. Carl Cabe, Commissioner	Party	Mock Arbitration Robert Cregar, American Arbitration Association	

KENTUCKY STATE AFL-CIO LABOR SCHOOL

JULY 10-15, 1966

BASIC I CLASS

	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
8:30 – 10:00		Labor History – – –

KENTUCKY STATE AFL-CIO LABOR SCHOOL

JULY 10-15, 1966

BASIC II CLASS

	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
8:30 – 10:00		COPE Jerry Thompson, COPE Director, Kentucky State AFL-CIO		National Legislation, Jackie Kienzel Department of Education, AFL-CIO		Labor History Jackie Kienzel
10:00 – 10:15		Coffee Break				
10:15 – 11:45		Public Speaking, Sam Ezelle, Executive Secretary, Kentucky State AFL-CIO				
11:45 – 1:15		Lunch				
1:15 – 2:45	1:30 – 4:30 Registration	The Local Union Meeting – Parliamentary Procedure, Dr. Gifford Blyton, University of Kentucky				
2:45 – 3:00		Break				2:45 – 6:30 Free Time
3:00 – 4:30		Labor History, Jackie Kienzel, Department of Education, AFL-CIO				
4:30 – 7:15		Dinner Hour				
7:15 – 9:15	Greetings and Orientation	Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosures Act, Harry Bovshow, Asst. Reg. Dir. Dept. of Labor	Ky. Dept. of Labor Dr. Carl Cabe Commissioner	Party	Mock Arbitration Robert Cregar, American Arbitration Association	6:30 Graduation Banquet

Office	Size
	23.
I ~~IIII~~ Pres.	
~~IIII~~ V. Pres.	
	110 II
III Fin Secty Treas.	
Corresp. & Rec. Secty.	190
	200
II Ex. Bd.	420
	530
	550 II
II Trustee(C)	
I Chief Steward	580
III Committeeman	595
Steward	600 II
	638 ~~IIII~~
	640
	600-700 I
IIII Member (& Committees)	800
	1,300
	~~1,800~~
	2,000
	3,000
	3,000
	4,000
	11,500 II

KENTUCKY STATE AFL-CIO
UNITED WE STAND DIVIDED WE FALL

DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

583-7761 706 EAST BROADWAY LOUISVILLE, KY. 40202

July 21, 1966

Emory Via, Director
Southern Regional Labor School
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

This brief note comes to thank you for all that you did to help make the 1966 Kentucky Labor School a success.

We are all deeply grateful and indebted to you, not only for your help and excellent teaching services, but for your promotion of good fellowship in the group. I truly hope your services will again be available to us for future schools or institutes.

Since returning to the office, I have received numerous letters and telephone calls of congratulations upon having a fine school this year. A great portion of this usccess was due to the very fine work of the faculty.

Again I say thanks for a job well done and a fine contribution to the labor movement in Kentucky.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Henry C. Lake

Henry C. Lake
Director

HCL:jb

July 22, 1966

Mr. Henry C. Lake, Director
Research & Education
Kentucky State AFL-CIO
706 East Broadway
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Dear Henry:

Under separate cover I am sending you a group of materials from the labor education programs of Indiana University, the University of Minnesota, Ohio State University, University of Iowa, University of Michigan-Wayne State University, and the University of Wisconsin. The materials will give you and the University of Kentucky some idea of what labor education programs offer. Unfortunately, in most cases you do not have a complete description of any one program. And you will need to check each material to see just what it is describing. For instance, in some cases it's describing just an extension class in one community, in another case it might be describing a resident program at the University itself, and in still another it may be descriptive of special one-week institutes. Rutgers did not respond to my request for materials so I cannot send you anything from that school. Herb Levine, Labor Education Center, Institute of Management and Labor Relations, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, may be able to send you something about the program there. I do have single copies of some materials from about four other universities which I could share with you if need be. However, I believe the ones that you will receive from me are fairly representative. I am especially sorry that the School for Workers pamphlet (University of Wisconsin) which describes its total program and some of its philosophy is no longer available.

You asked that I send my expenses incurred due to my participation in the Kentucky Labor School to you. They are as follows:

Air fare (Nashville to Lexington; Lexington to Atlanta)	$ 49.72
Ground transportation	11.60
Meals (Extra or in transit)	8.06
Miscellaneous expenses in connection with the School	10.55
TOTAL:	$ 79.93

The honarium which we discussed, $200.00, will be fine.

Let me thank you for a number of acts of courtesy and hospitality which you extended to me during my stay in Lexington. It was good to get to be with you more and to get to know the Kentucky Labor School firsthand.

Please be in touch with me if there is anything further I can do to be of service.

Give my regards to Sam.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

KENTUCKY STATE AFL-CIO
UNITED WE STAND DIVIDED WE FALL

DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

583-7761 706 EAST BROADWAY LOUISVILLE, KY. 40202

August 1, 1966

Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I hope you received our check and again thank you for your participation in our Kentucky Labor School.

I just returned from vacation and don't know which is worse, not taking a vacation or catching up when you return.

I was happy to receive the material on the labor programs from the various schools. As soon as I have a talk with Sam about our educational program, I will again get in touch with you.

Sincerely,

Henry C. Lake

Henry C. Lake
Director

HCL:jb

P.S. I have not yet received a copy of your publication, New South.

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THE ROLE OF LOCAL UNION OFFICERS AT THE UNION MEETING

The Chairman

The chairman of the meeting and the local union president are usually the same person. However, this person's responsibilities as chairman and as president are somewhat different. As local president, it is his duty to provide leadership and to carry out the policy established by the membership. As chairman of the meeting, it is his duty to preside as an impartial moderator. This distinction should be observed by the chairman; if he believes that it is necessary for him to speak on an issue, he should surrender the chair and speak as one of the group.

The chairman's job is to "stimulate and moderate":

- see that the rules are observed;
- keep the meeting moving;
- encourage participation from the floor;
- make sure that members understand what's going on;
- explain his rulings.

The Recording Secretary

The recording secretary is in a position to do much to improve the quality of union meetings:

- keep accurate minutes, taking the necessary time to make sure that motions are recorded properly;
- have available all items of unfinished business, tabled motions, and postponed motions;
- work with the Executive Board in deciding which communications should be read in full, which summarized, and which simply filed;
- read roll call, minutes, and communications clearly;
- present the recommendations of the Executive Board.

(Some organizations mimeograph the minutes and pass them out to the members at the beginning of the meeting)

The Financial Secretary

- keep accurate records of the financial affairs of the local;
- make regular reports;
- explain any unusual aspects of the reports;
- indicate a willingness to answer questions on the report
- some locals make a practice of mimeographing the monthly and/or annual report and passing it out to the membership.

Field

March 11, 1969

Mr. W. M. Barbee
President
North Carolina State AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 10805
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Millard:

Thank you for your invitation to speak to your State AFL-CIO Convention. I would prefer speaking on Friday morning, September 5th.

You can let me know much closer to the convention dates about how long a speech would suit your schedule.

I look forward to the convention and trust that I will have occasion to see you before that time.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

TED B. DAVIS, 2nd Vice President
A. B. DIXON, 3rd Vice President
SAM H. SCOTT, 4th Vice President

JOHN W. JENNINGS, Vice President
W. H. PHILLIPS, Vice President
R. E. BROWN, Vice President

J. HOWARD COLLINS, Vice President
JOHN H. RUSSELL, Vice President
HAROLD D. LONG, Vice President

North Carolina State AFL-CIO

W. M. BARBEE
President

J. R. FRY
1st Vice President

POST OFFICE BOX 10805 RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

PHONE 833-6678

February 25, 1969

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory,

256-2251

The annual convention of the North Carolina State AFL-CIO will be held this year September the 3rd, 4th, and 5th in the Blockade Runner Motor Hotel on Wrightsville Beach, North Carolina. I would consider it a high honor if you would agree to address this convention on either Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday morning.

I sincerely hope and trust that you will accept this invitation, and I will appreciate it greatly if you would give me your preference as to the day which would be more suitable to your schedule.

Looking forward to hearing from you, and sincerely hoping you will accept this invitation, I remain

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Millard

W. M. Barbee
President

WMB/ac

Big (White Hand) The Cottage

July 3, 1969

Mr. W. M. Barbee, President
North Carolina State AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 10805
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Millard:

It is still my plan to be with you for your Annual Convention on Friday morning, September 5, 1969.

Enclosed is some biographical information as you requested. For goodness sakes, don't try to use all of very much of it but pick what you think is appropriate.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure

TED B. DAVIS, 2nd Vice President
A. B. DIXON, 3rd Vice President
SAM H. SCOTT, 4th Vice President

JOHN W. JENNINGS, Vice President
W. H. PHILLIPS, Vice President
R. E. BROWN, Vice President

J. HOWARD COLLINS, Vice President
JOHN H. RUSSELL, Vice President
HAROLD D. LONG, Vice President

North Carolina State AFL-CIO

W. M. BARBEE
President

J. R. FRY
1st Vice President

POST OFFICE BOX 10805 RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

PHONE 833-6678

Kathy
Bring this up please

June 24, 1969

Mr. Emory Vie, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

This is to remind you of my invitation to address the Twelfth Annual Convention of the North Carolina State AFL-CIO on Friday morning, September 5, 1969, at approximately 9:30.

I assure you we are looking forward with a great deal of pleasure to hearing you address our convention.

With best personal wishes, I remain

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Millard

W. M. Barbee, President

WMB:dd
opeiu 84 afl-cio

P. S. Please send me a biographical sketch to use as an introduction.

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Kathy Martin

Pullen Cottage
Blockade Runner
Motor Motel

Wrightsvill Beach
N C.

file

9-5-69

N.C. AFL-CIO Mtg.
E ✓ attended

Thought you could use this.

George

GEORGE T. GUERNSEY
Assistant Director
Department of Education

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
NATIONAL 8-3870

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

AFL-CIO

Southern Labor School — Advanced

DELEGATES

ADVANCED SOUTHERN LABOR SCHOOL
Galveston, Texas

November 17 - 22

William E. Allen
Florida State AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 7097
Tampa, Florida 33603

W. M. Barbee
North Carolina State AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 10805
Raleigh, North Carolina

J. M. Beasley
International Brotherhood of
Electrical Workers
1516 Gould Avenue
Ft. Worth, Texas 76106

J. Bill Becker, President
Arkansas State AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsamen Road
Little Rock, Arkansas

Charles F. Campau
United Brotherhood of Carpenters
and Joiners
3504 South Main
Ft. Worth, Texas 76110

William Clitheroe
International Association of Machinists
2736 Winburn Terrace
East Point, Georgia 30344

Hubert C. Cranford
Service Employees International Union
4556 Conner Road
Columbus, Georgia 31906

Floyd Criss, Jr.
Galveston County AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 1429
Texas City, Texas

Ben G. Dolan
International Union of Electrical,
Radio and Machine Workers
6434 Maple
Dallas, Texas 75235

W. Patrick Flack
International Ladies' Garment Workers'
Union
457 Plaster Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

A. G. Goodson, President
Galveston County AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 1429
Texas City, Texas

Harvey Hamilton
Hot Springs Central Body - AFL-CIO
1123 Edgehill Drive
Benton, Arkansas 72015

Joe R. Harmes
Brewery Workers
2422 W. Magnolia
San Antonio, Texas 78228

Art Hallgren
Florida State AFL-CIO
1400 36th St., N. W., Room 206
Miami, Florida

Don Horn
Harris County Central Body
4349 N. MacGregor
Houston, Texas 77004

John S. Hinson
Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union
Route 2, Box 303
Dade City, Florida

David L. Jacobs
Central Body
1903 Fremont Street
Laredo, Texas 78046

Jerald Jacobs
Arkansas State AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsamen Park Road
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202

Tommy S. Gibson, Sr.
United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners
168 Chippendale Dr.
Hendersonville, Tennessee

George T. Johnson
Jackson Central Labor Council
139 N. Alabama Ave.
Jackson, Mississippi

Amey Hollowell
North Delta Central Labor Council
Route 1
Water Valley, Mississippi 38965

E. T. Kirkland
South Carolina State Labor Council
119 S. Parker St.
Columbia, Sorth Carolina 29201

Thomas Knight
Mississippi State AFL-CIO
133 S. Lamar
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

Walter Leste
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
457 Plaster Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

General C. Lusk
Laborers' International Union
7727 Hirsch Rd.
Houston, Texas 77016

Matthew Lynch
Tennessee State Labor Council
226 Capitol Blvd.
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Lucy Manning
South Carolina COPE
114-A Rowan Drive
North Charleston, South Carolina 29406

Charles C. Mathias
United Steelworkers of America
1776 Peachtree St.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Henry Muñoz, Jr.
Texas State AFL-CIO
Box M.M., Capitol Station
Austin, Texas 78711

David L. Nible
Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers
2306 Broadway
Houston, Texas 77012

William E. Mintz
Alabama State AFL-CIO
1018 South 18th St.
Birmingham, Alabama 35205

Raymond B. Oliver
Fire Fighters
192 Shouthfield
Shreveport, Louisiana 71105

Claude Ramsay
Mississippi State AFL-CIO
133 S. Lamar St.
Jackson, Mississippi

Margaret Robbins
Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union
1712 7th Ave., North
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

W. T. Ross
Memphis AFL-CIO Labor Council
136½ S. Second St.
Memphis, Tennessee 38103

H. D. Webb
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
3804 Woodcrest Drive, N.W.
Cleveland, Tennessee 37311

Albert W. Sanders
Operating Engineers
P.O. Box 765
Magnolia, Arkansas 71753

E. T. Stephenson
Dade County Central Body
244 Biscayne Blvd.
Miami, Florida

H. G. Tate
Texas State AFL-CIO
Box M.M., Capitol Station
Austin, Texas 78711

A. G. Trammell
Alabama State AFL-CIO
1018 South 18th St.
Birmingham, Alabama 35216

Vern H. Ussery
International Woodworkers
2041 S. 70th St.
Ft. Smith, Arkansas 72901

Gale E. VanHoy
Laborers' International Union
2702 Crocker
Houston, Texas 77006

Barney Weeks, President
Alabama State AFL-CIO
1018 S. 18th St.
Birmingham, Alabama 35205

Arthur M. White
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere St.
Richmond, Virginia

James W. Witcher
International Association of Machinists
421 W. Eubanks
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73118

STAFF

Mr. J. Bill Becker, President
Arkansas State AFL-CIO
1408 Rebsamen Park Road
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202

Mr. Edgar Berlin
Labor Liaison
OEO Regional Office
Austin, Texas

Mr. H. S. Hank Brown, President
Texas State AFL-CIO
308 W. 11th St.
Box M. M., Capitol Station
Austin, Texas 78711

Mr. William Clitheroe
Education Director, IAM
120 Marietta St., N.W., Room 504
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Don Ellinger
International Association of
Machinists
Machinists Building
1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Mr. Roy R. Evans
Secretary-Treasurer
Texas State AFL-CIO
308 W. 11th St.
Box M.M., Capitol Station
Austin, Texas 78711

Mr. Marvin Friedman
Asst. Director
AFL-CIO Department of Research
815 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mr. Tommy S. Gibson, Sr.
United Brotherhood of Carpenters &
Joiners
168 Chippendale Drive
Hendersonville, Tennessee

Mrs. Delores Huerto
Vice President
United Farm Workers Organizing Committee
182 21st St.
Brooklyn, New York

Mr. E. T. Kehrer
Southern Director
AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights
40 Marietta Street, N.W., Suite 1422
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Jesse Lester
Labor Liaison
OEO - Southeast Region
101 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Robert McGlotten
AFl-CIO Civil Rights Department
815 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mr. Daniel A. Powell
AFL-CIO COPE Area Director
5298 Revere Road
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Edward Stanfield
c/o Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Professor Earl Williams
Department of Economics & Finance
College of Business Administration
University of Houston
Cullen Boulevard
Houston, Texas 77004

Mr. Walter Davis, Director
AFL-CIO Department of Education
815 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Asst. Director
AFL-CIO Department of Education
815 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mr. Chuck E. Bremmer
Senior Field Representative
Workers Defense League
10608 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Mr. Ernest Green
Joint Apprenticeship Program
Workers Defense League
1520 Bushwick Ave.
Brooklyn, New York 11207

Honorable Ralph W. Yarborough
United States Senate
Committee on Post Office & Civil Service
Washington, D. C. 20510

Barbara Jordan
The Senate of The State of Texas
5303 Lyons Avenue
Houston, Texas 77020

Nicholas Chriss
Los Angeles Times
512 Travis Street
Houston, Texas 77002

TEXAS AFL-CIO

Box MM, Capitol Station 308 W. 11th Austin, Texas 78711 GR 7-6195 GR 2-0600

December 5, 1968

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Secretary-Treasurer

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814 Montrose Dr., Pt. Neches

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P. O. Box 18242, Houston

DON HORN
2704 Sutherland, Houston

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5033 Briscoe, Houston

MAXINE LEE
3033 Fannin, Houston, Rm. 105

T. B. (TOMMY) CROW
P. O. Box 611, Freeport

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765 Sheridan Dr., Corpus Christi

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4131 Willard Dr., San Antonio

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Apt. 1117, 3883 Turtle Creek Blvd., Dallas

DAN HOLLON
1727 Young St., Dallas

J. W. SIFFORD
532 Norwood, Hurst

T. J. (TOMMY) HAMMER
601 Pennsylvania, Ft. Worth

J. W. JACKSON
705 Travis, Wichita Falls

E. F. (BLONDIE) JERGINS
5701 Wellington Dr., Austin

FRED CRADDOCK
1108B South Virginia, Amarillo

KENNETH HOWELL
P. O. Box 1590, Big Spring

J. D. GIVENS
P. O. Box 561, El Paso

LUIS VAN LEAR
1045 E. Levee, Brownsville

JAMES (JIM) SHARP
2009 Avenue K, Lubbock

S. H. LATIMER
116 Cedar Elm Rd., Weatherford

D. L. (DALLY) WILLIS
1406 S. Terrell, Midland

T. E. (ED) CONERLY
2490 S. 11th, Beaumont

HERMAN WHATLEY
1717 Butternut, Abilene

ELTON SCHROEDER
231 Center, San Antonio

FRANK PARKER
P. O. Box 1590, Big Spring

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SPECIAL STAFF

JOHN ROGERS
JOHNNIE HENDERSON
ANDRES SANDOVAL

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

We are pleased that you were able to rearrange your schedule so that you can participate in our Labor Law Institute and Women's Training Conference. There should be about 60 folks in attendance.

You are scheduled to be on the program the following date and time:

Tuesday, Feb. 25, 1969 - 9:00-10:30 a.m. _ TRUTH ABOUT WELFARE
10:45-12:15 - TRUTH ABOUT WELFARE

I would suggest you make flight plans to fly into Austin. We will have someone take you to the Holiday Hills Corral Resort, which is some 40 miles west of Austin. Please advise this office of your flight plans.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely,

H. G. Tate
Education Director

HGT:sc
opeiu 298
afl-cio

Announcing...

2 Big BIG Weeks in February

First Week

February 1-7, 1969 THIRD YOUNG TRADE UNIONIST CONFERENCE

WHO . . . Apprentices of the Building Trades and Industrial Union members 30 years of age and under . . .

WHAT . . . Trade Union Administration. . . Labor History . . . Basic Economics . . . Political Action . . . Public Speaking . . . Parliamentary Procedure

Top flight instructors from Universities, National and Texas AFL-CIO, Government agencies and Labor law firms . . .

Second Week

February 22-28, 1969 JOINT LABOR LAW INSTITUTE AND WOMENS TRAINING CONFERENCE

Courses for Labor Law Institute . . .

- NLRB Procedures
- Landrum-Griffin
- Texas Labor Law
- Workmen's Compensation
- Davis-Bacon
- Grievances & Arbitration
- Unemployment Compensation

Courses For Women's Training Conference . . .

- Consumer Education
- Community Action
- Political Activity

Joint Sessions Will Be Held Covering . . .

- Labor History
- Wage-Hours, Walsh-Healey
- Public Contracts
- AFL-CIO Internal affairs

How Much? Room, Board and tuition is $90.00. For husband or wife non-student, $65.00

Where? Holiday Hills Corral Resort, Wimberly, Texas. About 40 miles west of Austin, 15 miles north of San Marcos.

Registration: Begins at 2:00 p.m. on Saturday afternoon, Feb. 1st and 22nd.

Additional information can be obtained by writing:

Education Department
Texas AFL-CIO
Box MM, Capitol Station
Austin, Texas 78711

Work Folder Texas AFL-CIO Conference 2/22-28/69

LABOR LAW INSTITUTE
FEBRUARY 22-28, 1969

SAT. FEB. 22	SUN. FEB. 23	MON. FEB. 24	TUES. FEB. 25	WED. FEB. 26	THURS. FEB. 27	FRI. FEB. 28
	9:00-10:30 UNION UNFAIR PRACTICES Jim Watson	9:00-10:30 STATE LAW S. Clinton	*9:00-10:30 TRUTH ABOUT WELFARE Emory Via	9:00-10:30 ARBITRATION Floyd Brandt	9:00-10:30 ARBITRATION Floyd Brandt	9:00-10:30 UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION Bill Stockton
	10:30 - 10:45		BREAK			
	10:45-12:15 EMPLOYER UNFAIR PRACTICES Jim Watson	10:45-12:15 LANDRUM-GRIFFIN Nat D. Wells	*10:45-12:15 TRUTH ABOUT WELFARE Emory Via	10:45-12:15 ARBITRATION Floyd Brandt	10:45-12:15 ARBITRATION Floyd Brandt	*10:45-12:15 AFL-CIO INTERNAL AFFAIRS Hank Brown
	12:15 - 1:15		LUNCH			
2:00-6:00 REGISTRATION	2:00- 3:30 EMPLOYER UNFAIR PRACTICES Jim Watson	2:00- 3:30 LANDRUM-GRIFFIN Nat D. Wells	FREE TIME	2:00- 3:30 WAGE, HOUR & PUBLIC CONTRACTS R. B. Snyder	2:00- 3:30 WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION R. Evans T. Korioth S. Barton	
	3:30- 3:45 BREAK			3:30- 3:45 BREAK		
	3:45- 5:15 REPRESENTATION PROCEDURES S. Clinton	3:45- 5:15 STATE LAW S. Clinton		3:45- 5:15 DAVIS-BACON Jim White	3:45- 5:15 WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION R. Evans T. Korioth S. Barton	
	6:00 - 7:00		DINNER			
7:30 ORIENTATION MOVIE: "THE INHERITANCE"		7:30 MOVIE: "HUNGER IN AMERICA"			7:30 MOVIE: "COPPER STRIKE"	

* JOINT SESSIONS

opeiu 298
afl-cio

bold

March 4, 1969

file →

Mr. Harold Tate
Texas State AFL-CIO
308 W. 11th Street, Box MM
Capitol Station
Austin, Texas 78711

Dear Harold:

I enjoyed the opportunity to have a session with the combined Labor Law and WAD Institutes. I trust we accomplished what you had hoped for and that the rest of the Institute went well.

Enclosed is the ticket stub for my air travel which comes to $126.00. There were also $13.75 of ground transportation expenses. If it is possible for you to conveniently pick up this amount also it will be appreciated.

Unless for some reason you need to make the check payable to me personally, I would like for it to be made out to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Rec'd payment 3/12/69 ICM

126
13.75
139.75

Look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure - 1

TEXAS AFL-CIO

Box MM, Capitol Station 308 W. 11th Austin, Texas 78711 GR 7-6195 GR 2-0600

March 10, 1969

OFFICERS
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President
ROY R. EVANS
Secretary-Treasurer

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J. W. (BILL) RICKS
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P. O. Box 18242, Houston
DON HORN
2704 Sutherland, Houston
L. C. McDANIELS
5033 Briscoe, Houston
MAXINE LEE
3033 Fannin, Houston, Rm. 105
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Apt. 1117, 3883 Turtle Creek Blvd., Dallas
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1727 Young St., Dallas
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532 Norwood, Hurst
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601 Pennsylvania, Ft. Worth
J. W. JACKSON
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1045 E. Levee, Brownsville
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2009 Avenue K, Lubbock
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D. L. (DALLY) WILLIS
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JOHNNIE HENDERSON
ANDRES SANDOVAL

Mr. Emory Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

You did indeed present the topic just as I hoped you would. There were many favorable comments -- no doubt the majority now view the problems of welfare from an entirely different slant.

We are grateful for your contribution, not only for the fine manner in which you presented the subject, but also for taking time from a busy schedule to come to Texas.

If we can ever be of service to you or your organization, please let us know.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely,

H. G. Tate
Education Director

HGT:sc
opeiu 298
afl-cio

check for 139 75
rec'd 3/12/69 (air travel, etc.)
K.M.

Build Texas—Go Union

Va - State AFL-CIO

April 19, 1966

Mr. Harold B. Boyd, President
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Dear Hal:

It was very good seeing you over last week end. I enjoyed very much being with the group and the program seemed to go quite well.

A statement of my expenses is enclosed. Please make the check payable to the Southern Regional Council.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

Emory F. Via

Expenses incurred by participation in Virginia State AFL-CIO Education Conference, Norfolk, Virginia, April 16-17, 1966

Hotel	$ 25.12
Meals	3.55
Air travel	78.44
Taxis and ground transportation	8.00
Tips and incidentals	2.00
	$ 117.11

Please make check payable to theSSouthern Regional Council.

May 4, 1967

Mr. Julian F. Carper,
Acting President
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 North Belvidere St.
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Dear Julian:

Let me bother you once again regarding the Minimum Wage Kits. Your count showed that you were short 57 kits. The one question that remains is whether or not you received all four cartons in our last shipment.(April 20).

If you have received all four cartons we will ship you the missing 57 kits. However, if you only received three cartons we would like to continue checking with REA regarding the shipment.

I am sorry for this difficulty and appreciate your cooperation in attempting to settle it. It was indeed good to get to see you and hear you at the recent conference in Virginia.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

August 8, 1969

Mr. James W. Robinson
Coordinator
Labor Education Program
College of Business
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

Dear Mr. Robinson:

The enclosed letter to Mr. Earl W. Davis was sent to me by mistake. I have noted the information and plan to attend the meeting.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure

Copy for EV

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS
BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA 24061

LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM
552-6589 (AREA CODE 703)

August 1, 1969

Mr. Earl W. Davis, Asst. Director
Minorities Division, AFL-CIO
419 West Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Dear Mr. Davis:

I am delighted to learn that you have agreed to serve on the Labor Education Advisory Subcommittee for Virginia Tech. The first meeting of the group will be on Monday, September 15, 1969 at 10:30 a.m. in the Board Room of the Donaldson Brown Center for Continuing Education. A luncheon will be served also.

A copy of the agenda will be mailed to you later this month. If you have any suggestions for agenda items, please let me know. If you wish to come to Blacksburg on the night of September 14, we will be glad to reserve accomodations for you at the Center. If you are flying to Roanoke or Pulaski, we will try to have someone at the airport to drive you to Blacksburg.

We look forward to seeing you and to obtaining your insights on the future of our program.

Sincerely and
fraternally,

James W. Robinson

James W. Robinson
Coordinator

JWR:klf

CC: H. H. Mitchell
M. C. Heckel
J. D. Richardson

NEWS HI-LITES

(Vea)

Recd 9-29-69

AUGUST VIRGINIA STATE AFL-CIO 1969

HOWELL WINS RIGHT TO RUN-OFF

MAKES STRONG SHOWING

CARRIES SIX OUT OF TEN DISTRICTS

State Senator Henry Howell made a "surprising show of strength" in the July 15th, Democratic Primary. Coming within less than 5,000 votes of defeating Charlottesville Attorney William Battle, Howell earned the right to call for a run-off primary election.

The politicians and newspaper reporters had predicted that Battle would receive almost 50% of the vote. This simply was not the case. On election day the moderate was only able to poll 38% of the vote, while Senator Howell polled 37%.

It is significant to note that Henry Howell carried six out of ten congressional districts and almost every urban area of the state. Howell also carried the rural 4th District, which is the home of both Governor Godwin and Congressman Watkins Abbitt.

Battle's only real strength lies in the western portion of the state where he has been able to pick up all of the old "Byrd" voters. Battle is now considered the leader of the "moderate wing" of the Byrd Machine. The voters in every major metropolitan area of the state made it clear that they are tired of the Byrd Machine brand of politics in Virginia. They want to keep the big boys honest.

During the first primary, Senator Howell conducted a positive campaign. He asked for the votes of the people of Virginia based on his record of service. His theme, "Keep the big boys honest!", had a special meaning to the thousands of voters who turned out for him. They know that Henry Howell had been working for the "little people" long before he decided to run for governor. They knew that, unlike Bill Battle, Henry Howell was interested in the consumer prior to the election year of 1969. They knew that it was Henry Howell who fought the poll tax...and won; fought the insurance companies...and won; fought the large utility companies...and forced them to lower their rates. It was Henry Howell who fought for one man-one vote. It was Henry Howell who sued two governors of Virginia...and won for the people, eleven million dollars annually for education. Henry Howell has had the courage to speak out for the average man when others were silent.

Senator Howell has promised that when he becomes governor he will eliminate the tax on food and patent medicines. This unfair tax, which was levied by the Godwin Administration, is a burden on the poor people in our state and it is unnecessary.

On the other hand, we have Bill Battle, of Charlottesville. His theme is "the sensible choice." Mr. Battle has never been elected to public office. He had never served his city or his state in any official capacity. However, his father was governor 20 years ago...and was also a strong supporter of the Byrd Machine. Mr. Battle is a lawyer who represents the "big boys," including VEPCO. He has the support of big business and the Byrd Machine, including Mills Godwin.

It is obvious to just about everyone that a deal has been made between Battle and the "big boys". Battle says that it is not "sensible" to eliminate the tax on food and medicine....and yet most other states manage very well without this unfair tax. Indeed, the only people who find Battle "the sensible choice" are the "big boys."

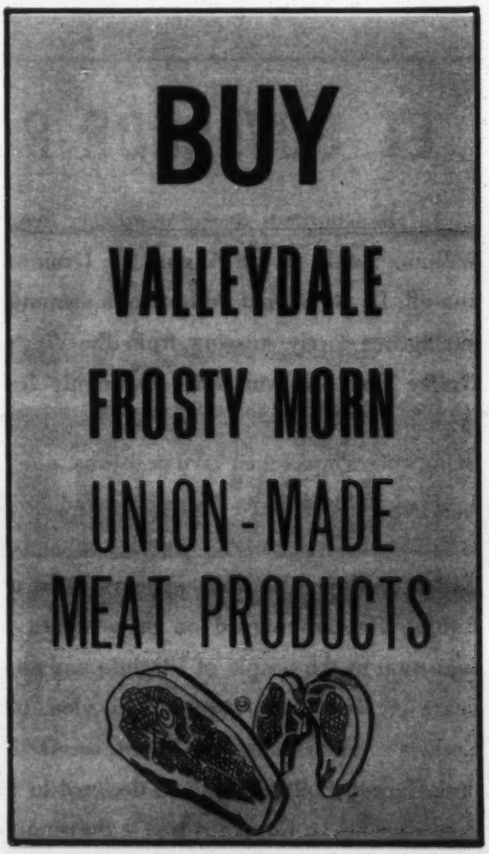
Now that Henry Howell has proven that he has strenght throughout Virginia, it will be easier to get the votes of those who were for him, but didn't vote because they thought Howell didn't have a chance. On July 15th, the people made it clear that Henry Howell is their choice. And on August 19th, they will return to the polls in overwhelming numbers to insure that Henry will be the Democratic nominee for Governor of Virginia.

MEAT CUTTERS WIN VICTORY

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO, have won in their strike against the Lorenz Neuhoff Company. The Don't Buy campaign on Frosty Morn and Valleydale meat products is over.

In a letter to all state branches, the President of the Meat Cutters stated that the agreement calls for the return of the strikers, the checkoff of union dues, very substantial increases in pay, and the other usual benefits that union contracts provide.

The "Don't Buy" campaign has been lifted completely and there is no further antagonism against the Neuhoff Company.



THE LABOR ENDORSEMENT

an editorial

The Virginia State AFL-CIO's Program of Progress was on the line in the July 15th Democratic Primary. In past years in Virginia, the politicians have contended that the labor vote in our state was not very significant. As one politician put it, "In Virginia, the endorsement of organized labor is the kiss of death.....". And so it was ...before the Program of Progress. But things have changed!! There are now COPE offices in every district in Virginia. With the help of finances made available through the Program of Progress the COPE organizations are just beginning to realize the rewards for all their tireless efforts.

Working together, the affiliates of the Virginia State AFL-CIO have organized a sizable political force which in future elections will "have to be reconed with." Never before have the Committees on Political Education worked harder than in the July 15th Democratic Primary.

And to those who would still doubt the political strength of organized labor in this state in 1969, let them look again at the July 15th election returns!! It shocked the "big boys" when Henry Howell carried the cities of Lynchburg, Newport News and Covington. It astonished all the political pros when Howell did so well in Chesterfield County..and carried small towns such as Front Royal, Franklin, and Salem.

If the "big boys" want another shock, let them check the rolls of organized labor in these areas carried by Henry Howell.

The paperworkers in Covington and Franklin; the tobacco workers in Petersburg, Chesterfield, andRichmond; the textile workers in Front Royal, Lynchburg, and Fredericksburg; the steelworkers and building trades in Roanoke and Salem; the retail clerks, the meatcutters; the communication workers, the machinists, the engineers, the clothing workers, the rubberworkers, the maritime unions, the goverment employees...all are to be congratulated for a job well done.

LT. GOVERNOR POLLARD WILL NOT ENDORSE BATTLE

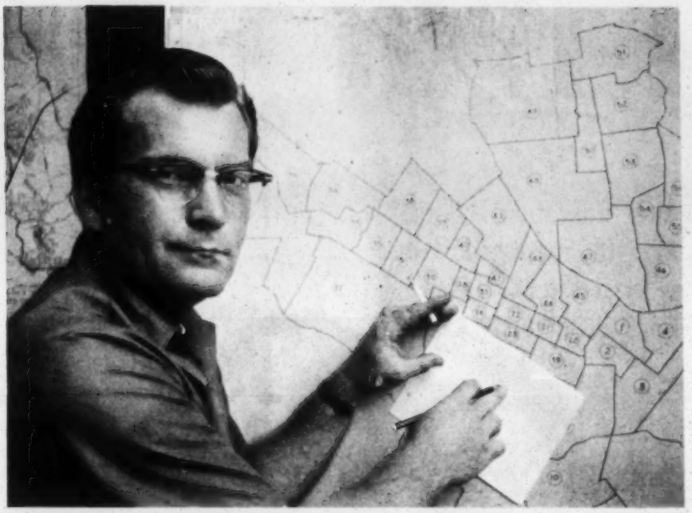
In choosing not to endorse either Sen. Henry Howell or William Battle in the August 19 Democratic gubernatorial run-off, Lt. Gov. Fred Pollard has demonstrated a degree of intelligence sorely missing from the Virginia political scene. Unlike Gov. Godwin, who apparently feels that Virginians must be told whom to vote for, Fred Pollard has chosen to let the voters make their own decisions.

Fred Pollard is to be commended for having waged an honest and above-board campaign (as opposed to the dubious tactics employed in what appears to be a game of spin-the-Battle). He campaigned on those issues which he felt to be important to the people of Virginia and on a record of many years of service to Virginia. In view of these facts, Gov Godwin's endorsement of Battle seems to come as a slap-in-the-face to Pollard. Godwin declined to endorse any candidate while his Lt. Governor was in the running, but as soon as Fred Pollard was eliminated from the race, Godwin endorsed Bill Battle.

Sen. Howell has expressed his approval of Pollard's position of neutrality in the upcoming run-off. Fred Pollard has clearly indicated that he wants no part of machine politics or political "deals" that are designed to manipulate public opinion and voters' attitudes. Henry Howell, in praising Pollard for assuming this position, also leveled an attack against machine politics and expressed his desire to see the voters of Virginia make their voices heard.

It is virtually impossible to say whether the majority of Fred Pollard's 95,000 primary votes will go to Henry Howell or William Battle. It does seem likely, however, that those Pollard supporters who are concerned about integrity in government and believe that government must be responsive to the people will support the candidacy of Sen. Howell.

Campaign Scenes...



WILLIE M. "BILL' ZAHN. LOCAL 666, I.B.E.W. AFL-CIO. CHECKS AREA PRECINCT MAP.

BETTY BELVIN. LOCAL 2201 C.W.A. AFL-CIO. WORKING IN HOWELL HDQTRS.

W. E. FRANKLIN, SEC.-TREAS. of B. M. P. I. U. of A. PRESENTS CONTRIBUTION TO CHARLES THOMPSON OF THE HOWELL STAFF.

1

GET

ONE

IF EACH MEMBER WHO VOTED ON JULY 15th GETS ONE PERSON TO GO TO THE POLLS WITH HIM ON AUGUST 19th . . . . HENRY WILL WIN . . . . !!!!!

western union **Telegram**

417P EDT JUL 16 69 CTB292

CT NFY046 NFZ1 NFZ1 AL PDB NORFOLK VIR 16 NFT

THE WORKING PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA HAVE HELPED TO BRING THE POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION TO OUR STATE. YOUR CANDIDATE AND HIS FAMILY THANK YOU AND YOUR FRIENDS. WE ARE OFF AND RUNNING FOR THE GOAL LINE. YOUR FRIEND AND CANDIDATE,
HENRY

VOTE AUGUST 19th

HOWELL

The AFL—CIO Committee on Political Education and the Convention of the Virginia State AFL—CIO have endorsed the candidates listed below because these candidates have supported labor's views on the major issues in the campaign.

MILLER

FOR GOVERNOR

☒ HENRY HOWELL

FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL

☒ ANDREW P. MILLER

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

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NEWS HI-LITES

PROGRAM OF PROGRESS
DOLLARS AT WORK

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RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 23220

JULIAN F. CARPER, President
BREWSTER SNOW, Secretary-Treasurer

Phone: (703) 644-2996

SPECIAL NOTICE !! !!

As of October 14, 1969, our new location will be:

3315 West Broad Street
Richmond, Virginia 23230

10-6-69.s

Please note: A new telephone number will be on our letterhead on future communications!

OPEIU 334, AFL-CIO

on rolladat
10-6-69
Km

February 23, 1970

Mr. Brewster Snow
Secretary-Treasurer
Virginia State AFL-CIO
3315 W. Broad Street
Richmond, Virginia 23230

Dear Brewster:

Have you or Julian heard anything from VPI. No word has come to me as yet. Do you think we should give them a nudge?

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/km

Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Chartered by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

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BREWSTER SNOW, Secretary-Treasurer

Phone: (703) 355-7444

September 17, 1970

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE LABOR EDUCATION ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Fraternal Greetings:

A meeting of the Committee will be held at the Continuing Education Center, Blacksburg, Virginia, beginning at 9:30 a.m., on Friday, October 9. I hope that every member will find it possible to attend.

It is my intention to have Jerry Robinson, the new director of the labor education program for VPI, present for our morning session. At 1:30 p.m., we will meet with Dean Mitchell, who has assumed supervision over the labor education projects formerly supervised by J. D. Richardson.

If further details are necessary, please let me know.

Fraternally,

Brewster

Brewster Snow, Chairman
Labor Education Advisory Committee

BS:rp
OPEIU 334, AFL-CIO

Statement developed by a group of union-university
labor educators at a joint meeting of the
AFL-CIO Education Directors and the
University Labor Education Association
Rutgers University
April 30, 1962

EFFECTIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES AND UNIONS IN LABOR EDUCATION

I. Premises:

Universities can, and should, render genuine educational services to organized labor groups, just as they have been rendering such services for many years to business, farmers and other functional groups in our society. These services are provided in undergraduate and graduate schools of businesses; in agricultural colleges and a vast program of agricultural extension; in professional schools of various kinds, and through specialized training in a variety of fields.

University-labor cooperation in the field of education must take place in a climate of mutual respect and confidence. It must be predicated upon a sincere acceptance by the university of the broad goals of unionism and the processes of collective bargaining as a vital and integral part of a democratic society.

Further, it requires of universities an acceptance of the principles and methods of workers education and of its institutional channels within the unions. And it requires of unions a recognition of the need of universities to maintain objectivity, intellectual integrity, and standards of teaching.

II. Scope:

The purpose of labor education is to better equip union leaders, potential leaders and interested members as trade unionists and citizens. Education can

provide training in specific skills and background knowledge which will be useful in the operation of the union, and in the relationship between unions and the rest of society.

It is doubtful that any practical line can be drawn at this time between the appropriate spheres for university labor education programs and those conducted directly by the unions. There are a few training goals clearly outside the province of university labor education, such as the building of loyalty to a specific union or the implementation of a specific political action program. On the other hand there are some subject matter areas clearly appropriate for university workers education, such as broad general education, teacher and leadership training, learning which has to do with the growth and development of individuals rather than organizations, and experimental efforts in techniques, materials and new subject matter.

The specific program of any university will depend on the needs of the unions as expressed in the cooperative relationships described below, and on the specific interests and compentences of the university. In general, universities should not attempt to do what unions can and ought to do for themselves. The most creative relationships are between strong union-supported education programs and equally strong programs of universities. University participation in labor education should enhance and elevate the overall program, but not substitute for the work of the unions themselves. When the university works with unions which have not developed their own programs, a major objective of the university should be to encourage this development.

III. Administration:

The labor education program should have an identity of its own within the university. This is necessary even when the program is located within an industrial relations center or as part of an extension division. It does require

specialized staff familiar with the problems of labor education and willing to accept a cooperative relationship between the union and the university. This staff should be knowledgeable about trade unionism and its problems, experienced in all pahses of adult education for workers and able to administer and conduct a varied program with competence and imagination. Both the program and the staff should have recognition within the university because of the importance of the work, and not as a by-product of other accomplishments, such as research or publication.

Participation in workers education classes is almost invariably voluntary. Therefore, a university program, as a matter of policy and in order to be effective, must involve unions and workers closely in its planning and conduct. This cooperative relationship should apply to the specific activities, but more important, to the over-all program. This last can be best assured through the establishment of an advisory committee to the labor education program. The following guideposts for the operation of such a committee are suggested.

The committee should include representatives of the university and of labor unions. (When the labor education program is part of a joint labor-management institute or department of the university, there is often a committee including management, unions and the public advising on the total program. In such instances there should be a separate committee advising on the labor education program, made up of union and university representatives.) The committee should be large enough to be representative, but not so large as to be unwieldy. Selection of the labor representatives should be the result of a consultative process between the university and the representative body of the labor movement in the area being served. In the case of state universities the state central body is the logical channel for the cooperative effort. Universities serving only a local area might deal with local central bodies in the area being served; those universities with a national concern should keep this in mind in the

establishment of their committees. A number of universities have found a successful procedure in selection of labor members of advisory committees to consist of nomination by the responsible central labor body and appointment by the university. The union representatives should include a combination of responsible union officials, representatives of international unions with sizeable membership in the area, and union education professionals from the area if such are available. There should also be some representation on the committee of union educators with national experience so as to encourage the sharing of experiences throughout the country.

Both the union and university representatives on the advisory committee have the responsibility for the success of the program. This is best accomplished when a creative relationship is established, bound together by a common concern. In this way the committee can be more than a watch-dog for the labor movement or a promotional agency for the university. Some specific functions of the committee follow:

1. Interpretation to the university of the educational needs of the labor movement. This includes the types of programs, the teachers and the materials to make the programs effective, and the geographical areas for activity. This should include the administrative relationships between the university and the unions, and problems of cost.

2. Serving as an opportunity for the review of university proposals. In the operation of the program it is expected that ideas will come from both sides. The joint meetings will encourage this, and serve to test them.

3. Interpretation of the university program within the labor movement, including the promotion of university labor education activities.

4. Helping to interpret the program in the community so that there is public understanding of the role of the university in labor education.

5. Building support for the program within the university, including adequate financing.

6. Providing an opportunity for interchange of ideas which will lead not only to experiments in education, but also to research opportunities of mutual concern.

IV. Costs:

University labor education programs are sufficiently important that university funds should be available for their support. This support should include administrative expenses and at least part of instructional costs. Public funds or endowments provide the bulk of the funds for college and university education. There is no reason why they should not meet an equivalent share of the cost of labor education activity.

A SUMMARY AND EVALUATION OF THE

1968 UPPER SOUTH CONFERENCE

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA,
AFL-CIO,CLC

PREPARED BY THE LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM
VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

---

28 COMMERCE HALL
BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA

UPPER SOUTH CONFERENCE

ROANOKE, VIRGINIA — SEPTEMBER 6-8, 1968

Sponsored by the TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO, in cooperation with the Labor Education Program of VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6

P.M.

7:00 REGISTRATION & INFORMAL RECEPTION

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7

A.M.

9:00 ORIENTATION SESSION

Presiding: Wayne L. Dernoncourt - Upper South Director, TWUA

10:00 WORKSHOPS

GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE

James Robinson - Labpr Education Program, Virginia Tech

ARBITRATION

Steve Remsen - Education Director, TWUA

WORK ASSIGNMENTS

John Weiser - Research Department, TWUA

INTERNAL & EXTERNAL ORGANIZING

Wayne Dernoncourt & Paul Swaity,- Organizing Director, TWUA

LABOR HISTORY

Roger Walker - College of Business, Virginia Tech

NOON LUNCHEON

P.M.

1-5:00 WORKSHOP SESSIONS (continued)

6:00 RECEPTION

7:00 BANQUET

Speaker: Saul Soulstetin - TWUA General Secretary-Treasurer

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

A.M.

9:00 ELECTION YEAR 1968 & COPE

William DuChessi - TWUA Legislative Director

11:00 EVALUATION AND DISCUSSION OF CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION

An evaluation form for the Upper South Conference was prepared by by the Virginia Polytechnic Institute Labor Education Program for completion by conference delegates. Delegates were asked to complete it during the morning session on September 8. The results represent just over a 50 percent sample because some delegates had to leave early in order to return to their homes some distance from Roanoke.

GENERAL

1. Physical arrangements (rooms, seating, etc.) for this conference could be described best as:

   EXCELLENT 32 SATISFACTORY 19 POOR 1

2. Will the subjects discussed in this conference be useful to you and to your local union?

   YES 50 NO 0

WORKSHOP SESSIONS

1. The instructors in the workshops were:

   WELL PREPARED IN THEIR SUBJECTS 43

   FAIRLY WELL PREPARED 4

   COULD HAVE BEEN BETTER PREPARED 1

2. The materials distributed in the workshop sessions were:

   USEFUL AND GOOD FOR FUTURE REFERENCE 48

   INDIRECTLY USEFUL FOR THE TOPIC 2

   OF LITTLE VALUE 0

3. Was sufficient opportunity for discussion provided?

   YES 49 NO 0

4. The workshop discussion can be described best as:

HELPFUL IN UNDERSTANDING THE TOPIC	46
SOMETIMES USEFUL	6
OF LITTLE VALUE	0

INSTRUCTORS

Each delegate was asked to rate the instructors in the three workshop sessions that he attended. The totals for each instructor differ because of varying numbers of students in each workshop.

INSTRUCTOR (TOPIC)	EXCELLENT	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
ROBINSON (GRIEVANCES)	26	10	0	0
REMSEN (ARBITRATION)	27	12	0	0
WALKER (LABOR HISTORY)	19	12	0	4
DERNONCOURT/SWAITY (ORGANIZING)	16	6	1	1
WEISER (ASSIGNMENTS)	9	8	4	0

Although the delegates were instructed to rate the instructors and not the subject, the evaluation of Professor Walker seems to reflect, in part, disinterest in his topic on the basis of discussions with delegates. These same discussions indicated that Mr. Weiser's rating may reflect some difficulty in understanding him on the part of some delegates because comments were generally favorable on his presentation.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE

Space was provided on the evaluation form for suggestions by the delegates of topics that might be considered for future conferences. Delegates were asked "What topics would you like to see included in future programs?" There were three responses that stated simply a desire for more of the same. With a few exceptions, the other responses seemed to say essentially the same thing:

GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE	11
ORGANIZING	8
LABOR HISTORY	7
ARBITRATION	8
POLITICAL ACTION	2
WORK ASSIGNMENTS	1

However, some suggestions were made for other topics that might be offered in the future:

LABOR EDUCATION	4
OFFICER TRAINING	2
REACHING MEMBERS	2
TIME STUDY	2
SOCIAL SECURITY	1
INSURANCE	1
CONSUMER PROBLEMS	1

GENERAL COMMENTS

Finally, space was provided for any general comments by the delegates. These general comments indicated that delegates (1) liked the food, (2) desired tables to work on during the workshops, and (3) hoped that future sessions might end earlier in the afternoon.

In summary, the comments were generally very favorable on all of the aspects of the conference. The criticisms made are of a type that can be easily corrected.

File V.P.I — Lab Ed. Program

JULIAN F. CARPER, ACTING PRESIDENT

BREWSTER SNOW, SECRETARY-TREASURER

Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Chartered by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

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6007 Napoli Rd., Camp Spring, Md., 20023
RAYMOND E. JONES
1613 Princess St., Alexandria, Va., 22314

September 18, 1968

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Emory:

I am pleased to advise you that a Labor Education Program was established at Virginia Polytechnic Institute on July 1, 1968, as a part of a Business Extension program offering extension education to labor, industry and government through the College of Business. The Labor Education Program is financed and administered by the Extension Division and the College of Business cooperatively. The overall Director is Dr. John D. Richardson and the Labor Education Program Director is Dr. James W. Robinson.

The Labor Education Program is designed to provide (1) educational conferences, short-courses, and institutes, both on and off campus, for the members of organized labor in Virginia; (2) meaningful research on manpower issues; and (3) a liaison between unions desiring assistance in their educational programs and those faculty members capable of providing such assistance.

In an effort to establish the most comprehensive and effective program in labor education it is considered advisable to establish a Labor Advisory Committee. I am happy to inform you that I am recommending to the appropriate administrative officials at VPI that you be considered as an appointee to that committee. I trust that you will be able to accept. The meetings of the committee will not be too frequent and any expenses involved such as travel or otherwise would have to be assumed by your organization. I would appreciate an immediate reply from you indicating your willingness to accept this appointment.

May I reiterate that I will recommend you and the VPI officials will make the official appointment.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Julian F. Carper

Julian F. Carper
President

JFC:FT
OPEIU 334, AFL-CIO

VIRGINIA STATE A.F.L.-C.I.O.

BE A GOOD CITIZEN—PAY YOUR TAXES—QUALIFY—REGISTER—VOTE

Neither this letter, nor any part thereof, may be reproduced without the written consent of Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.

University Labor Ed. Program

VOL. I NO. 1 SEPTEMBER 1968

Labor Education Newsletter

An Extension Service of the College of Business

LABOR EDUCATION COMES TO VIRGINIA

Virginia Polytechnic Institute established its Labor Education Program on July 1, 1968, with Dr. James W. Robinson as its head. The state's first university labor education program is administered and financed jointly by the College of Business and the Extension Division. It is one component of an effort to serve industry, labor, and government through the Business Extension format initiated last year.

The Labor Education Program will offer both on- and off-campus programs of instruction for organized labor through the state extension mechanism. These programs may be 6-8 weeks "short-courses" that meet one night per week in various communities, campus conferences, or weekend institutes. The sponsoring local union, central body, or international union will determine subjects in cooperation with the program staff. Dr. Robinson will provide a liason between organized labor and the Virginia Tech faculty.

James W. Robinson

There will be no effort to duplicate existing union educational efforts. Cooperative programs, in which university and union resources are complementary, will be sought. An advisory committee of union officers and staff has been appointed to assist the Labor Education Program in meeting the educational needs of Virginia labor. Its membership will be announced in the next issue of the Newsletter.

A native of Delaware, Professor Robinson was educated at Johns Hopkins University and Duke University, having attended the former through a scholarship from the Delaware AFL-CIO.

Dr. Robinson headed the University of Missouri labor education program, 1963-66, and was associate professor of economics at the University of South Carolina last year. He is a former president of the University Labor Education Association and is a member of the executive board of American Federation of Teachers Local 189. He holds the rank of associate professor of industrial relations at Virginia Tech.

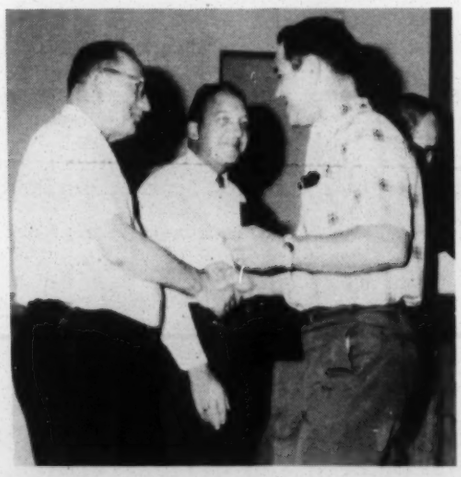
TRI-STATE LABOR SCHOOL

The Tri-State Labor School, a cooperative effort of the North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia State AFL-CIO's and the AFL-CIO, was held in the Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center on the Virginia Tech campus, July 28-August 2. Over 100 delegates from the three states comprised the largest enrollment in Tri-State history. Faculty coordinator for the school was Dr. Roger Walker, Professor of Industrial Relations at Virginia Tech.

The program consisted of morning sessions on "Labor History" (Walker), "Economics" (Robinson), and "National Legislative Issues" (George Guernsey, AFL-CIO Assistant Director of Education). Delegates selected an afternoon workshop session also. Workshops were taught by E. T. Kehrer (AFL-CIO regional civil rights director), Wilbur Hobbie (COPE regional director), Stephen L. Cook (Director, Union Leadership Academy, West Virginia University), Robinson and Walker, and Guernsey.

Three evening programs were devoted to films, "right-to-work" legislation,

Tri-State School president W. M. Barbee presents certificate to a enthusiastic delegate



Tri-State School treasurer E. T. Kirkland presents certificate to delegate as Virginia State AFL-CIO president Julian Carper offers congratulations

and "Labor's Role in the 'War on Poverty' ". Frank Emig of the AFL-CIO Legislative Affairs Department spoke on "right-to-work" legislation; and Cook moderated a panel on the OEO topic that consisted on Roger Banguss, Cecil Gowan and Homer Aleshire, all AFL-CIO regional representatives on various aspects of OEO.

The program ended with presentation of certificates to the delegates by W. M. Barbee, President of the North Carolina AFL-CIO and of the Tri-State Labor School; E. T. Kirkland, Tri-State Treasurer and Secretary-Treasurer of the South Carolina Labor Council, AFL-CIO; and Julian Carper, President of the Virginia State AFL-CIO.

UPPER SOUTH CONFERENCE

The Labor Education Program joined the Upper South Region of the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, in sponsoring the annual Upper South Conference at the Hotel Roanoke, September 6-8. Delegates from TWUA locals in Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia attended the conference. Upper South director, Wayne Dernoncourt, planned and directed the conference.

Dr. Robinson taught a workshop on grievance procedure; and Dr. Walker, one on labor history. Additional workshops on various topics were offered by Dernoncourt; TWUA education director Steve Remsen; TWUA COPE director William DuChessi; and TWUA organizing director

Robinson addresses NUEA delegates as other members of panel listen

Paul Swaity and John Weiser of the TWUA Research Department. TWUA General Secretary-Treasurer Saul Soulstetin spoke at the orientation session, and TWUA President William Pollack spoke at a banquet session.

Further details on this conference will appear in the next issue of the Newsletter.

NUEA CONVENTION

Professor Robinson spoke on the structure of labor education within universities as part of a panel at the convention of the National University Extension Association in Miami Beach on July 22. This session inaugurated a new section on education for industry and labor in the NUEA. Dr. Herbert Levine of Rutgers University spoke on the involvement of universities in labor education; and Jack Sessions of the AFL-CIO Education Department, on the role of organized labor in university labor education.

EDUCATION COMMITTEE MEMOS

A wealth of materials exists for use in your steward training programs, which makes an addition to the list sometimes less than exciting. However, a book that appeared first in 1966 is worth your investigation. Talks With Stewards by Terrence Connors of the Indiana University labor program is based upon the author's experience in factories and in teaching union members in a university program and attempts to help the steward understand the men he represents. The text describes 40 typical problems and offers the author's advice about solving them. The book is available in paperback form for one dollar from Professor Connors, 201 Owen Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington.

A topic of very current interest to unions is their role in the War on Poverty. One of the finest guides on this subject appeared recently from the OEO-Trade Union Leadership Training Program for New England held at the University of Massachusetts through its Labor Relations and Research Center. The Time is Now: A Guide for Trade Union Leaders Work in the War on Poverty is an 8-page "how to do it" guide with sections on How to Get Started, How to Develop a Plan for Action, and How You Can Get Union Members to Help. This booklet is very definitely recommended reading.

If you are interested in a rather complete listing of books on labor and collective bargaining, we suggest that you get a copy of Labor: A Reading List from the Joint Committee on Library Service to Labor Groups, American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street in Chicago. Then you might see whether your public and school libraries have these books.

HERE 'N' THERE

Jim Robinson attended the Virginia State AFL-CIO convention in Roanoke where he was introduced by Wayne Dernoncourt to make some remarks . . . Roger Walker is new director of the MBA program in the College of Business . . . Roger Walker and Jim Robinson will address the state AFL-CIO conventions in North and South Carolina . . . "Structural Characteristics of the Independent Union in America," and "British and American Workers' Education," are articles by Jim Robinson in Labor Law Journal and Journal of Industrial Relations . . . J. D. Richardson and management part of Business Extension planning a big conference for air taxi operators next month.

October 15, 1968

Mr. James W. Robinson
Labor Education Program
College of Business
Department of Business Administration
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

Dear Jim:

It was a real pleasure to hear earlier this fall that you were heading the Labor Education Program at VPI. As you know, it will be the first full-time program in the old south. It is much needed and there are many of us who wish you well.

Please be sure to let me know if there is anyway in which I, or my program here at the Southern Regional Council, can be of service to you. I will be happy to do what I can.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

V.P.I.

ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURES FOR UNIVERSITY LABOR EDUCATION

TEXT OF A PAPER DELIVERED
AT THE 1968 ANNUAL
CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL
UNIVERSITY EXTENSION ASSOCIATION

JAMES W. ROBINSON

LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

28 Commerce Hall

Blacksburg, Virginia 24060

INTRODUCTION

The existence of a complex variety of administrative structures for university labor education programs is obvious to even the casual observer of the field. However, our discussion today will include structural alternatives that involve, in some way, extension divisions only. Apart from the obvious fact that our audience is composed of extension personnel, there are two other reasons that contribute to our exclusion of consideration of non-extension programs. First, consideration of travel expenditures and the consequent audience that can be reached by a program make non-extension structures impractical in all but the metropolitan area colleges.[1] Second, and somewhat related, the extension approach provides an existing statewide mechanism.

We will consider some of the advantages and disadvantages of the four types of extension-related structures that predominate in university labor education today: *the program wholly within extension, the extension division/labor education center approach, the extension division/industrial relations center approach,* and the *extension division/college of business approach.* We will provide some estimate of the number of universities employing each of these structures also. Finally, our discussion is limited to the alternative *administrative* and *financial* structures. We are not concerned with the equally provocative topic of varying alternatives for staff appointments; *i.e.*, a staff member might hold an academic appointment in the college of business while participating in a labor education program administered wholly within the extension division.

THE ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURES

EXTENSION DIVISION ONLY

This alternative represents a labor education program contained entirely within

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1. One need look only at the Chicago and Washington, D. C. metropolitan areas to find outstanding labor education programs at Roosevelt and American Universities respectively, neither of which is in an extension framework.

the extension division. Its staff would consist of extension "specialists" in labor education, operating in much the same manner as, for example, a specialist in horticulture or 4-H work. Although no programs represent fully this structure, it possesses certain advantages. There would be *complete control by the extension organization* of staff appointments, salaries, and promotions, and the *assurance of complete conformity with established extension procedures*. The *career expectations* of the staff relate only to their labor education and extension performance and responsibilities. Perhaps the greatest advantage of this structure would be the presumed ability to employ talented labor education specialists who may lack one or more academic requirements (*i.e.*, terminal degree) for appointment to a regular academic department that might be required under the other alternatives.

There are at least three disadvantages that have been sufficiently important apparently to discourage this structure. *Staff recruitment* can be difficult. A prospective staff member may be unwilling to relinquish the "prestige" of an appointment to the resident faculty.[2] *Contact with the resident faculty*, whose special talents are likely to be required for certain programs, is limited when the labor educators do not hold resident appointments. Daily contacts on both a formal and informal basis between labor educators and resident faculty facilitate the attraction of resident faculty into *ad hoc* instructor roles for the labor education activities. Finally, it must be recognized that extension has (hopefully a decreasing) a negative connotation sometimes to trade union (or even industry) leaders who associate it with agriculture only.

EXTENSION DIVISION + LABOR CENTER

Our discussion of this alternative refers to the situation in which a labor education center with certain administrative autonomy exists within the overall context of the extension division. Six labor education program structures of this type exist today, the most prominent of which is probably the one at

2. The labor educator who seeks an academic appointment must, of course, be willing to accept the additional responsibilities of it, such as scholarly publication.

Rutgers University. There are several advantages to the concept of a "center" that is recognized as a semi-autonomous unit within extension. First, it clearly defines and emphasizes the unique role and the importance of labor education *vis a vis* other extension activities. This role definition is important in terms both of the internal university "power structure" and the clientele group. Second, this concept may assist in recruiting by providing the potential staff member with an identification within extension. Third, and related to the second one, the center can build group identity among the staff, or simply *esprit de corps*. Fourth, the center provides a specific entity to which grants may be made and for which advisory committees may be appointed. Finally, the concept might enhance the research function and foster campus support,

The only disadvantage might be, *but by no means will necessarily be*, a fragmentation of extension identity and the allegiance of the staff through the increased prestige of the center.

EXTENSION + INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CENTER

Determination of the exact number of universities with this labor education structure is difficult because of the diversity of arrangements concerning industrial relations centers. For our discussion, we refer to those industrial relations centers that are autonomous components of the university. Using these definitions, there are two universities that offer a labor education program through a cooperative arrangement between an industrial relations center and an extension division.

There are several inherent advantages to this structure. It facilitates joint extension-resident faculty appointments in which the extension and resident functions and responsibilities *are complementary instead of competing*. In other words, the

teaching and research emphases of on- and off-campus work are likely to be similar.

Due to the special instructional demands of an industrial relations center, this structure may permit or facilitate *academic appointments for former practitioners*, such as former union education staff personnel. The attraction of *ad hoc* labor education instructors from the resident faculty should be easier because of the complementarity mentioned above. Also the promotion of labor education goals may be easier because of the interest of the resident faculty.

The primary disadvantage of this structure is the possible danger of the program's becoming too narrowly centered on the topic of collective bargaining and related fields to the exclusion of the social sciences. This disadvantage should be of decreasing importance as industrial relations centers broaden their horizons. The cost of recruiting and retaining qualified staff may be higher with this structure because of the lucrative non-university employment opportunities available in industrial relations.

EXTENSION + COLLEGE OF BUSINESS

There are three labor education programs administered jointly by the extension division and the college of business. This structure facilitates the appointment of staff with a *wider range of interests* than the alternatives. Staff recruitment may be easier because the offer of a joint appointment (including academic status) is possible for the wider range of interests. The scope and variety of contacts between labor educators and potential *ad hoc* instructors from the resident faculty are enlarged. An indirect advantage may be the broadening of the orientation of some business faculty members with respect to labor problems.

There are two significant disadvantages to this structure. First, *appointment of full-time labor education staff* to supplement those on joint appointments may be

difficult or impossible because of formal academic requirements, thus precluding the possible recruitment of former practitioners. Second, it requires an almost Solomon-like clarification and understanding of the relative roles of labor educators by the administrators of the extension division and the college of business in determining salary and promotion policies.

SOME MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS

Several factors must be considered by university administrators contemplating the inauguration of a labor education program, regardless of the structure selected. It must be understood and recognized clearly that the *amount and type of travel* that the labor educator must do will far exceed that of resident faculty, and may include a relatively larger proportion out-of-state.

There must be an appreciation of the different sets of pressures on time and energy of faculty on joint appointments. The various activities of publishing, committee membership, student advising, and classroom teaching have different importance for the joint appointee.

Finally, the extension administration particularly must be prepared to adjust to a different set of demands and procedures that are necessary for dealing with organized labor. They should not expect to fit this clientele group into the procedural "mold" of others.

The *Labor Education Program* will reproduce on an irregular and informal basis the texts of addresses or lectures given by persons associated with this program. *Alternative Structures for University Labor Education*, the second address reprinted in this manner, was presented originally in Miami Beach, Florida at the 1968 annual convention of the National University Extension Association as part of a panel on labor education.

James W. Robinson is Associate Professor of Industrial Relations and directs the Labor Education Program at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. He was previously Coordinator of Labor Education and Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Missouri, and Associate Professor of Economics at the University of South Carolina. Dr. Robinson received degrees in economics from The Johns Hopkins University and Duke University.

The American Labor Movement: Past and Future [An Address to the 1968 annual Convention of the North Carolina State AFL-CIO] by Dr. Roger W. Walker was the first text reproduced and is available free from:

Labor Education Program
28 Commerce Hall
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

A SUMMARY AND EVALUATION OF THE

STAFF TRAINING INSTITUTE

LABORERS INTERNATIONAL UNION

HELD ON THE CAMPUS OF

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

February 24 - 28, 1969

LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS-EXTENSION DIVISION

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA

STAFF TRAINING INSTITUTE

LABORERS INTERNATIONAL UNION

Monday, February 24

8:30 AM	CONTRACT CLAUSES Jack Wilkinson - Regional Manager, LIU
9:30	ORGANIZATION
10:40	THE U. S. ECONOMY James Robinson - VPI
11:30	Lunch
1:00 PM	UNION ADMINISTRATION Jack Wilkinson
2:00	COMMUNICATIONS AND PUBLIC SPEAKING James Owen & J. D. Richardson - VPI
4:00	Adjourn

Tuesday, February 25

8:30 AM	LMRDA REPORTING PROCEDURES Frank Caputo - U. S. Department of Labor
10:40	THE U. S. ECONOMY
11:30	Lunch
1:00 PM	UNION ADMINISTRATION
2:00	COMMUNICATION
4:00	Adjourn
7:30	FILMS: State of the Union & Trained Hands

Wednesday, February 26

8:30 AM	ORGANIZATION Robert Myers - Representative, LIU
9:30	UNION ADMINISTRATION
10:40	THE U. S. ECONOMY
11:30	Lunch
1:00 PM	NLRB PROCEDURES Arthur Schiller - Associate Counsel, LIU
2:00	COMMUNICATIONS
4:00	Adjourn

Thursday, February 27

8:30 AM	ORGANIZATION Tommy Calloway - Representative, LIU
10:40	NLRB PROCEDURES
11:30	Lunch
1:00 PM	UNION ADMINISTRATION
2:00	NLRB PROCEDURES
4:00	Adjourn
7:30	ANOTHER LOOK AT LABOR HISTORY Roger Walker - VPI

Friday, February 28

8:30 AM	PROGRAMS OF THE LABORERS INTL. UNION Jack Wilkinson
10:40	NLRB PROCEDURES
11:30	UNION ADMINISTRATION
12:45 PM	GRADUATION LUNCHEON

Breaks were provided at alternate 50 minute intervals. Dinner was at 6:00 PM each evening. Delegates attended a basketball game on Monday evening

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TOMMY CALLOWAY is a representative of the Laborers' International Union for the region including Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia and North Carolina.

FRANK CAPUTO is a regional representative of the U. S. Bureau of Labor-Management and Welfare Pensions Reports.

ROBERT MYERS is a representative of the Laborers' International Union in Virginia and heads the local union in Roanoke.

JAMES OWEN is Assistant Professor of English at Virginia Tech.

J. D. RICHARDSON is Assistant Professor of Management and Coordinator of Business Extension at Virginia Tech.

JAMES ROBINSON is Associate Professor of Industrial Relations and Head of the Labor Education Program at Virginia Tech.

ARTHUR SCHILLER is Associate Counsel of the Laborers' International Union.

ROGER WALKER is Professor of Industrial Relations at Virginia Tech.

JACK WILKINSON is Regional Manager of the Laborers' International Union for the District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and North Carolina.

SUMMARY

The Laborers' International Union, AFL-CIO, sponsored a Staff Training Institute on the Virginia Polytechnic Institute campus, February 24-28, in cooperation with the Labor Education Program. All sessions were held in the Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center in which the participants were housed also. Twenty delegates from Laborers' local unions in Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, and the District of Columbia attended the institute. Their official responsibilities ranged from part-time local office to full-time international staff positions. Tenure in office was distributed equally broadly.

All of the staff involved in this program were impressed by the interest and the dedication evidenced by the participants. They went about their studies with a single-minded effort and enjoyed fellowship with one another that transcended regional, age, or other differences.

EVALUATION

The institute participants were asked to complete an evaluation form on the final day of the conference. The questions on the form are reproduced below along with a summary of their responses.

I. Class Sessions

1. Please rate each of the class sessions according to its value to you in your capacity in the Laborers' International Union. Place a "1" in the space next to the session of most value, a "2" in that next to the second most valuable one, etc. (NOTE: We have assigned a value of 5 to a "1" rating, a value of 4 to a "2" rating, 3 to a "3" rating, 2 to a "4 rating, and 1 to a "5" rating. Totals are shown below)

77	COMMUNICATIONS AND PUBLIC SPEAKING
67	NLRB PROCEDURES
55	LABOR HISTORY
53	ORGANIZATION
52	THE U. S. ECONOMY
37	UNION ADMINISTRATION
27	CONTRACT CLAUSES
27	LMRDA REPORTING PROCEDURES

2. Please place a check in the column that best describes how useful each topic was to you:

	Very Valuable	Of Some Value	Of Little Value	Of No Value
CONTRACT CLAUSES	14	4		
ORGANIZATION	17	2		
THE U. S. ECONOMY	9	8		
UNION ADMINISTRATION	13	3	2	
COMMUNICATIONS	15	3		
LMRDA REPORTING	10	7		
NLRB PROCEDURES	17	2		
LABOR HISTORY	12	7		

3. Which of the following best describes the preparation of the instructors for their topics:

16 always well-prepared 1 usually well-prepared 0 unprepared

II. Accomodations

1. The meals served were:

17 always well-prepared and good
2 usually well-prepared and good
0 sometimes left something to be desired
0 were seldom good

2. Service in the dining room was:

17 excellent 3 very good 0 satisfactory 0 poor

3. Meals could be improved by:

"less starchy and rich foods" - 3
"not enough seasoning" - 1

4. The lodging provided was:

14 comparable to a fine hotel
5 comfortable and completely satisfactory
0 could be improved

5. How could lodging be improved:

"television in the rooms" - 7

III. Materials

1. The materials distributed by the instructors were:

   15 useful and an aid to remembering points made
   6 interesting
   10 related well to the lectures
   0 not related to lectures
   0 interesting but of little use
   0 not interesting or useful

2. The use of films, filmstrips, overhead projectors, and video tape were:

   19 aids to understanding the topic
   0 interesting but not an aid to understanding
   0 confusing

3. Any general comments on this institute:

   "couldn't have been held at a finer place"
   "would like to come back again"
   "should be two weeks" - 3
   "very good"
   "great idea for 'old pros' as well as rookies"
   "learning the way we did was a great experience not only in education but also in fellowship"

4. Would you like to see another institute held like this one? 19 yes
   0 no

5. If so, where should it be held? Virginia Tech - 14; W. Va. - 2

6. What month would be best? 1st choice Feb. - 7 2nd choice Mar. - 6
   Jan. - 2 Sept.- 4
   Oct. - 2 Apr. - 2

IV. Participants

PARTICIPANTS

Willie L. Brown Washington, D.C.	Dwight W. Griffin Baltimore, Md.	John C. McCady Parkersburg, W.Va.	Walter P. Young Greensboro, N.C.
Walter Calloway Falls Church, Va.	Slater P. Hackley Falls Church, Va.	Thomas Plummer,Jr. Richmond, Va.	Minor E. Vaught Durham, N.C.
Lynwood Dodd Roanoke, Va.	Wetzel Harvey Jodie, W.Va.	Donald E. Smith Parkersburg, W.Va.	James C. Wilfork Washington, D.C.
Al Ducci Wheeling, W.Va.	R. H. Myers Roanoke, Va.	Henry Smith Richmond, Va.	John E. Wormley Washington, D.C.
Donald C. Goss Parsons, W.Va.	Norman Kenny Baltimore, Md.	James O. Tibbetts Morgantown, W.Va.	Bernard Kelly Baltimore, Md.

Labor Education - Univ. V.P.I.

VOL. I NO. 2 APRIL 1969

Labor Education Newsletter

An Extension Service of the College of Business

LABORERS' STAFF TRAINING INSTITUTE

The Laborers' International Union of North America, AFL-CIO, sponsored a regional Staff Training Institute on the Virginia Tech campus, February 24-28. Twenty delegates from local unions and district councils in Maryland, Virginia, the District of Columbia, West Virginia, and North Carolina attended the institute held in the Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center. Program instructors were Tommy Calloway, LIUNA Representative; Frank Caputo, Bureau of Labor-Management and Welfare-Pension Reports; Robert Myers, LIUNA Representative; James Owen, Assistant Professor of English; J. D. Richardson, Coordinator of Business Extension; James Robinson, Head of the Labor Education Program; Arthur Schiller, Associate General Counsel, LIUNA; Roger Walker, Professor of Industrial Relations; and Jack Wilkinson, LIUNA Regional Manager.

Regional Manager Jack Wilkinson addresses institute delegates

A. B. Lyon of DBCEC staff at the controls as delegates watch instant replay of speech

Group of delegates to Staff Training Institute listening to a lecture

Class sessions included Union Administration (Wilkinson, Myers, Calloway), Communications and Public Speaking (Owen and Richardson), The Economy of the U. S. (Robinson), NLRB Procedures (Schiller), Reporting Procedures (Caputo), and Labor History (Walker). One of the highlights of the program was the use of video tape facilities in the public speaking sessions. Each delegate had an opportunity to view his speaking performance on closed-circuit television tape replay.

The program concluded with a graduation luncheon. Delegates received a certificate from Dr. Maynard Heckel, Associate Dean of Extension and Director of the Continuing Education Center. Dr. Heckel; Roger Comley, Director of Center Operations; and Jack Wilkinson spoke at the luncheon.

TWUA UPPER SOUTH CONFERENCE

Over 100 delegates from Virginia, Maryland, and West Virginia locals attended the annual Upper South Conference of the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, at the Hotel Roanoke on September 6-8. The program was co-sponsored by the TWUA Upper South Region and the Labor Education Program. Instructors at the Conference included Professors James Robinson and Roger Walker of the Virginia Tech College of Business; Wayne Dernoncourt, Upper South Director; William DuChessi, TWUA Legislative Director; Steve Remsen, TWUA Education Director; Paul Swaity, TWUA Organizing Director; and John Weiser of the TWUA Research Department.

There were workshops on Grievance Procedure (Robinson), Arbitration (Remsen), Work Assignments (Weiser),

Organization (Swaity), and Labor History (Walker). Mr. DuChessi addressed the group on, "Election Year, 1968." TWUA General Secretary-Treasurer Saul Stetin spoke at a banquet on the evening of September 7. The delegates completed an evaluation of the conference and voted to hold another conference next year at the concluding session on September 8.

SUMMER PROGRAMS

There will be a full summer calender for the Labor Education Program with several international unions planning residential schools to be held in the Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center. The *American Federation of Government Employees* will sponsor a week-long institute for its District 2 members, June 9-13. Among the subjects will be Meaning of Collective Bargaining, Contract Clauses, The Coordinated Federal Wage System, and Labor History. In addition to the AFGE instructors, Professors Robinson and Walker of Virginia Tech, and Jerald F. Robinson of the University of Illinois will participate.

The *United Steelworkers of America* will hold its Districts 35/36 summer school on the campus, June 23-27. Some 250 delegates from Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama are expected to attend. Some of the subjects to be offered are Unions and the Community, Labor History, Grievance Procedures, Effective Union Meetings, Unions and Politics, and Foreign Affairs. Professors Robinson, Walker, Edwin Marsh, and A. Coskun Samli of the Virginia Tech College of Business will be joined as instructors by Jerald Robinson of the University of Illinois, Ephraim Fischoff of Lynchburg College, and Stephen Cook of West Virginia University.

Steelworkers' leaders gather at the Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center to plan summer institute. Left to right are Thermon Phillips (Ala), George Butsika (Pittsburgh), Roy Starnes, Bill Anderson, and Wilburn Boothe (Va.)

The *Tri-State Labor School* will be on the campus, August 17-22. The Tri-State School is sponsored annually by the North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia State AFL-CIO's. Over 100 persons from the three states are expected to attend.

ROBINSON AND WALKER SPEAK

Dr. Roger W. Walker of the College of Business addressed the 11th annual convention of the North Carolina State AFL-CIO in Asheville, on September 5. The topic of his address was, "The American Labor Movement - Past and Future." It included a commentary on the definition of a labor movement, past and present violence, the need to re-win rights, inability to be neutral, and political action.

Dr. James Robinson addressed the annual convention of the South Carolina Labor Council, AFL-CIO, in Myrtle Beach on September 6. His address stressed the importance of beginning labor education programs in the South, means of starting programs, and the need for local education programs.

North Carolina AFL-CIO President W. M. Barbee chats with Professor Walker before his address to the convention

EDUCATION COMMITTEE MEMO

Local officers know the need to acquaint younger members with the past struggles in order to convey an appreciation of current accomplishments. Several excellent films on labor history are available; and union, government, and private sources offer various brochures and pamphlets. However, one exceptional resource is a 32-page book entitled *Our Union Heritage* by William Abbott, education director of the United Rubber Workers who published it. Mr. Abbott traces the development of organized labor and writes with a lively and easy style with numerous antecdotes and examples. Photographs and drawings are employed amply. This very readable book is available from the URW for twenty-five cents.

June 9, 1969

Dean H. H. Mitchell
College of Business
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

Dear Dean Mitchell:

I have followed with a great deal of interest the establishment of the Labor Education Program in the College of Business and the Extension Division of VPI. I accept with pleasure your invitation to serve on the Advisory Sub-Committee of that program.

I look forward to meeting with the other members of the Committee when it has been completed and to the development of a successful Labor Education Program at VPI.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS
BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA 24061

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

June 4, 1969

Mr. Emory Via, Labor Liason Representative
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

The College of Business and the Extension Division of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, with the cooperation of labor leaders in Virginia, have established a Labor Education Program at VPI. This program is a component of the total Business Extension activity which also has separate programs for business and public administrators.

We are establishing advisory groups to work with the Business Extension activity and with each of the program areas. The Business Extension Advisory Committee will provide advice and assistance in the development of the overall program in the College of Business. A sub-committee will be formed for each of the three program areas to aid in the development of a quality program that meets the specific needs of the group. This aid may be in the form of program development, laison with the membership, establishment of priorities, etc. Committee members will be selected from the sub-committees in order to provide exchange and continuity.

It is my pleasure to invite you to serve on the Labor Education Program Advisory Sub-Committee for the College of Business of Virginia Polytechnic Institute. We feel that you can make an important contribution to the vitality of this program and hope that you can accept this appointment.

As soon as the composition of the committee is determined, Dr. James Robinson, the Coordinator of our Labor Education Progam, will convene a meeting and notify you.

Most sincerely,

H. H. Mitchell
Dean

HHM:klf

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory F. Via

Kathy:

Make a copy of the earlier letter from VDC inviting me to be on the committee to send to my parents.

Thanks,

E.

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS
BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA 24061

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

June 13, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

We are pleased to learn from your letter of June 9 that you are accepting our invitation to serve on the Labor Education Program Advisory Sub-Committee of the Business Extension Committee for the College of Business. I am sure that you will make a valuable contribution to our efforts here. Dr. James Robinson will be in touch with you in the very near future concerning the work of this sub-committee.

Once again, thank you for agreeing to help us.

Sincerely yours,

H. H. Mitchell
Dean

HHM:sbd

cc: Dr. J. D. Richardson
Dr. James Robinson

A SUMMARY AND EVALUATION OF

STEELWORKERS' SUMMER SCHOOL

1969

DISTRICTS 35 & 36

PREPARED BY THE LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

28 COMMERCE HALL
BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA

PROGRAM

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 25

A.M.	
11:10-12:00	National Legislative Issues *John Sheehan - USWA Legislative Director*

P.M.	
1:30-2:20	Unions and the Community *Ephraim Fischoff - Lynchburg College*
2:30-3:20	Perspectives on Labor History *Roger Walker - Virginia Tech*
3:40-4:30	Group Discussions on Labor History
7:30-9:00	A Look Behind the Iron Curtain *A. Coskun Samli - Virginia Tech*

THURSDAY, JUNE 26

A.M.	
9:00-9:50	Unionizing the Organized *Jerald Robinson - University of Illinois*
10:00-10:50	Group Discussions on Unionizing the Organized
11:10-12:00	Group A: Grievance Procedure - *James Robinson - Virginia Tech* Group B: Grievance Procedure - *Roger Walker* Group C: Effective Union Meetings - *Jerald Robinson* Group D: Effective Union Meetings - *M. Murphy Bird - Virginia Tech*
1:30-2:20	(11:10 sessions continued)
2:30-4:30	Group A: Effective Union Meetings Group B: Effective Union Meetings Group C: Grievance Procedures Group D: Grievance Procedures
6:00	Banquet Speaker: *Edwin Marsh - Virginia Tech*

FRIDAY, JUNE 27

A.M.	
9:00-9:50	Unions and Politics *Wayne L. Dernoncourt - Textile Workers Union of America*
10:00-10:50	Collective Bargaining Trends *I.W. Abel - President, USWA*
11:10-12:00	Awarding of Certificates

EVALUATIONS

Each delegate to the school was asked to complete an evaluation form on the content and arrangements of the school. The evaluation form is reproduced below together with the results of the evaluation and some comments on them.

I. CLASS SESSIONS

A. Please rate each of the class sessions listed below according to its value to you as an officer or member of the USWA. Place a "1" in the space beside the session of greatest value to you, a "2" beside the one that is second in value, etc.

	Number who rated sessions as:						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Unions and the Community	21	11	10	9	8	11	14
Perspectives on Labor History	14	13	9	6	12	10	14
Unionizing the Organized	30	16	12	12	13	4	2
Grievance Procedures	60	15	14	0	3	4	0
Effective Union Meetings	23	19	12	16	7	7	2
Unions and Politics	15	11	14	12	7	15	8
Collective Bargaining Trends	22	15	10	4	8	6	16

B. For each of the sessions below, put a check mark in the column that best describes your opinion on the session with respect to its value to you. Please remember that we are asking you to rate the session not the instructor. You will have a chance to rate the instructors later.

	Very Valuable	Of Some Value	Of Little Value	Of No Value
Unions and the Community	68	31	0	0
Perspectives on Labor History	55	37	2	1
Unionizing the Organized	83	10	0	1
Grievance Procedures	93	6	0	0
Effective Union Meetings	89	10	10	1
Unions and Politics	74	18	3	1
Collective Bargaining Trends	75	22	1	1
National Legislative Issues	60	31	2	1
A Look Nehind the Iron Curtain	30	35	16	10

C. For each of the instructors listed below, please place a check mark in the column that best describes your opinion of him. Please remember that you are rating the instructor and not the session.

	Interesting and well-prepared	Fairly well-prepared, sometimes interesting	Poorly-prepared not interesting
M. Murphy Bird	61	8	0
George Butsika	62	5	0
Wayne Dernoncourt	57	10	1
Ephraim Fischoff	81	2	0
James Robinson	75	6	0
Jerald Robinson	80	4	0
John Sheehan	71	5	0
A. Coskun Samli	58	15	3
Roger Walker	75	8	1

II. ACCOMODATIONS & FACILITIES

A. The meals served were: [check one]

71 always well-prepared and good

13 usually well-prepared and good

1 sometimes left something to be desired

0 were seldom good

B. Service in the dining room was: [check one]

59 excellent 22 very good 3 satisfactory 0 poor

C. Meals could be improved by:

_____

D. The lodging provided was: [check one]

27 comparable to a fine hotel 18 could be improved

27 comfortable and completely satisfactory

D. How could lodging be improved?

air conditioning - 33 television - 14 radio, ice machine

III. MATERIALS

A. The materials distributed by the instructors were: [check one]

69 useful and an aid in remembering session

27 interesting

15 related well to lectures

2 not related to lectures

2 interesting but of little use

0 not interesting or useful

IV. GENERAL

A. Would you like to attend another institute like this one?

102 YES *1* NO

B. If so, where would you like it to be held?

VPI - 56 Florida - 3 University of Tennessee - 7

Richmond, Miami, Birmingham, William & Mary, UCLA, U of Georgia,

C. Any general comments on this summer institute:

"It has been a well-spent three days. I feel this was the best we have had." "I've really enjoyed the knowledge I have gained here and the friendships I have formed. The speakers were all wonderful and helpful. I think our local union will get better services from me for having been here." "Good job, Jim and associates; it was of great value." "I enjoyed it more than anything I have ever attended." "Need more out-of-class activities and social life." "All the instructors were the best compared to U.Va." "Most interesting labor school in my five years in this great union." "Not enough time to absorb some subjects." "Enjoyed every minute."

LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM

ANNUAL REPORT

REPORT OF ACTIVITIES

JULY, 1968 TO JULY, 1969

EDUCATION

RESEARCH

SERVICE

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
VIRGINIA'S LAND-GRANT UNIVERSITY

115 PAMPLIN HALL
Blacksburg, Virginia
24061

INTRODUCTION

On July 1, 1968, Virginia Polytechnic Institute became the 30th university in America with a full-time Labor Education Program, and the first one in the South. The purposes of labor education have been defined by two experts in the discipline as:

> 1. To equip workers as trade union members and officers to carry out intelligently the collective bargaining functions of their unions; to function efficiently in the area of internal union organization and administration;
>
> 2. To narrow the gap between the formal education of workers and other groups in society with which they must deal, by helping workers to understand the economy and the society in which they play a vital role, and the social forces operating in the world of today;
>
> 3. To equip workers to take a more active and responsible role in all civic affairs as individuals, and as representatives of their trade unions in order to maintain and expand the democratic processes of government.
>
> Alice H. Cook and Agnes M. Douty, *Labor Education Outside the Unions*.

As a distinct field of adult education, labor education has a long and colorful history, dating from the first elemental efforts of conscientious citizens to acquaint immigrant workers with their new homeland. In the 1920's and early 1930's, the University of California, the University of Wisconsin, and Rutgers University established labor education programs. A workers' education project within the WPA provided further stimulus during the Depression. A Labor Extension Service existed within the U. S. Department of Labor for several years during the 1940's. Today virtually all international unions have education departments that cooperate with universities to provide labor education services.

The University Labor Education Association unites all universities with full-time programs today. Local 189 of the American Federation of Teachers includes most labor educators in its world-wide membership. Pennsylvania State University and Rutgers University offer degree programs for labor educators. The Union Leadership Academy program unites seven universities in a cooperative program of coordinated education.

Most labor education activities fall into one of two categories: residential programs in which union members and officials come to the campus for a period of a week or more of intensive instruction, or non-residential "short courses" offered in various cities throughout the state usually one evening per week. Topics included are quite varied, ranging from the basics of leadership and union administration to in-depth study of current economic, political, and social affairs.

Latest statistics indicate that there are 199 thousand union members in Virginia, of whom 136 thousand are members of unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO. This total ranks 22nd among the states, and 40th as a percentage of the labor force organized. What follows is a description of the ways in which the Labor Education Program has sought to serve these members.

James W. Robinson
Blacksburg, Virginia 24060
July, 1969

I. Programs Presented, Fiscal 1968 - 69

In its first year of operation, the Labor Education Program offered conferences or schools for 4 international unions and 3 state labor organizations. Seven faculty members from Virginia Polytechnic Institute participated in these programs along with faculty members of three other universities. The following table presents a summary of these activities.

	Numbers of Delegates Registered for Program	Contact Hours by VPI Faculty	Contact Hours by Other Faculty
On-Campus Programs	338	75	65
Off-Campus Programs	155	20	30
Total	493	95	95

An overwhelming majority of the delegates to these programs were residents of Virginia. However, members of local unions in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and West Virginia were included in the programs. This latter result occurs because all but one of the programs offered were of a regional character. This circumstance is natural because of the general absence of labor education programs in the South and the regional nature of union schools and conferences.

Summaries of the programs offered are presented on the next three pages.

PROGRAM TITLE: *Tri-State Labor School*

SPONSORING UNION: *North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia State AFL-CIO's*

LOCATION: *Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center*

ATTENDANCE: *100*

V.P.I. FACULTY: *J. D. Richardson, Assistant professor of management*
James W. Robinson, Associate professor of industrial relations
Roger W. Walker, Professor of industrial relations

OTHER FACULTY: *George Guernsey, Assistant Director of Education, AFL-CIO*
Wilbur Hobbie, Regional Director, COPE
E. T. Kehrer, Regional Director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
Stephen L. Cook, Director, Union Leadership Academy, West Virginia U.
Frank Emig, Legislative Representative, AFL-CIO
Roger Banguss, AFL-CIO Job Corps Representative
Cecil Gowan, AFL-CIO Job Corps Representative
Homer Aleshire, AFL-CIO Job Corps Representative
Robert Mathews, AFL-CIO Job Corps Representative

* * *

PROGRAM TITLE: *Upper South Conference - September 6-8, 1968*

SPONSORING UNION: *Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO - Upper South Region*

LOCATION: *Hotel Roanoke, Roanoke, Virginia*

ATTENDANCE: *120*

V.P.I. FACULTY: *James W. Robinson, Associate professor of industrial relations*
Roger W. Walker, Professor of industrial relations

OTHER FACULTY: *William DuChessi, COPE Director, TWUA*
Wayne Dernoncourt, Upper South Director, TWUA
Steve Remsen, Education Director, TWUA
Saul Stetin, General Secretary-Treasurer, TWUA
Paul Swaity, Research Department, TWUA
John Weiser, Research Department, TWUA

PROGRAM: *Staff Training Institute*

SPONSORING UNION: *Laborers' International Union of North America, AFL-CIO*

LOCATION: *Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center*

ATTENDANCE: *20*

V.P.I. FACULTY: *James J. Owen, Assistant professor of english*
J. D. Richardson, Assistant professor of management
James W. Robinson, Associate professor of industrial relations
Roger W. Walker, Professor of industrial relations

OTHER FACULTY: *Tommy Calloway, Representative, Laborers' International Union*
Frank Caputo, Representative, Bureau of Labor-Management Reports
Robert Myers, Representative, Laborers' International Union
Arthur Schiller, Associate general counsel, Laborers' International Union
Jack Wilkinson, Regional Manager, Laborers' International Union

* * *

PROGRAM: *Weekend Conference*

SPONSORING UNION: *Upper South Region, Textile Workers Union of America*

LOCATION: *Lynchburg*

ATTENDANCE: *35*

V.P.I. FACULTY: *James W. Robinson, Associate professor of industrial relations*

OTHER FACULTY: *Wayne L. Dernoncourt, TWUA Upper South Director*
William DuChessi, TWUA COPE Director
Howard Danieis, TWUA Engineering Department

* * *

PROGRAM: *District 4 Seminar*

SPONSORING UNION: *American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO*

LOCATION: *Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center*

ATTENDANCE: *54*

V.P.I. FACULTY: *James W. Robinson, Associate Professor of Industrial Relations*
Roger W. Walker, Professor of Industrial Relations

OTHER FACULTY: *Raymond Gray, Asst. Education Director, AFGE*
Arthur F. Kane, Education Director, AFGE
Otto Pragan, Asst. Director of Education, AFL-CIO

PROGRAM: *District 35/36 Summer School*

SPONSORING UNION: *United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO*

LOCATION: *Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center*

ATTENDANCE: *164*

V.P.I. FACULTY: *M. Murphy Bird, Assistant Professor of Marketing*
Edwin Marsh, Associate Professor of Business Administration
James W. Robinson, Associate Professor of Industrial Relations
A. Coskun Samli, Professor of Marketing
Roger W. Walker, Professor of Industrial Relations

OTHER FACULTY: *I. W. Abel, President, USWA*
George Butsika, Education Department, USWA
Ephraim Fischoff, Professor of Sociology, Lynchburg College
Wayne L. Dernoncourt, Vice-President, Textile Workers Union of America
Jerald F. Robinson, University of Illinois
John Sheehan, Legislative Director, USWA

PROGRAMS PLANNED FOR NEXT ACADEMIC QUARTER

Tri-State Labor School - August 17-22, Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center

Upper South Conference, TWUA - September 20-21, Hotel Roanoke, Roanoke, Virginia

II. Public Affairs Activities

In addition to participation in formal programs, various faculty participated in other labor education activities. These were as follows:

James W. Robinson

Addressed North Carolina State AFL-CIO convention, Asheville, North Carolina
South Carolina Labor Council convention, Myrtle Beach, South Carolina
Virginia State AFL-CIO convention, Roanoke, Virginia

Roger W. Walker

Addressed North Carolina State AFL-CIO convention, Asheville, North Carolina
South Carolina Labor Council convention, Myrtle Beach, South Carolina
Annual Meeting of Front Royal, Virginia Central Labor Council

III. PUBLICATIONS

PUBLICATIONS BY COLLEGE OF BUSINESS FACULTY ON LABOR

Paul C. Roberts and Norman L. Brown, "The Economics of Right to Work Controversy: Revisited," *The Southern Economic Journal* (January, 1969)

James W. Robinson, "Brookwood Labor College, the Workers' Education Bureau, and the AFL," *Labour History* (November, 1968)

James W. Robinson, "Structural Characteristics of the Independent Union in America," *Labor Law Journal* (November, 1968)

James W. Robinson, "Toward a Public Employment Wage Theory," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* (January, 1969) [with Robert J. Carlsson]

Roger W. Walker, "Collective Bargaining and Its Critics: A Look at Some Contemporary Mythology," *Business Perspectives* (Spring, 1969)

Irwin Weinstock, "Facing the Crisis in Collective Bargaining," *MSU Business Topics* (Summer, 1968) [with Arthur Thompson]

Irwin Weinstock, "The Theory X Union Leader," *Mississippi Valley Journal of Business and Economics* [with Arthur Thompson]

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE AT NO CHARGE FROM LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM

Alternative Structures for University Labor Education Programs, An Address by James W. Robinson to the 1968 Convention of the National University Extension Association.

American Labor: Past and Future, An Address by Roger W. Walker to the 1968 Convention of the North Carolina State AFL-CIO

A Summary and Evaluation of the Tri-State Labor School, 1968

A Summary and Evaluation of the TWUA Upper South Conference

A Summary and Evaluation of the Laborers' Staff Training Institute

A Summary and Evaluation of the Steelworkers Summer School, 1969

Reprint of "Structural Characteristics of the Independent Union in America"

Reprint of "Towards a Public Employment Wage Theory"

APPENDIX A. LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAMS

BY STAFF SIZE, AND STATE UNION MEMBERSHIP

UNIVERSITY	NUMBER OF STAFF PERSONNEL	STATE UNION MEMBERSHIP
U. of California @ Berkeley	5	1,952,000
U. of California @ Los Angeles	7	
University of Colorado	4	138,000
University of Connecticut	5	286,000
The American University	1	
University of Illinois	6	1,466,000
Roosevelt University	5	
Southern Illinois University	3	
Indiana University	5	631,000
University of Iowa	3	173,000
University of Maine	1	61,000
University of Massachusetts	5	549,000
Harvard University	3	
Michigan State University	7	1,135,000
U. of Michigan-Wayne State U.	6	
University of Minnesota	5	374,000
Rutgers University	8	737,000
University of Missouri	2	550,000
N. Y. State School ILR	21	2,506,000
Ohio State University	5	1,254,000
Virginia Polytechnic Institute	1	199,000
West Virginia University	11	217,000
University of Wisconsin	8	448,000
University of Puerto Rico	6	

Sources: U. S. Department of Labor, *Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States, 1967;* University Labor Education Association, *Directory of Members, 1968*

APPENDIX B. LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAMS

AT U. S. UNIVERSITIES AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION

UNIVERSITY (YEAR PROGRAM ESTABLISHED)	RESPONSIBILITY FOR ADMINISTRATION
U. of California @ Berkeley (1964)	Industrial Relations Center
U. of California @ Los Angeles	Industrial Relations/Extension
University of Colorado (1960)	Department of Economics
University of Connecticut (1961)	Extension Division
Harvard University (1942)	College of Business
University of Illinois	Industrial Relations Center
Indiana University (1947)	Extension Division
University of Iowa	College of Business
University of Massachusetts (1965)	Autonomous Unit of University
University of Maine (1966)	College of Business/Extension
U. of Michigan-Wayne State (1957)	Industrial Relations Center
Michigan State University (1953)	Industrial Relations Center
University of Minnesota	Industrial Relations Center
University of Missouri (1963)	Extension Division
N. Y. State School ILR (1945)	Industrial Relations/Extension
Ohio State University	College of Business
Pennsylvania State University	Autonomous Unit of University
University of Puerto Rico (1950)	Industrial Relations Center
Roosevelt University (1945)	Autonomous Unit of University
Rutgers-The State University (1947)	Industrial Relations Center
Southern Illinois University	Industrial Relations Center
West Virginia University	Autonomous Unit of University
University of Wisconsin (1925)	Extension Division
University of Hawaii	Industrial Relations Center
Virginia Polytechnic Institute (1968)	College of Business/Extension
University of Kentucky (1968)	College of Business

NOTE: Dates given are for current program. In some cases, several programs have existed over time.

SOURCE: J. W. Robinson, "Trends in Labor Education: Missouri and the Nation," *Business and Government Review*

VPI

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS
BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA 24061

LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM
552-6589 (AREA CODE 703)
552-6465

Bus Patterson

MEMORANDUM
5 September 1969

TO: Members, Advisory Subcommittee
on Labor Education, V. P. I.

FROM: James W. Robinson, Coordinator
Labor Education Program

RE: Committee Meeting

As you were notified previously, the Labor Advisory Subcommittee will meet at 10:30 in the Board Room of the Donaldson Brown Center for Continuing Education at Virginia Tech on Monday, September 15. I am attaching a copy of the agenda, a list of committee members, and a map of the campus.

Jerald F. Robinson of the University of Illinois who will join the labor education staff on January 1 will attend the meeting also in order to become acquainted with the members.

If you plan to come in Sunday evening, my wife and I invite you to our home at 8:30 P.M. for refreshments and to get acquainted with one another and with Jerry and me.

Sincerely and
fraternally,

Jim

James W. Robinson
Coordinator

Attachments

TENTATIVE AGENDA FOR THE
LABOR EDUCATION ADVISORY SUBCOMMITTEE
MEETING

10:30 A.M.	WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION
	Dr. H. H. Mitchell - Dean, College of Business
10:45	BUSINESS EXTENSION: PAST AND FUTURE
	Dr. J. D. Richardson - Director, Business Extension
11:15	AN OVERVIEW OF EXTENSION
	Dr. Maynard Heckel - Associate Dean, Extension Division and Director, Donaldson Brown Center
11:30	REPORT ON BUSINESS EXTENSION COMMITTEE MEETING
	Brewster Snow - Secretary-Treasurer, Virginia State AFL-CIO
	ORGANIZATION OF LABOR SUBCOMMITTEE AND SELECTION OF OFFICERS, ETC. IF DESIRED
12:00 P.M.	LUNCHEON - Private Dining Room
1:00	GENERAL DISCUSSION ON LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM

ADVISORY SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM

Donald E. Arnold, Director
Western Virginia - District 2
Communications Workers of America
104 North Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Wilburn Boothe, Representative
District 35
United Steelworkers of America
Post Office Box 5544
Roanoke, Virginia 24012

Arnold E. Brown, Vice-President
United Papermakers & Paperworkers
Post Office Box 6513
Richmond, Virginia 23230

Julian F. Carper, President
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 North Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

William Clithroe, Grand Lodge Representative
International Association of Machinists
504 ~~808~~ Glenn Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Wayne L. Dernoncourt, Vice-President
Textile Workers Union of America
Post Office Box 1039
Lynchburg, Virginia 24505

Earl W. Davis, Assistant Director
AFL-CIO Minorities Division
419 West Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Hubert A. Fisher, Business Manager
International Brotherhood of
Electrical Workers, Local 637
Post Office Box 2503
Roanoke, Virginia 24010

Robert E. Gregory, Business Representative
American Bakery & Confectionery Workers'
International Union, Local 358
3108 1/2 West Leigh Street
Richmond, Virginia 23230

George T. Guernsey, Assistant Director
AFL-CIO Department of Education
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mrs. Frances Lowe, Women's Activities
Director, Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 North Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Gerald Moody, Representative
International Union of Electrical,
Radio, and Machine Workers
405 Yorkshire Drive
Salem, Virginia 24153

Brewster Snow, Secretary-Treasurer
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 North Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Martin Vest, Representative
International Ladies Garment Workers Union
Post Office Box 28
Roanoke, Virginia 24001

Emory Via, ~~Labor Liaison Representative~~ Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Paul A. Wagner, Representative
United Automobile, Aerospace, and
Agricultural Implement Workers of America
1126 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Jack Wilkinson, Regional Manager
Laborers International Union of N. America
~~905 16th Street, N.W.~~
Washington, D. C. 20006
910 17th St, N.W.

Bus. Ex. Adv. Com.
(1) Brewster Snow
(2) George Long
Va. Assn of Counties
(3) Bevis Alexander
Va Motel-Hotel Assn

INDEX TO DEPARTMENTS OF INSTRUCTION

Department	Location
Accounting	Commerce
Aerospace Engineering	Randolph
Agricultural Economics	Hutcheson
Agricultural Engineering	Seitz
Agronomy	Smyth
Animal Science	Hutcheson
Architecture	Cowgill
Biochemistry and Nutrition	Biochemistry
Biology	Price
Business Administration	Commerce
Chemical Engineering	Randolph
Chemistry	Davidson
Civil Engineering	Norris
Clothing, Textiles, Related Arts	Wallace
Dairy Science	Saunders
Economics	Commerce
Education	Smyth
Electrical Engineering	Patton
Engineering Mechanics	Norris
English	Williams
Entomology	Price
Foreign Languages	Williams
Forestry and Wildlife	Price
Geological Sciences	Holden
Graduate School	Davidson
Health and Physical Education	Memorial Gym
History	Lane
Home Economics	Wallace
Horticulture	Smyth
Human Nutrition and Foods	Wallace
Industrial Engineering	Randolph
Management, Housing, Fam. Development	Wallace
Mathematics	Williams
Mechanical Engineering	Randolph
Metals and Ceramic Engineering	Holden
Mining Engineering	Holden
Philosophy and Religion	Memorial Gym
Physics	Physics
Plant Pathology and Physiology	Price
Political Science	Lane
Poultry Science	Hutcheson
Psychology	Davidson
ROTC (Air Force, Army)	Lane
Sociology	Lane
Statistics	Hutcheson
Veterinary Science	Price's Fork Rd.
Vocational Education	Smyth

NOTE: Most administrative departments are located in Burruss. The Research and Extension Divisions are in Hutcheson.

VIRGINIA TECH

CAMPUS GUIDE

Virginia's Land-Grant University

Historical Sketch

Virginia Polytechnic Institute was established in 1872 as the Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College after a prolonged fight had been waged in the Virginia General Assembly by various colleges to get a share of the land scrip provided by Congress through the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862.

In March 1872, the General Assembly voted to accept an offer of $20,000 from Montgomery County and the one building of the Preston and Olin Institute in Blacksburg and locate the land-grant college there.

The new college opened its doors on October 1, 1872, with a president, two faculty members, a librarian, and 43 students. In less than 70 years it would become the largest university in the state.

The first 20 years of the new college's life were filled with difficulties, confusion, and struggles, mostly caused by political interference, the case at most land-grant colleges in those early days following the Civil War.

During the administration of Dr. John M. McBryde, the college's fifth president (1891-1907), the institution began its great growth. It was during McBryde's administration that the words "Polytechnic Institute" were added to the name. At that time (1896), the college became popularly known as Virginia Tech. In 1944, the "Agricultural and Mechanical College" was dropped and the legal name became Virginia Polytechnic Institute. At the same time, Radford College became Tech's women's division; the two were separated in 1964.

Since its founding, Virginia Tech has been served by 11 presidents. Its current president, Dr. T. Marshall Hahn Jr., assumed the presidency on July 1, 1962, at age 35, the youngest president in the university's history.

Instruction, Research, and Extension

Today, Virginia Tech is more than a university, as it serves the state, the nation, and the world in the three important fields of instruction, research, and extension.

Bachelor's degrees are offered in six academic colleges on the undergraduate level: Agriculture, Architecture, Arts and Sciences, Business, Engineering, and Home Economics. Graduate work is offered in 56 fields of study on the master's level and in 28 leading to the doctorate.

The university is accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and ranks second in the nation in the number of engineering curricula accredited by the Engineering Council for Professional Development.

Tech's Research Division is responsible for fostering the growth and enhancement of the research activities of the university by providing a wide range of administrative and technical services to assist the faculty in obtaining research support and successfully carrying out their research programs.

Extension, the "off-campus" education arm of the university, has been a part of Tech since early in the century. The Division conducts educational programs throughout the state in the areas of agriculture, community development, 4-H, general academics, home economics, resource development, and technical services.

Adult education is another phase of work conducted by the university on a broad scope. The new Continuing Education Center provides the on-campus physical facilities for field days, conferences, and short courses which offer an economical means of providing refresher material and latest information to the public on a year-round basis.

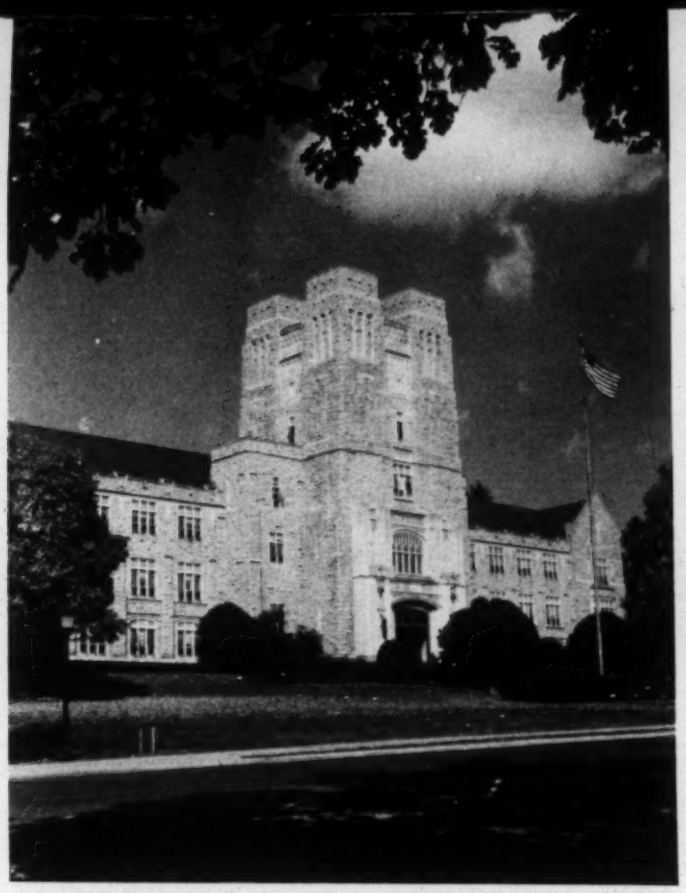
Location

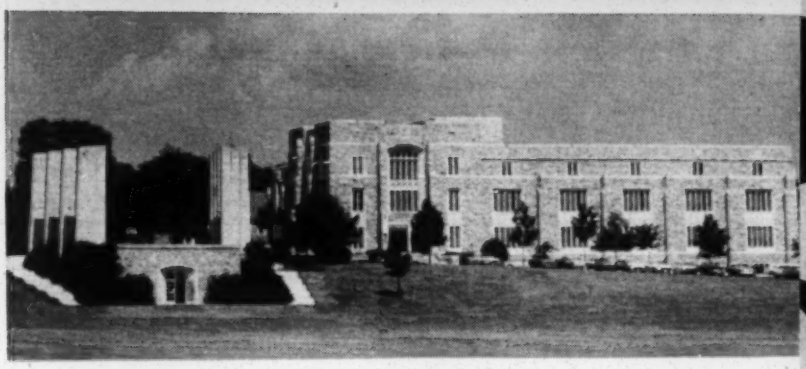
Virginia Tech is located in Montgomery County in beautiful Southwest Virginia, adjoining the town of Blacksburg. The campus lies on a plateau between the Blue Ridge and Allegheny Mountains 2,100 feet above sea level. The area is noted for its natural beauty, healthy atmosphere, and outdoor recreational opportunities.

The campus is 40 miles west of Roanoke, the commercial hub of the area, easily reached via four-lane highways (U. S. 460 and Interstate 81). Air service is provided through Roanoke (Eastern and Piedmont) and New River Valley Airport at Dublin (Piedmont). The university operates a landing field for private airplanes about a mile south of the central campus. The area also is served by the main line of the Norfolk and Western Railway. Direct bus service to Blacksburg is available through Trailways.

Campus and Facilities

The Virginia Tech campus covers about 2,300 acres and includes the Tech Airport, university farm, experimental plats, and orchards. The university also has about 600 acres of adjoining farm land under long-term lease





and owns about 1,300 nearby acres and mineral rights to about 1,300 other acres.

The physical plant includes 85 principal buildings and numerous less important structures. Among the more notable facilities are Burruss Hall, the administration building and 3,003-seat auditorium; the Tech Coliseum, seating up to 10,000 (the largest auditorium in the state); Lane Stadium which seats 35,000; the VPI Memorial and Chapel (containing eight sculptured pylons, a granite cenotaph, a magnificent pipe organ and chancel sculpture, and the names of Tech's war dead); the Donaldson Brown Center for Continuing Education (with overnight accommodations for 262); Squires Student Center; and the Carol M. Newman Library (with more than half a million volumes).

Potpourri

Tech is an independent member of the National Collegiate Athletic Association and participates in football, basketball, baseball, cross country, track and field, wrestling, tennis, golf, and swimming on the varsity and freshmen levels. Non-varsity participation is in soccer and lacrosse. Team colors are Chicago maroon and burnt orange; nicknames include "Gobblers" and "Hokies."

Southwest Va.

Recreational and tourist attractions abound in the area.

Tech's nine-hole golf course is open to campus visitors.

Boating, swimming, camping, and fishing facilities are available at nearby Claytor Lake State Park. The surrounding area is a hunting paradise. Also located nearby are famous Mountain Lake, the Blue Ridge Parkway, Roanoke and Shenandoah Valleys, and Jefferson National Forest.

Within a two-hour drive of the campus are world-famous Natural Bridge; historic Lexington and Appomattox; Abingdon and the Barter Theater; Hungry Mother and Douthat State Parks; Peaks of Otter; Staunton, birthplace of Woodrow Wilson; and many other scenic and historic points of interest.

Smithfield Plantation, a restored 1772 colonial house, is open to the public Wednesdays through Sundays from 1-4 p.m. ($1 admission for adults; children under 12 with parents, free). Two governors of Virginia and many of their descendants are buried on the Plantation. Entrance is from the Tech campus west of the President's Home.

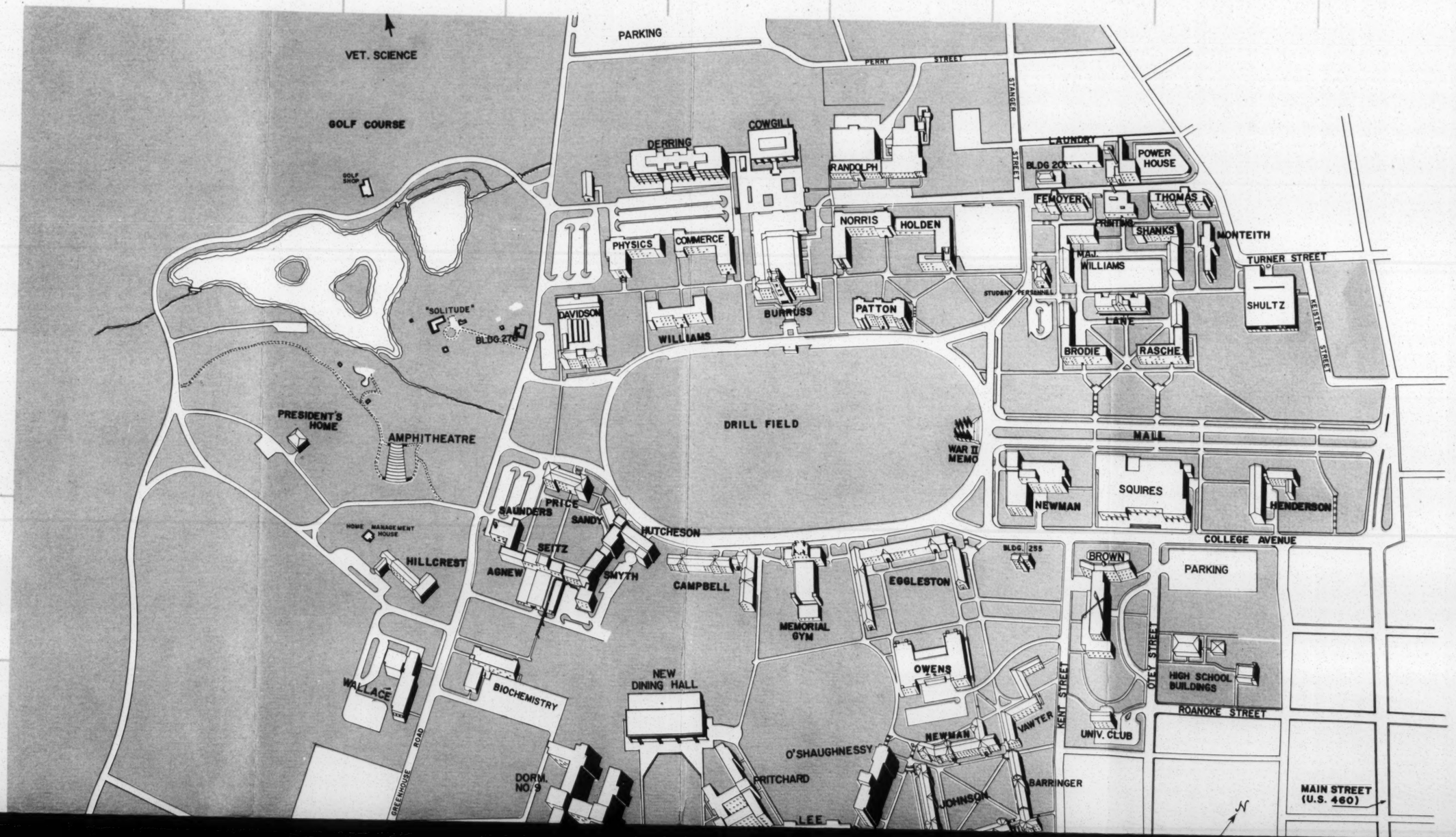
Welcome to Virginia Tech

We hope you enjoy your stay
—whether you're here for just a visit,
for the pursuit of a degree,
or settling down with us
for an even longer time.

Our students, faculty, and staff
are proud of Virginia Tech
and happily will try to answer
your questions about the campus,
the university, or surrounding area.

So, please feel at home.

We're glad you're with us!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MALL
NEWMAN
SQUIRES
HENDERSON
HOME MANAGEMENT HOUSE
HILLCREST
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OWENS
KENT STREET
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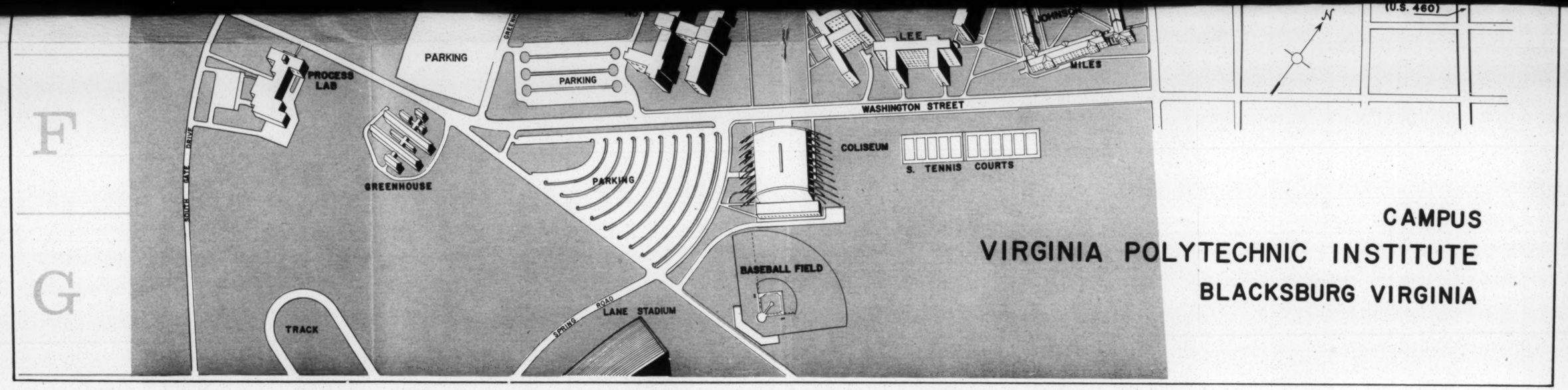
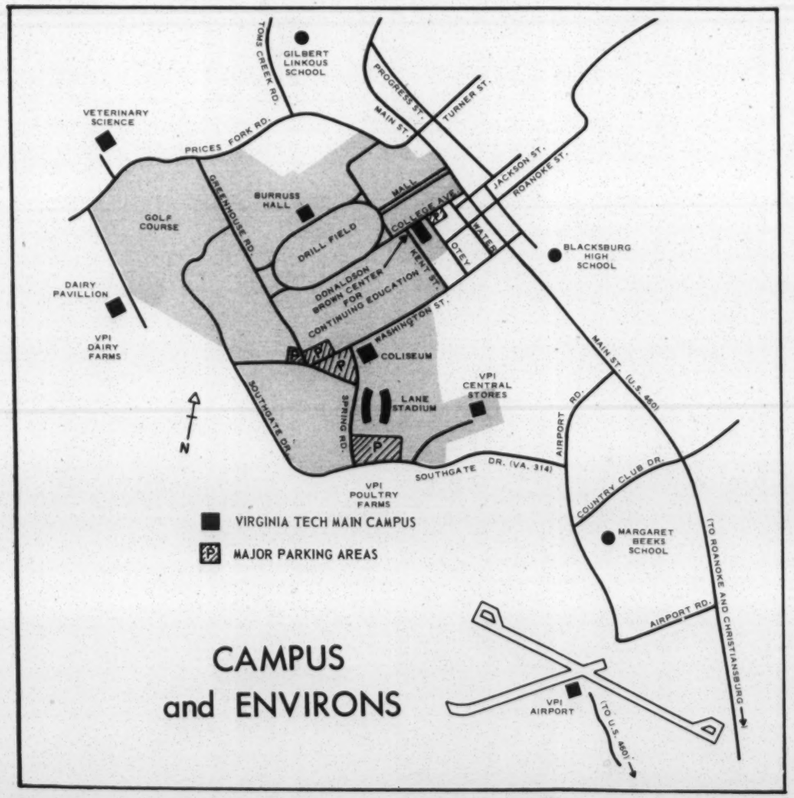
UNIV. CLUB
NEWMAN
O'SHAUGHNESSY
DORM. NO. 9
PRITCHARD
JOHNSON
BARRINGER
GREENHOUSE ROAD
LEE
MAIN STREET (U.S. 460)
N





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The Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center, on the campus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, is dedicated to provide an atmosphere and the staff competence wherein the extension, teaching and research capabilities of the university can be focused on the problems faced by citizens in our dynamic society. The Center was made possible through state appropriations and private gifts of alumni and friends of VPI.

Educational leadership will be provided in a residential setting to assure the best possible use of resources in identifying educational needs, designing effective educational programs and assisting with the evaluation of such endeavors. This leadership will be provided by VPI faculty whose special competences will assure that activities are directed toward significant educational purposes. The faculty will be drawn from each of the six colleges of the university.

Appropriate conferences, institutes, workshops, seminars and other types of intensive educational programs will be conducted in the Center to achieve the stated purposes. The opportunity to learn and live together will make these activities particularly meaningful.

The specific objectives of the Continuing Education Center are:

To translate research findings and relate them to practical problems of local, state, national and international importance.

To further the philosophy of the land grant educational system by fostering the application of university resources to the needs of our citizens.

To inform leaders and policy makers of the relevance of university extension, research and teaching to local, state, national and international problems and needs.

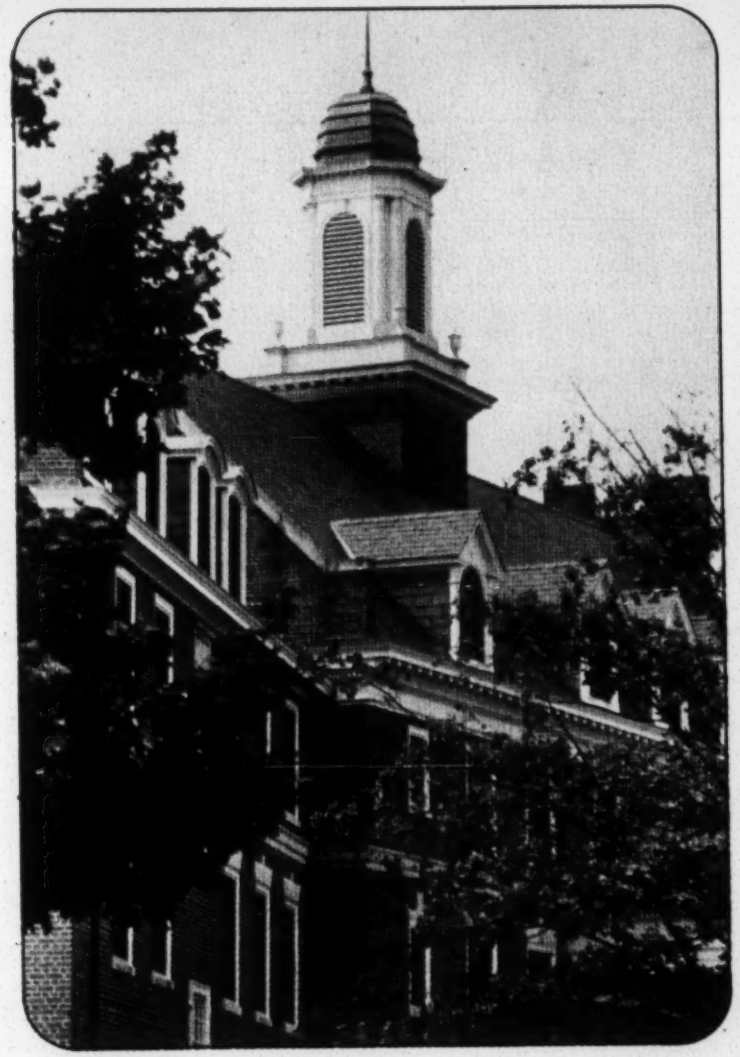
To provide modern facilities for meetings of groups or organizations in business, industry, community service, family life, agriculture, government, the arts or the professions which are seeking university assistance in developing educational programs within the setting of Virginia's Land Grant University.

To provide practical educational experiences for prospective adult educators interested in increasing their knowledge of the processes by which continuing education programs are effectively planned and conducted.

To provide an example for the total student body of the role and importance of continuing education.

To relate to and complement all programs of continuing education of the University.

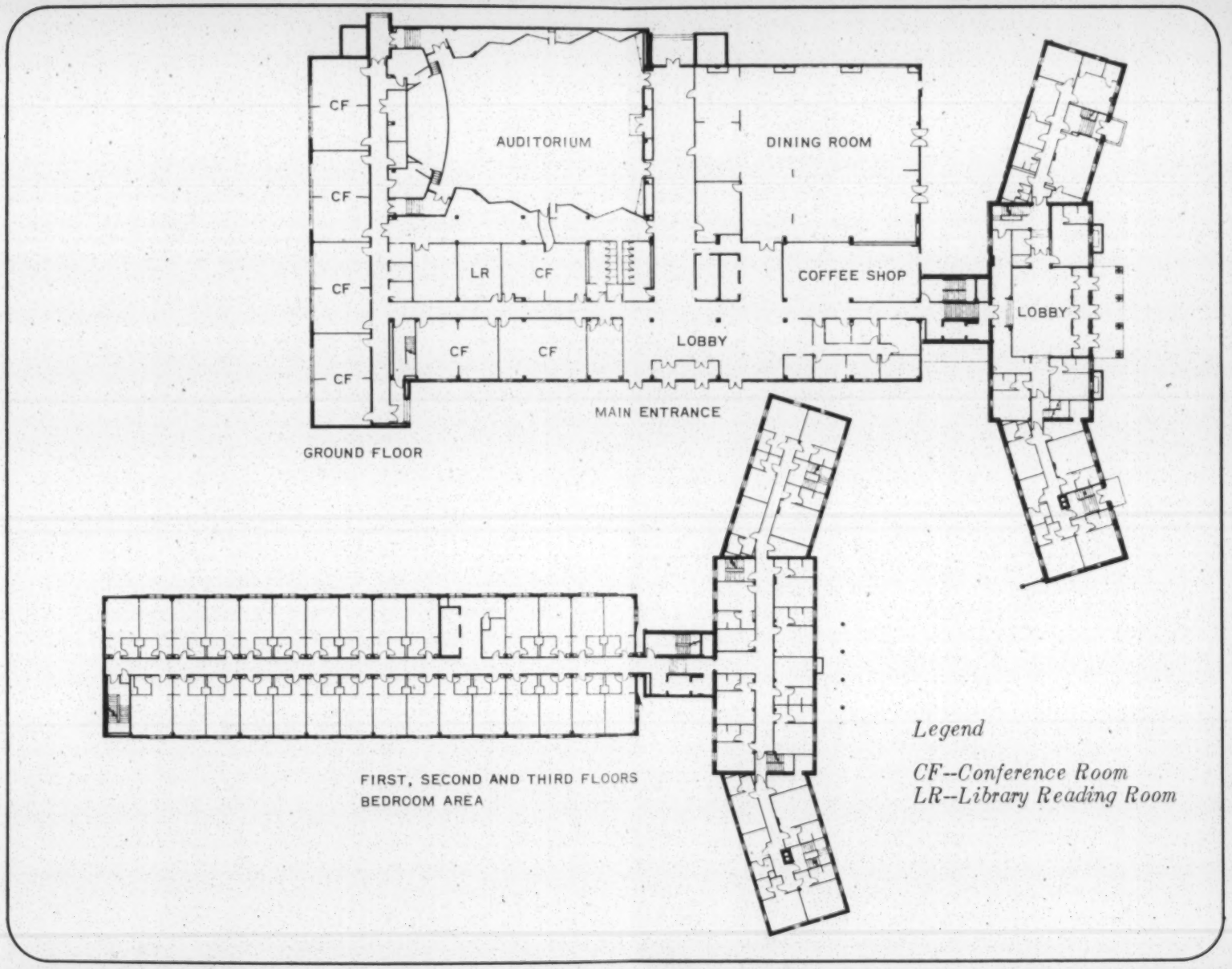
Extension Division/Virginia Polytechnic Institute/Blacksburg, Virginia



The Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center

A sound program of education is not a piece of carpentry to be put together in a few days; it is like a tree which must be allowed to grow and mature—the simple but powerful ideal of life-long learning for all men.

Cyril O. Houle,
University of Chicago



Facilities Designed Exclusively for the Best in Communication and Comfort

The Continuing Education Center building is planned to be an ideal setting for adult learning. There are complete facilities for conducting sessions for groups as large as 600 . . . an auditorium, meeting rooms of all sizes, complete line of audio-visual equipment including video tape capability, library and exhibit areas.

In addition, the Center provides complete living accommodations for 264 guests, along with large and small dining rooms, a coffee shop . . . providing all the necessary conference facilities in one convenient location.

The initial request for an educational program at the Center may come from a variety of sources. In view of the purpose and objectives of the Center, requests will ordinarily be entertained from one of the following:

- A college, division, department or faculty member of the university.
- A scholarly or professional association which has among its membership staff persons of the university.
- A group, organization or individual which is seeking university assistance in developing effective continuing educational programs.
- The program staff of the Center.

The first step in initiating a program or gaining further information is to contact:

Dr. Maynard C. Heckel/Director, Continuing Education Center/Virginia Polytechnic Institute/Blacksburg,Virginia 24061

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS
BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA 24061

LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM
552-6589 (AREA CODE 703)

MEMORANDUM
8 September 1969

TO: Members, Labor Education
Advisory Subcommittee

FROM: James W. Robinson, Coordinator
Labor Education Program

RE: Committee Meeting

The location for our September 15 meeting has been moved from the Board Room to the Conference Room B, also in the Donaldson Brown Center for Continuing Education. The new room will accomodate our group more comfortably.

Sincerely and
fraternally,

Jim

James W. Robinson

VPI

Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Chartered by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

102 NORTH BELVIDERE STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 23220

JULIAN F. CARPER, President
BREWSTER SNOW, Secretary-Treasurer

Phone: (703) 644-2996

September 9, 1969

Mr. Emory Via, Labor Liason Representative
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

You have recently received a notice from Dr. Jim Robinson concerning the first meeting of the Labor Advisory Committee. The meeting is scheduled for 10:30 A.M., Monday, September 15, at VPI, Blacksburg, Virginia.

Since this is our initial meeting and the future effectiveness, as well as the nature of the Labor Education Program of the Institution could well be determined by the type of leadership the Advisory Committee may be able to offer, it is imperative that we share your presence.

I look forward with pleasure to seeing you at the meeting. Also, I trust this may be the beginning of a new and effective labor education program for the Virginia trade union movement.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Julian

Julian F. Carper
President

JFC:FT
OPEIU 334, AFL-CIO

P.S. If you cannot attend or if you plan to bring your wife along, please notify our office by Thursday afternoon, September 11.

September 11, 1969

Donaldson Brown Continuing
Education Center
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

Dear Sirs:

You are holding a room for me on September 14. I will arrive substantially later than 6:00 P.M., but this letter will guarantee the reservation.

I will be attending the Labor Advisory Committee meeting.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Donaldson Brown Continuing Education
Center
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Blacksburg, Va 24061

Dear Sirs:

You are holding a room for me on Sept. 14. I will arrive substantially later than 6:00 P.M, but this letter will guarantee the reservation.

I will be attending the Lava Advisory Committee meeting.

Sincerely
Guy F. Tipton

September 22, 1969

Mr. Julian Carper, President
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere St.
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Dear Julian:

I would appraoch the negotiations with the university in getting more autonomy for the labor program with a good deal of careful preparation.

I certainly hope someone can clear the way with the university vice president before the subcommittee meets with him.

Fraternally yours,

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

cc: Emory Via

GTG/mjq
opeiu 2 afl-cio

Emory: I didn't have a chance to tell you I was a little bitter about the way in which the committee felt that they could quickly change the structure of the labor program at VPI. I certainly hope you will work closely with the subcommittee on some of the problems of dealing with the vice president of the university.

George

J.R. & J.D. Richardson relation
Initiation of program
Inviting J.R. to VPI
Taking Admins. matters personally.

V.P.I.

VOL. II NO. 1 SEPTEMBER 1969

Labor Education Newsletter

An Extension Service of the College of Business

ANOTHER ROBINSON JOINS THE STAFF

The Labor Education Program, with great pleasure, announces the appointment of Jerald F. Robinson as a labor education specialist and assistant professor of industrial relations, effective January 1, 1970. At present, Mr. Robinson is completing requirements for the doctorate in industrial relations at the University of Illinois and is a fellow of the Brookings Institution for a project to study unions of police and firemen.

A native of Memphis, Tennessee, Mr. Robinson received a bachelor's degree in economics from Southwestern College at Memphis, and a master's degree in economics at Duke University, receiving scholarship awards from both institutions. He was an assistant professor of economics at Furman University, 1962-64, and was assistant professor of economics and assistant coordinator of the Labor Education Program at the University of Missouri, 1965-66. He is the author of several publications and reviews in professional journals and recently directed an educational materials development project for the Communications Workers of America at the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. Robinson is known widely in labor education for his activities with the programs at the Universities of Illinois and Missouri. He has developed a variety of programs and materials for steward and leadership training and for consumer education. He is a member of AFT Local 189. Mr. Robinson is married and has one son.

LABOR ADVISORY GROUP NAMED

The College of Business has formed several advisory groups to assist with its extension activities. An overall Business Extension Advisory Committee, composed of representatives from labor, industry, and government service, will work with Dr. John D. Richardson, the Director of Business Extension, on the determination of goals and priorities for extension activities of the College of Business. Virginia State AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Brewster Snow is the labor representative on this three-member committee. Three subcommittees have been established to work specifically with each of the functional areas of Business Extension (Business and Industry, Labor Education, and Public Administration) and their respective program coordinators.

College of Business Dean H. H. Mitchell has announced the appointment of the following persons to the Labor Education Advisory Subcommittee:

Donald Arnold, Director
Western Virginia, District 2
Communications Workers of America
Richmond

Wilburn Boothe, Representative
District 35
United Steelworkers of America
Roanoke

Arnold Brown, Vice-President
United Papermakers
and Paperworkers
Richmond

Julian Carper, President
Virginia State AFL-CIO
Richmond

William Clithroe, Grand Lodge
Representative
International Association
of Machinists
Atlanta, Georgia

Earl Davis, Assistant Director
AFL-CIO Minorities Division
Richmond

Wayne Dernoncourt, Vice-President
Textile Workers Union of America
Lynchburg

Hubert Fisher, Business Manager
International Brotherhood
of Electrical Workers
Local 637
Roanoke

Robert Gregory, Business
Representative
American Bakery and
Confectionery Workers
Local 358
Richmond

George Guernsey, Assistant Director
AFL-CIO Department of Education
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Frances Lowe, Women's
Activities Director
Virginia State AFL-CIO
Richmond

Gerald Moody, Representative
International Union of Electrical,
Radio, and Machine Workers
Salem

Brewster Snow, Secretary-Treasurer
Virginia State AFL-CIO
Richmond

Martin Vest, Representative
International Ladies Garment Workers' Union
Roanoke

Emory Via, Labor Liason Representative
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Paul Wagner, Representative
United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers
Washington, D. C.

Jack Wilkinson, Regional Manager
Laborers International Union
Washington, D. C.

The group held its first meeting on September 15 in the Donaldson Brown Center for Continuing Education on the Virginia Tech campus.

AFGE SEMINAR

District 4 of the American Federation of Government Employees sponsored a seminar, June 8-13, in the Donaldson Brown Center, attended by 40 delegates from Maryland, North Carolina, West Virginia, Virginia, and the District of Columbia. Otto Pragan, Assistant Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Education taught sessions on the *Meaning of Collective Bargaining*, *Urban Problems*, and *Negotiations*. AFGE Education Director Arthur Kane taught a session on *AFGE Structure and Functions*; and Assistant Education Director Raymond Gray, on the *Coordinated Federal Wage System* and *Running the Local Meeting*.

Jerald Robinson of the University of Illinois taught classes on *Contract Administration*; James Robinson of Virginia Tech taught the Legislative Sessions; and Roger Walker of Virginia Tech taught sessions on *Telling the Union Story: Internal and External Communications*. James Robinson moderated an evening panel session on "What's Ahead for Public Employee Unionism." Panel members were Kane, Pragan, and Jerald Robinson.

ABEL ADDRESSES USWA SCHOOL

President I. W. Abel of the United Steelworkers of America addressed delegates to the annual Summer Institute of the USWA held this year in the Donaldson Brown Center for Continuing Education on the Virginia Tech campus, June 25-27. President Abel stressed the great need for education in organized labor and

noted, with respect to labor history, that, "Those who do not study the past often relive it."

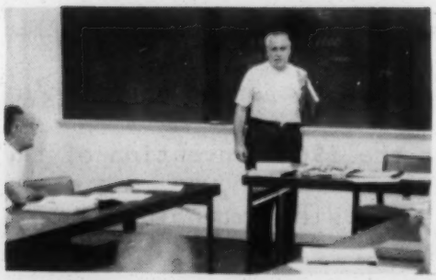
Some 160 delegates from locals in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia attended the 3-day institute sponsored by USWA Districts 35 and 36. General sessions included *National Legislative Issues* (John Sheehan, USWA Legislative Director), *Unions and the Community* (Professor Ephraim Fischoff, Lynchburg College), *Perspectives on Labor History* (Professor Roger Walker, Virginia Tech), *A Look Behind the Iron Curtain* (Professor A. Coskun Samli, Virginia Tech), *Unionizing the Organized* (Jerald Robinson, University of Illinois), and *Unions and Politics* (Wayne Dernoncourt, TWUA Vice-President).

The delegates were divided into smaller groups for education on *Grievance Procedures* and *Effective Union Meetings* taught by Professors James Robinson and M. Murphy Bird of Virginia Tech, and Jerald Robinson and Roger Walker. Professor Edwin Marsh delivered the banquet address on the final evening of the conference.

TRI-STATE SCHOOL RETURNS

The 1969 Tri-State Labor School was held in the Donaldson Brown Center for Continuing Education on the campus of Virginia Tech, August 17-22. The annual summer school is sponsored by the North Carolina AFL-CIO; South Carolina Labor Council, AFL-CIO; the Virginia State AFL-CIO; the AFL-CIO Department of Education; and the Labor Education Program of Virginia Tech. There were 43 delegates from North Carolina, 25 from South Carolina, and 27 from Virginia, representing locals of 20 different international unions.

The faculty for the school consisted of Stuart Brock, Clinton Fair, E. T. Kehrer, James O'Brian, and Dan Powell for various AFL-CIO departments; Pat Eames, Wayne Dernoncourt, and Stephen Remsen from the TWUA; Leonard Dudley of the North Carolina AFL-CIO; Robert Esposito, the AFT Local 189 intern; and John D. Richardson and James Robinson from Virginia Tech; and William Clithroe of the IAM.



IAM Grand Lodge Representative William Clithroe shows delegates how to run a good union meeting

AFL-CIO Assistant Director of Education, Stuart Brock discusses the New South with delegates

Each delegate in the Basic Program (first year) received instruction on *Social Security and Income Maintenance* (O'Brian and Powell), *Labor History* (Robinson), and *The Changing South* (Brock) each morning. The afternoons were divided into five workshops from which each delegate selected one: *Organization* (Brock), *Running Union Meetings* (Clithroe), *COPE* (Powell and Dernoncourt), *Shop Steward Training* (Remsen), and *Communications and Public Relations* (Dudley and Richardson). Delegates in the Communications workshop produced a newspaper on the Tri-State School, and those in the COPE workshop received practical experience related to the Virginia primary election.

Students who had attended a previous school were in the Advanced Group which met all day with Pat Eames and Kehrer to discuss various current topics in depth. All delegates came together for evening sessions that included *Hunger in America, Southern Politics: A New Coalition, and Revitalizing State Government.*

Mrs. Frances Lowe receives certificate at graduation luncheon from (l to r) Julian Carper, W. M. Barbee, and E. T. Kirkland

At the graduation luncheon, delegates received certificates from President W. M. Barbee of the North Carolina AFL-CIO, Secretary-Treasurer E. T. Kirkland of the South Carolina Labor Council, and President Julian F. Carper of the Virginia State AFL-CIO.

ANNUAL REPORT

The first annual report of the Labor Education Program was issued in July. In its first year of operation, the Labor Education Program co-sponsored schools or conferences for 4 international unions and 3 state labor organizations. A total of 493 delegates received 95 hours of instruction from Virginia Tech faculty and 95 hours from other persons. Copies of the *Annual Report* are available free of charge from the Labor Education Program.

Also available free are *Labor Education in Virginia* which describes the Program and copies of the evaluations of the TWUA Upper South Program, 1968 Tri-State Labor School, and the Staff Training Institute of the Laborers International Union; copies of Roger Walker's address to the 1968 convention of the North Carolina AFL-CIO; and copies Professor Robinson's address at the 1968 convention of the National University Extension Association.

WALKER DEPARTS

Persons who have attended various schools and conferences co-sponsored by the Labor Education Program are familiar with Dr. Roger W. Walker whose contributions of time and energy were a major factor in getting the new program started. Dr. Walker resigned in July to accept an endowed chair as Professor of Economics at Hamline University in St. Paul, Minnesota. His wit and flowing delivery will be missed by all in Virginia organized labor who were privileged to hear him. We all wish him well.

NEW ADDRESS

The Labor Education Program has a new address due to a switch in offices and a new name for the building which houses the College of Business. Correspondence should be addressed to 115 Pamplin Hall. The telephone number

will be 552-6465, area code 703.

EDUCATION COMMITTEE MEMO

An individual often misunderstood in the community is the union organizer. Roosevelt University's Labor Education Division has reprinted an article that appeared in the *Chicago Sun Times' Midwest Magazine* entitled simply, "The Union Organizer." Reporter Fred Frailey presents an objective and understanding portrait of organizer Harry Kurshenbaum who is also with the Labor Education Division at Roosevelt. The article was prepared for the general public and makes interesting and informative reading. If you are interested in obtaining copies for distribution, contact Labor Education Division, Roosevelt University, Chicago, Illinois for details and information.

HERE 'N' THERE

Congratulations to J. D. Richardson, on being named Director of Business Extension, a recognition of the new and important role of this work in extension . . . Congratulations also to Dr. Robert King on being named head of the Business Administration Department . . . Jim Robinson will speak at the 3rd annual conference on Economic Education for the Clergy in Richmond on October 8 . . . Labor Education Program will cooperate in presentation of the 1969 TWUA Upper South Conference in Roanoke, September 19-21.

TO: James W. Robinson, Coordinator
Labor Education Program
Pamplin Hall
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

/_/ I am interested in obtaining information about the Labor Education Program and how my local might begin educational activities.

/_/ Please add this name to your mailing list: _____

YOUR NAME _____ LOCAL _____ CITY _____
STREET ADDRESS _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

LABOR EDUCATION NEWSLETTER
115 PAMPLIN HALL
VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA 24061

Emory Via, Labor Liason Rep.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

VPI

Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Chartered by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
102 NORTH BELVIDERE STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 23220

JULIAN F. CARPER, President
BREWSTER SNOW, Secretary-Treasurer

Phone: (703) 644-2996

October 7, 1969

Mr. L. F. Malpass
Vice President for Academic Affairs
Burruss Hall
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Blacksburg, Virginia

Dear Sir:

The Advisory Subcommittee on Labor Education met at the Donaldson Brown Center for Continuing Education on September 15, with all but two of the members present.

After the election of a chairman, vice chairman and secretary for the group, a frank and energetic discussion followed as to the functions of the subcommittee, the status of the labor education program in the College of Business, the role it should occupy in relation to the labor movement, and its potential standing as a vital part of the educational responsibilities of VPI.

Although the staff of the College of Business have contributed generously to our understanding of the services that can be provided in a labor education program, there are several unanswered questions that our committee believe it advisable to discuss with you or such other authorities as you might consider proper. Accordingly, it will be appreciated if you will agree to meet with a group of not more than six or seven of our committee members for that purpose. We would like to suggest the morning of Friday, October 17, if possible.

You may be interested to know that our committee unanimously directed that the minutes of the meeting include an expression of commendation to the College of Business and to the authorities of VPI for being the leader among institutions of higher learning in Virginia in establishing a labor education program, and expressing our gratitude for it.

Sincerely,

Brewster Snow

Brewster Snow, Chairman
Advisory Subcommittee on
Labor Education

BS:rp
cc: Julian F. Carper
J. D. Richardson
James W. Robinson
All Committee Members
Dr. Maynard Heckel

VPI

Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Chartered by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

3315 WEST BROAD STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 23230

JULIAN F. CARPER, President
MARVIN W. WALLACE, Vice-President
BREWSTER SNOW, Secretary-Treasurer

Phone: (703) 355-7444

October 30, 1969

Dr. Leslie F. Malpass
Vice President for Academic Affairs
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

Dear Dr. Malpass:

I hope you will excuse me for the delay in answering your kind letter of October 13, but we have been in the process of moving our headquarters and everything has been somewhat confused as a result.

In the discussion with Dean Heckel, I asked him if he would inform you that the proposed meeting with you on October 17 would best be delayed until a more opportune time, and he agreed to do so. Consequently, my inability to answer your letter prior to that date, I sincerely hope, did not result in any inconvenience to you.

It is still our desire to meet with you whenever you can find time to do so and we can assemble our subcommittee. If you can name a date sometime after November 22, preferably on a Friday, we will try to accommodate to your convenience. I shall be pleased to hear from you as to your wishes. Meanwhile, our deepest thanks to you for your interest and your offer of assistance with our problems.

Sincerely,

Brewster Snow
Secretary-Treasurer

BS:rp
cc: Carper, Wilkinson, Via, Dernoncourt, Guernsey, Robinson, Richardson
OPEIU 334, AFL-CIO

December 9, 1969

Mr. Brewster Snow, Chairman
Labor AdvisorySubcommittee
Virginia State AFL-CIO
3315 West Broad Street
Richmond, Virginia 23230

Dear Brewster:

I will make every effort to attend the meeting at VPI on December 19th. However, I do have some travel schedule difficulties.

Will there be a meeting on Thursday evening of our subcommittee? Are there any changes in what we hope to do?

I will probably call you, Guernsey and Robinson sometime prior to the meeting.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Chartered by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

3315 WEST BROAD STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 23230

JULIAN F. CARPER, President
MARVIN W. WALLACE, Vice-President
BREWSTER SNOW, Secretary-Treasurer

Phone: (703) 355-7444

December 2, 1969

TO: Members of the Advisory Subcommittee on Labor Education

Fraternal Greetings:

In compliance with the directive of the Committee, as adopted on September 15 at the Blacksburg meeting, I have endeavored to arrange a meeting of our subcommittee with Doctor Malpass, Vice President for Academic Affairs. Due to the heavy commitments of everyone involved, such a meeting could not be scheduled easily; however, it has now been done.

Doctor Malpass and other selected VPI staff personnel will meet with our subcommittee at the Continuing Education Center, in Blacksburg, at 11 A. M., on Friday, December 19. As a reminder, members of the subcommittee are Julian F. Carper, Wayne Dernoncourt, Emory Via and Jack Wilkinson. George Guernsey is Consultant.

I regret that no alternate date for the meeting could be procured and hope that all members of the subcommittee can be present. If we can be of any help in personal arrangements, please let me know.

Fraternally,

Brewster Snow

Brewster Snow, Chairman
Labor Advisory Subcommittee

BS:csj
cc Malpass, Heckel, Robinson, Richardson

OPEIU 334, AFL-CIO

VPI

January 7, 1970

Mr. Brewster Snow
Secretary-Treasurer
Virginia State AFL-CIO
335 W. Broad St.
Richmond, Virginia 23230

Dear Brewster:

Did the meeting take place with the University on the labor education program?

Is there anything new to report?

Fraternally,

George T. Guernsey, Asst. Director
Department of Education

CC: Emory Via

GTG/mjq
opeiu 2 afl-cio

Dictated but not read

VPI

Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Chartered by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

3315 WEST BROAD STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 23230

JULIAN F. CARPER, President
MARVIN W. WALLACE, Vice-President
BREWSTER SNOW, Secretary-Treasurer

Phone: (703) 355-7444

March 12, 1970

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE LABOR EDUCATION ADVISORY SUBCOMMITTEE

Gentlemen:

The enclosed copy of a letter from J. D. Richardson, Director, Business Extension, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, is self-explanatory. It should be studied carefully pending disposition of the subject matter, which will be under consideration, I expect, at our next meeting.

You are urged, also, to give thought to the needs of the labor movement with respect to the future role of VPI in that endeavor, in order that we may be in a position to discuss your ideas and pass on to the Labor Education staff those which appear to be most worthy and feasible.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Brewster

Brewster Snow
Secretary-Treasurer

BS:rp
OPEIU 334, AFL-CIO

Encl.

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
EXTENSION DIVISION
BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA 24061

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

February 18, 1970

Mr. Brewster Snow
Labor Representative, Business Advisory
Committee and Chairman, Labor Education
Subcommittee
Virginia State AFL-CIO
3315 West Broad Street
Richmond, Virginia 23230

Dear Mr. Snow:

Recently you and several members of the Labor Education Program Advisory Subcommittee met with representatives of Virginia Polytechnic Institute to present some problems experienced by the group and to discuss the possibilities of establishing an independent labor education program at VPI. We have considered the suggestions most carefully and would like now to share our thoughts with you and with your group.

First, we would like to reaffirm our belief that Virginia Polytechnic Institute as the land-grant University of Virginia has an educational and service commitment to the labor sector in the state of Virginia. This is an obligation which we early recognized by contacting you to initiate the VPI program.

Secondly, we would like to express our appreciation to the Subcommittee for their recommendations and for their obviously genuine concern for the development of an outstanding program in Virginia.

With regard to the problems of committee identification and association with an academic activity entitled business (i.e. College of Business), let me assure you that we were concerned with the association problem when first developing the program in Business Extension but felt that since labor was an essential component of business, the antipathy would not be felt in the academic relationship. The problem of subcommittee status quite frankly had not been evident to us, perhaps due to the number of successful subcommittees which we operate with in other areas, and perhaps since we have a major concern for the total Business Extension effort and the total responsibility to the three groups represented by the industry, labor, and public sectors. Within this over-all responsibility, we feel that the three components are equal and hope that we allocate our resources accordingly. Most certainly we hope that our over-all Business Extension Advisory Committee, made up of representatives from each sector as it is, shares equally in their

contributions and responsibilities. Regardless of the previous views and understanding held here, it is appreciated that the views you expressed contain real concerns, concerns which organizationally are problems to you. We feel confident that much can be done to alleviate these difficulties and will work to improve the structure terminology and identification. We are searching for a new name which will more accurately reflect the broader image of Business Extension.

The organization structure initially established for Business Extension and the included Labor Education Program was developed to fit the administrative framework existing at that time and to utilize the resources which were available. The structure calls for a Director of Business Extension and the three major divisions of Industry, Labor, and Public Administration, each with a coordinator. Since the resources were and are primarily located in the College of Business, the structure seems appropriate to the present obligations. Plans for the continued growth and development of this type of extension activity include the possibility of the establishment of an Assistant or Associate Dean in the College of Business with responsibility for this area.

From the point of view that VPI initiated the Virginia Labor Education Program, one of the first in the South; that considerable resources have been allocated to the program over the two years of its existence; and that we have during these two years been rapidly developing our understanding of the group and its needs, we are satisfied that our effort has been both sincere and rewarding. At the present time, although we feel that our extension efforts are meeting with some success, it is obvious that we are having growing pains. These we are hoping to correct over time.

It is in this light that we believe it appropriate not to take steps to establish an Institute, Industrial Relations Center, or independent Labor Program at this time. It is felt that the present structure, with our expansion plans, provides the opportunity to accomplish the same purpose and within the existing administrative structure at VPI. Hopefully some improvement will be realized through the identification of more appropriate names for the existing organization structure and supporting advisory committees. Of course, this plan will be reviewed regularly to insure that we are meeting our goals effectively.

Once again, let me express my appreciation to the Subcommittee for their interest and concern with the development of the Labor Program at VPI. This type of positive advisory action will help us in the development of our mutual goals.

Most sincerely,

J. D. Richardson

J. D. Richardson
Director, Business Extension

pls

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY

Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS PROGRAM (703) 552-6195

October 12, 1971

OCT 19 1971

Dear Union Official:

The most complex challenge facing the local union in its relationship with management is only now taking sufficient shape to be comprehended by most officials. In 1970 the Congress enacted the Occupational Safety and Health Act. The AFL-CIO has played a key role in the enactment of this landmark legislation.

In cooperation with the Virginia Department of Labor and Industry, the Industrial and Labor Relations Program at Virginia Tech has designed a two-day conference to aid all concerned parties in understanding the law, the resulting procedures, and their respective roles. It is important for ALL local unions to have the benefit of the information to be discussed at this program. Local union officers, stewards, and safety committee members should attend.

You will find enclosed a more detailed outline of the program and the speakers. I believe you will find this conference to be an enlightening experience. Come and join us on the campus for this educational program.

Yours truly,

Jerald F. Robinson

Jerald F. Robinson
Coordinator

JFR/gc

Enclosure

Industrial and Labor Relations Program
College of Business
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and
State University
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

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EMORY VIA
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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST NW
ATLANTA GEORGIA 30303

00525
BR

OCT 19 1970

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY

CENTENNIAL

Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS PROGRAM (703) 552-6195

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, 1971-
THE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ACT

A Two-Day Conference for Business, Labor and Government Leaders

Proposed Program

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18

Present Status of OSHA

OSHA and the U. S. Department of Labor

Health Standards and HEW

The Part Virginia Plays

Roundtable Discussion: Questions and Answers

Deluxe Buffet Banquet

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 19

Key Issues in Compliance - panel discussion

Training Needs in OSHA

Record Keeping Under OSHA

Role of Insurance Carriers

A Simulated Inspection

SPEAKERS

Mr. Robert Beard
Assistance Commissioner, Virginia
Department of Labor and Industry

The Honorable Edmond M. Boggs
Commissioner, Virginia
Department of Labor and Industry

Mr. Joseph E. Nichols, Safety Director
Reynolds Metals Company and President
Virginia Safety Association

Mr. Harry Pinola, Chief
OSHA Statistics
U. S. Department of Labor

Mr. Edgar Seagle, Special
Assistant to the Director
National Institute for OSHA,
Department of HEW, Liason with
Labor Department and State Programs

Mr. J. Jack Sheehan, United
Steelworkers of America, Labor
Representative to National
Advisory Committee on OSHA

The Honorable James VanNamee
Commissioner, OSHA Review
Commission, Washington

Speaker from Office of Assistant Secretary of Labor, George Guenther.

SELECTED UNIVERSITY FACULTY MEMBERS

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, 1971

THE OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY ACT

Conference Information

Date: Thursday and Friday, November 18 and 19, 1971. Sessions will begin at 9:15 A.M. on Thursday and run through 4:30 P.M. on Friday.

Place: Center for Continuing Education, Campus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia.

Registration: Fill out and mail the enclosed advance registration form to the address indicated on the form. All registrants will receive additional conference materials by mail.

Fee: $40 per person including registration and conference costs, a conference notebook, coffee breaks, a luncheon and deluxe buffet dinner. The fee is applicable for attendance at one or both day's sessions.

Lodging Reservations: Lodging accomodations are NOT included in the registration fee and reservations should be made directly. The Donaldson Brown Center for Continuing Education has reserved a block of rooms for this conference. Rates are $8, single occupancy, and $6 per person, twin occupancy. All rooms have color television. A lodging reservation form is enclosed. Upon request, a list of local motels will be provided. If you desire to stay over on Friday night in order to attend the football game between Virginia Tech and University of Southern Mississippi on Saturday afternoon, please so indicate on your lodging request form. Only limited space is available for Friday night and will be allocated on a first come basis to conference participants.

Attendance: All interested parties are invited to participate. Announcements are being sent to government officials, labor representatives, management officials and safety personnel. Sufficient time will be allotted for questions from the audience.

Please Note: The University reserves the right to cancel the conference if insufficient registrations are received prior to November 10. Advance registrations suggested; the number of registrations accepted is limited by space available.

Additional information may be obtained by writing or calling the program coordinator: Professor Jerald F. Robinson, Industrial and Labor Relations Program, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia, 24061, (703) 552-6195.

Postage Will be Paid by Addressee

VPI

No Postage Stamp Necessary If Mailed in the United States

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

First Class Permit No. 32 Blacksburg, Va.

Continuing Education Center

Virginia Polytechnic Institute
and State University

Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

REQUEST FOR ROOM RESERVATION

Please reserve the following sleeping room accommodations at the Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center:

☐ **Single** $8.00 per day ☐ **Twin** $12.00 per day ☐ **Half-Twin*** $6.00 per day, per person

Arrival Date:	Departure Date:

*Please provide name of person with whom you will share this room.

*Name of Roommate: _____

Your Name: _____

Address: _____

City & State: _____

Program: _____

IMPORTANT	Reservation requests received at least 30 days in advance will allow us to best meet your lodging requirements.

ENROLLMENT FORM

Donaldson Brown Center for Continuing Education
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Extension Division, Blacksburg, Virginia 24061
Phone: (703) 552-8322

NAME:

AFFILIATION:

Home Address:

City:

STATE: ZIP:

Return this form and your Enrollment fee TO:
(Make checks to Continuing Education Center, VPI&SU

ADULT REGISTRAR
CEC—VPI&SU
Blacksburg, Va. 24061

Enter Conference Name Here

Please enclose Conference fee as described in announcement literature. **NOTE:** CEC will honor requests for refunds of pre-paid Conference Enrollments if such request is received one week in advance of the Conference Date. Check brochure for any special instructions pertinent to this conference.

LABOR EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA

THROUGH

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

Virginia's Land-Grant University

EDUCATION

RESEARCH

SERVICE

INTRODUCTION

The LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM was established at Virginia Polytechnic Institute on July 1, 1968 as a part of the Business Extension program that offers extension education to industry, labor, and government through the College of Business. The LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM is financed and administrated by the Extension Division and the College of Business cooperatively. The overall Business Extension effort is directed by Dr. John D. Richardson; and the LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM, by Dr. James W. Robinson.

The LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM is designed to provide (1) educational conferences, short-courses, and institutes, both on- and off-campus, for the members of organized labor in Virginia; (2) meaningfull research on manpower issues; and (3) a liason between unions desiring assistance in their educational programs and those faculty members capable of providing such assistance. Every effort is made to avoid duplication of efforts being made by the various union education programs and to coordinate the work of the LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM with such efforts. An advisory committee of union officers provide planning assistance and evaluation of program efforts.

The LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM may be contacted at 28 Commerce Hall, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia 24061 or by telephone at (703) 552-6589.

STARTING COURSE FOR YOUR UNION

PLANNING

Once you have decided that you are interested in a program for your union, a planning session will be held at a mutually convenient site. Members of your union and the head of the LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM will be present. In addition, staff of the Donaldson Brown Continuing Education Center will be present for the planning of on-campus programs to evaluate the proposed program and to offer suggestions about lodging, meals, and meeting facilities of the Center. The county extension agent will be present at planning sessions for off-campus programs. Any faculty who are likely to participate in the proposed program may be present also.

The purposes of a planning session are (1) to determine the role of the university in the proposed program, (2) to formulate the content of the program, (3) to identify university resources for the program, and to determine necessary charges for instruction, materials, and facilities. The results of the planning session are submitted to Dr. Richardson and the administrations of the Extension Division and the College of Business for approval and comments.

Costs

It is difficult to offer an advance estimate of the costs for any program before a planning session. Costs depend upon the faculty employed, quantity and type of materials needed, and facilities used. As a general rule, the charge for the time of university

resident (non-extension) faculty will approximate $50 per hour of instruction. Charges for instruction by extension staff, such as the head of the LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM, depend upon travel expenses, etc., but they should be less than the above figure in all cases. Materials are provided at actual cost. Meal charges depend upon the menus selected and will vary in accordance with them.

GENERAL CRITERIA

Duration

Normally, a short-course or off-campus program would meet one night per week for two hours over a period of six to eight weeks in the community in which the union is located. Weekend institutes on specialized topics are possible also.

On-campus conferences may last from one day to a week or more. It must be emphasized that on-campus programs, particularly those of over one day in duration, require considerable advance planning so that facilities may be scheduled to meet adequately the needs of the sponsoring group.

Enrollment

Because most labor education programs will involve "non-credit" courses, there are few formal requirements for admission. In general, the union sponsoring the course will determine which of its members can benefit most from the instruction to be provided. A minimum enrollment of 20 persons is necessary usually to prevent the cost per person from becoming excessive, although there is no formal rule on this matter.

YOUR INTERNATIONAL UNION

The international union with which your local is affiliated is likely to have an education department with professional staff. These staff may be able to suggest the subject matter that they consider of greatest importance in a course. Also they may want to suggest those areas in which the university can be most helpful and those in which the international union staff can better function.

FLEXIBILITY

The most important fact to remember in planning a course is that the Virginia Tech LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM can function only as well as it is able to meet your needs. There are no "standard" or prescribed courses. Each course for each local union or central body is designed to offer what you request and what you think meets your most pressing needs.

Some course outlines are listed on the following pages to stimulate your thinking and not as a catalog or a rigid set of requirements. Some, all, or none of them may fit your needs. If none of them do, we can develop a course to meet your needs through a planning session (see above).

We must know your needs in order to meet them satisfactorily.

SOME SUGGESTED COURSE OUTLINES

UNION LEADERSHIP - THE STEWARD

1. LABOR HISTORY: The factors that shaped the labor movement that we have, the accomplishments of organized labor, and the history of legislation and judicial decisions affecting labor.

2. THE ROLE OF THE STEWARD: The difficult dual role of the steward as worker and union officer, his importance to his union and to successful labor relations, and consideration of the factors that make a good steward.

3. UNDERSTANDING THE GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE: A survey of the role of a grievance procedure in the overall functioning of the collective bargaining agreement, some tips on dealing with people, and some definitions of what a grievance is and is not.

4. THE GRIEVANCE: WRITING AND INVESTIGATION: Tips on preparing and writing the grievance, consideration of some case studies, and actual role playing grievance situations.

+5. ARBITRATION IN CONTRACT ADMINISTRATION:The place of arbitration in our industrial relations system, its legal limitations, and some advice of how to decide upon whether to arbitrate.

+6. THE STEWARD IN HIS COMMUNITY: Ways in which the steward can expand his role to include the assisting of members with off-the-job problems, and the place of the union in the community.

+7. LEGISLATION AFFECTING COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

(+ normally taught by a union staff member or a practitioner in the field)

UNDERSTANDING CURRENT EVENTS

1. OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM: The role of government, the financial institutions, the Federal Reserve, industry, and the free market in our nation.

2. OUR ECONOMY IN THE WORLD: International trade, the "balance-of-payments," gold, and our import-export situation.

3. AUTOMATION, TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE, AND THE LABOR FORCE IN A CHANGING ECONOMY: Definitions and terminology of technological change, the dimensions of change, and the effects on specific occupations and industries.

4. CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT: The respective roles of Federal and state governments, and of the legislative, judicial, and executive components of government.

5. THE COURTS AND SOCIETY: The changing status of our judicial system, the checks-and-balances, and the structure of our courts.

6. CURRENT LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE WORKER AS UNION MEMBER AND CONSUMER

Note: The topics in such a course will vary in content and number according to the interests of the local and the events of the day.

Any one or more of these topics could be expanded into an entire course if the local were interested.

THE MEMBER AS A CONSUMER

1. BUDGETING TO STRETCH YOUR DOLLARS
2. BEING AN INFORMED CONSUMER
3. INVESTING YOUR SAVINGS
4. INSURANCE: HOME, LIFE, AND AUTO
5. MAKING A WILL
6. LEGAL RIGHTS OF THE CONSUMER
7. TIPS FOR THE WISE SHOPPER

EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION

1. THE ART OF READABLE WRITING
2. EFFECTIVE ORAL COMMUNICATIONS
3. PROVIDING AN EFFECTIVE INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM
4. GETTING YOUR FACTS
5. PUBLIC RELATIONS: TOOL OR TROUBLE?
6. PRACTICE IN APPLICATION OF TECHNIQUES

If any of these courses interest you or if they suggest other topics of interest, or if you have some topic that your local would like to study, contact the LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM.

LABOR EDUCATION PROGRAM ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Donald Arnold
CWA
Richmond

Wilburn Boothe
USWA
Roanoke

Arnold Brown
UPPW
Richmond

Julian Carper
Virginia State AFL-CIO
Richmond

William Clithroe
IAM
Atlanta, Georgia

Wayne Dernoncourt
TWUA
Lynchburg

Earl Davis
AFL-CIO Minorities Division
Richmond

Hubert Fisher
IBEW
Roanoke

Robert Gregory
ABCW
Richmond

George Guernsey
AFL-CIO Education Department
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Frances Lowe
Virginia State AFL-CIO
Richmond

Gerald Moody
IUE
Salem

Brewster Snow
Virginia State AFL-CIO
Richmond

Martin Vest
ILGWU
Roanoke

Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Paul Wagner
UAW
Washington, D. C.

Jack Wilkinson
LIUNA
Washington, D. C.

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EMORY VIA, DIRECTOR LABOR PROGRAM SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTH ST NW ATLA

WOULD LIKE YOU FOR WEEKEND EDUCATION CONFERENCE IN ROANOKE, VIRGINIA. FEBRUARY 15 AND NORFOLK VIRGINIA FEBRUARY 22. WILL CALL YOU TOMORROW.

GEORGE T GUERNSEY, ASST DIRECTOR DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

Va AFL-CIO

These dates & places are reversed according to S. Boone by phone.

522-8764

Mr Boone ok-go
spk
close
2:05P

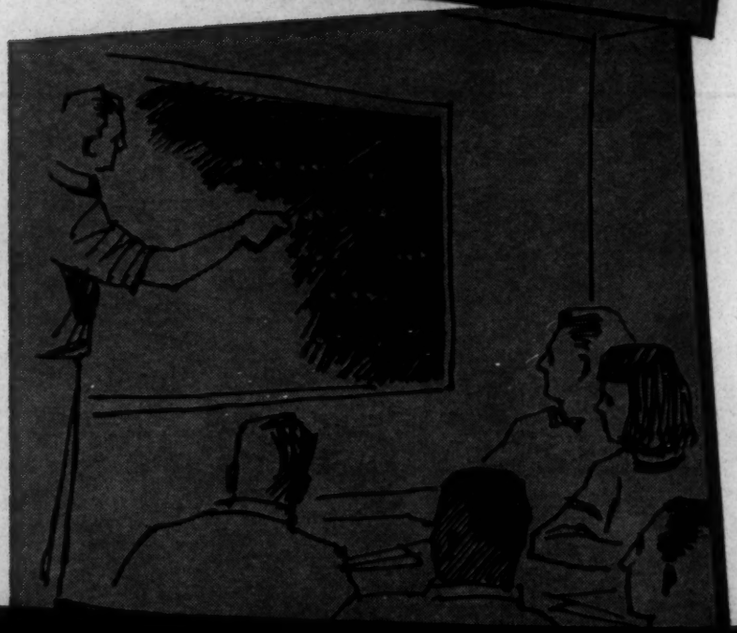
SF1201(R2-65)

D- 92172

1969 JAN 21 PM 6 17

1969 JAN 21 PM 11 01

ATLANTA GA



Virginia State AFL-CIO Weekend Institute

GOLDEN TRIANGLE MOTEL
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

February 15 and 16, 1969

ROANOKE HOTEL
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

February 22 and 23, 1969

Conference Kit Prepared by:

AFL-CIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Labor Programs -

VIRGINIA STATE AFL-CIO 1969 WEEKEND INSTITUTE PROGRAM

SATURDAY

9:00 a.m.	Introduction—Opening Remarks
	See film: "The Constitution and the Labor Union (29 min.)
10:00 a.m.	Coffee Break
10:15 a.m.-11:25 a.m.	Workshops

Groups	Topics	Discussion Leaders*
A	COPE—Challenge of the Nixon Administration	
B	Union Security Builds Strong Unions	
C	Virginia AFL-CIO Program of Progress	
D	Helping Union Members Through Community Resources	

11:25 a.m.-12:45 p.m.	Workshops
A	Union Security Builds Strong Unions
B	Virginia AFL-CIO Program of Progress
C	Helping Union Members Through Community Resources
12:45 p.m.-2:15 p.m.	Lunch
2:15 p.m.-3:25 p.m.	Workshops
A	Virginia AFL-CIO Program of Progress
B	Helping Union Members Through Community Resources
C	COPE—Challenge of the Nixon Administration
D	Union Security Builds Strong Unions
3:25 p.m.-3:40 p.m.	Break
3:40 p.m.-4:50 p.m.	Workshops
A	Helping Union Members Through Community Resources
B	COPE—Challenge of the Nixon Administration
C	Union Security Builds Strong Unions
D	Virginia AFL-CIO Program of Progress
7:00 p.m.	Conference Banquet with talk about "Political Trends in the South" Speaker: Emory Via, Director Labor Program

SUNDAY

9:30 a.m.-10:00 a.m.	See Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's film "Struggle in the South"
10:00 a.m.-10:15 a.m.	Coffee Break
10:15 a.m.-10:30 a.m.	Presentation for "U.S. Savings Bonds"—William Tullar, National Labor Representative
10:30 a.m.-12:00 Noon	Panel Discussion: "Issues and Answers of Gubernatorial Campaign" — Virginia State Senator Henry E. Howell, Jr. and his Staff
12:00 Noon-12:15 p.m.	Summary—Evaluation—Closing Remarks—Adjournment

*Discussion Leaders

Wilbur Hobby, AFL-CIO Area COPE Director
Ruth Columbo, AFL-CIO Eastern Area WAD Director
Stuart Brock, AFL-CIO Education Department Representative
Ralph C. Smith, Staff Liaison Representative, AFL-CIO Community Services Activities
Arthur M. White, Director, Public Relations and Research, Virginia State AFL-CIO

Rec'd payment 3/12/69 KM

Total

March 4, 1969

Mr. Brewster Snow
Secretary-Treasurer
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia

file

Dear Brewster:

It was a real pleasure to participate in the two educational institutes in Norfolk and Roanoke sponsored by the Virginia AFL-CIO. I always look forward to renewing acquaintances and to have the opportunity to discuss labor and state problems with you and Julian.

My expenses for the two trips are as follows:

NORFOLK			
Air	$79.80		
Hotel	13.52		
Ground Transp.	17.75		
Meals	2.00		
		$113.07	
ROANOKE			
Air	$65.10		
Ground Transp.	18.00		
Hotel	12.60		
Meal	1.86		
Misc. (Tips, phone re transp.)	3.00		
		$100.56	
Total			$ 213.63

Unless for some reason you need to make the check payable to me, I would like for it to be made out to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Please give my regards to Julian and the folks in the office.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

79.80
13.52
17.75
2.00

9.25
4.50
13.75

113.07 T

65.10
18.00
12.60
1.86
3.00

100.56 T

For VA AFL-CIO

Norfolk

Air	79.80
Hotel	13.52
Ground Transp	17.75
Meals	2.00
	113.07

Roanoke

Air —	65.10
Ground Transp. —	18.00
Hotel —	12.40
Meal —	1.86
MISC. (Tips, Phone and Transp)	3.00
	100.56
	113.07
	213.63

March 4, 1969

Mr. Arthur White
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia

file

Dear Art:

It was good to get to see you again in Norfolk and Roanoke. Please don't forget to place me on your mailing list.

Would you also send me the name and address of the editor of the Virginia Observer.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Chartered by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

102 NORTH BELVIDERE STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 23220

JULIAN F. CARPER, President
BREWSTER SNOW, Secretary-Treasurer

Phone: (703) 644-2996

March 10, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

A check in the amount of $213.63, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., is enclosed.

Julian and I thank you again for your excellent contribution to our Weekend Institutes, both as a speaker and as a friend returned for too short a while to our midst.

We hope to see you more frequently in the years to come.

Sincerely,

Brewster

Brewster Snow
Secretary-Treasurer

BS:rp
Encl.
cc; Julian F. Carper
OPEIU 334, AFL-CIO

Check for 213.63 received 3/12/69 KM

hold for reply

March 11, 1969

Mr. Gordon Dillon, Editor
The Virginia Observer
115 Third Avenue
Norfolk, Virginia 23510

Dear Mr. Dillon:

It was good to meet you in Norfolk at the Virginia State AFL-CIO Education Institute. I am sorry we did not have more time for discussion.

Please send me a couple of sample copies of the Virginia Observer and information regarding subscriptions.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Chartered by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

102 NORTH BELVIDERE STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 23220

JULIAN F. CARPER, President
BREWSTER SNOW, Secretary-Treasurer

Phone: (703) 644-2996

March 7, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your letter of 4 March. The Week End Institutes were especially gratifying to me because of the new spirit of participation which seems to be developing among our membership.

I sincerely hope your message regarding the work which must be done by unions in the South will bring about a greater effort from labor in Virginia.

The editor and publisher of the Virginia Observer is Mr. Gordon Dillon. Gordon's address is 115 Third Avenue, Norfolk, Virginia 23510.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur M. White, Director
Public Relations & Research

AMW:csj
OPEIU 334, AFL-CIO

P.S.
I put you on the mailing list.

May 12, 1966

Mr. Harold Boyd
Tri-State AFL-CIO Labor School
Rockmont School for Boys
Black Mountain, North Carolina

Dear Hal:

I look forward to being with you for the Tri-State School on May 17 and 18. I will be arriving in Asheville by United Airlines, Flight #824, at 3:54 p.m. on May 17th. George Gournsey indicated that you would be able to make arrangements to have me met at the airport.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

cc: Mr. Stewart Brock

South Carolina Labor Council AFL-CIO
Columbia, S. C. 29201

$35.10 check
6-20-66 rh

RICHMOND
JUN 17 '66
VA.
U.S. POSTAGE
.05
PB METER
P.B. 536134

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Expenses
from Tri-State
Labor School.

TRI-STATE LABOR SCHOOL

Operated under the sponsorship of the AFL-CIO state central bodies
of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, all of which are affiliated with the

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

Certificate of Merit

This is to Certify that

Emory Via

Has Satisfactorily Completed the Prescribed Course of Study of the

TRI-STATE LABOR SCHOOL

Held at Camp Rockmont, Black Mountain, North Carolina
May 15-20, 1966 A.D.

Given under our hand in behalf of the aforesaid State central bodies.

Attest:

H. B. Boyd
President

E. T. Kirkland
Secretary-Treasurer

Approved:

Stuart P. Brock
Director, Department of Education
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

© GOES M79

May 26, 1966

Mr. E. T. Kirkland
Secfetary-Treasurer
South Carolina Labor Council,
AFL-CIO
119 S. Parker Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Bill:

Here are my expenses in connection with the Tri-State Labor School:

Air transport	$ 30.10
Ground transport	5.00
	$ 35.10.

Please make the check payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

It looked like a good school and a good bunch of folks. You and the other officers are to be congratulated. It was a real pleasure being there and getting to see you again.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

MAIN SUBJECTS COVERED BY LABOR REFORM BILLS (1959)

I. Amendment of Taft-Hartley Act

1. Secondary Boycotts
2. Picketing
3. Federal-State Jurisdiction
4. Building and Construction Trade Unions
5. Voting Rights of Economic Strikers
6. Pre-hearing Election
7. Non-Communist Affidavit
8. Bargaining During Life of Contract
9. General Counsel of NLRB
10. Bi-partisan NLRB
11. Definition of "Supervisor"
12. Damage Suits Against Unions

II. Reporting Requirements

1. Union Organizational Reports
2. Union Financial Reports
3. Reports by Union Officers, Agents, etc.
4. Reports by Employers
5. Reports by Labor Relations Consultants
6. Disclosure of Reports
7. Maintenance of Records
8. Enforcement of Reporting Requirements

III. Conflicts of Interest

1. Reporting of Transactions Between Unions and Employers
2. Criminal Penalties for Bribery and Unlawful Transactions Between Unions and Employers
3. Reporting of or Prohibition on Loans

IV. Accountability for Union Funds and Property

1. Responsibilities of Persons Entrusted with Funds and Property of a Labor Organization
2. Embezzlement and Misappropriation of Funds

V. Elections

1. Standards for Election of Officers
2. Standards for Removal of Officers
3. Enforcement of Standards
4. Criminal Penalties

VI. Supervisory Control of Subordinate Bodies

1. Reports
2. Standards
3. Unlawful Acts
4. Enforcement

VII. Political Activities

VIII. Other Standards Governing Internal Union Affairs

1. Certain General Rights of Union Members
2. Certain Standards Applicable to both Local and International Labor Organizations
3. Certain Standards Applicable Only to Local Labor Organizations
4. Certain Standards Applicable Only to International Unions

IX. Administrative and Judicial Procedures and Sanctions (Civil) for Obtaining Compliance with the Standards Requirements

1. Administrative Procedures and Sanctions
2. Procedures for Judicial Enforcement by Civil Actions

W E L C O M E T O

A

L A B O R L A W I N S T I T U T E

	CITY	DATE
[ ]	Superior, Wisconsin	October 7-8, 1967
[✓]	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	January 20-21, 1968
[ ]	Madison, Wisconsin	February 24-25, 1968
[ ]	Wausau, Wisconsin	March 2-3, 1968
[ ]	Appleton, Wisconsin	March 16-17, 1968
[ ]	Eau Claire, Wisconsin	April 20-21, 1968

S p o n s o r e d b y:

Wisconsin State AFL-CIO

School for Workers, University Extension
The University of Wisconsin

PLEASE BE SURE TO BRING THIS MATERIAL TO INSTITUTE

LABOR LAW INSTITUTES

WHEN AND WHERE

☐	SUPERIOR	Student Center Wisconsin State University Superior, Wisconsin	October 7-8, 1967 Saturday and Sunday
☑	MILWAUKEE	UWM Student Union 2200 East Kenwood Boulevard Milwaukee, Wisconsin	January 20-21, 1968 Saturday and Sunday
☐	MADISON	The Wisconsin Center The University of Wisconsin 702 Langdon Street Madison, Wisconsin	February 24-25, 1968 Saturday and Sunday
☐	WAUSAU	Labor Temple 320 Third Avenue, South Wausau, Wisconsin	March 2-3, 1968 Saturday and Sunday
☐	APPLETON	Fox Valley Center The University of Wisconsin Midway Road Menasha, Wisconsin	March 16-17, 1968 Saturday and Sunday
☐	EAU CLAIRE	Davies Center Wisconsin State University Eau Claire, Wisconsin	April 20-21, 1968 Saturday and Sunday

ALL OF THE LABOR LAW INSTITUTES WILL BEGIN PROMPTLY AT:

9:30 A.M. ON SATURDAY

9:00 A.M. ON SUNDAY

LABOR LAW INSTITUTE

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

PROGRAM
SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1968

TIME	PROGRAM	INSTRUCTOR	LENGTH
9:30 a.m.	Registration		
9:45 a.m.	Landrum-Griffin Act	Harry P. Bovshow	2 hours, 15 minutes
12:00 Noon	Luncheon		
1:00 p.m.	Unemployment Compensation in Wisconsin	Richard Perry	1 hour
2:00 p.m.	Safety	George Hagglund	2 hours
4:00 p.m.	Coffee Break		
4:15 p.m.	Workmen's Compensation in Wisconsin	Leonard Zubrensky	1 hour
5:15 p.m.	Introduction to the Law of Collective Bargaining	Richard Perry	45 minutes
6:00 p.m.	Banquet		
8:00 p.m.	Close of First Session		

LABOR LAW INSTITUTE

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Perry

PROGRAM
SUNDAY, JANUARY 21, 1968

TIME	PROGRAM	INSTRUCTOR	LENGTH
9:00 a.m.	Opening of Second Session		
9:30 a.m.	Law of Collective Bargaining: Consideration of organizational drives	Richard Perry	1 hour, 15 minutes
10:45 a.m.	Coffee Break		
11:00 a.m.	Rights of Workers: An analysis of recent trends in the decisions of the National Labor Relations Board	Richard Perry	1 hour
12:00 Noon	Luncheon		
1:00 p.m.	GROUP A - Private Employment Good Faith in Collective Bargaining: An analysis stressing recent Supreme Court decisions	Robert E. Gratz	2 hours
	- OR -		
1:00 p.m.	GROUP B - Public Employees Public Employees: Legal status and problems related to rapidly developing concept of collective bargaining	Hervey Juris	2 hours
3:00 p.m.	Open End Discussion: Participants are encouraged to raise specific problems for discussion and analysis (Coffee will be served during this informal session.)		Open

276-4557

CLOSE OF INSTITUTE

INSTITUTE FACULTY

Harry P. Bovshow	Assistant Regional Director for Technical Assistance U. S. Department of Labor Office of Labor-Management and Welfare-Pension Reports Chicago, Illinois
Robert E. Gratz	Attorney Gratz, Shneidman and Gollin Milwaukee, Wisconsin
George S. Hagglund	Lecturer School for Workers University Extension The University of Wisconsin Madison, Wisconsin
Hervey A. Juris	Assistant Professor School for Workers University Extension The University of Wisconsin Madison, Wisconsin
Richard P. Perry	Attorney Zubrensky, Padden, Graf and Bratt Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Leonard S. Zubrensky	Attorney Zubrensky, Padden, Graf and Bratt Milwaukee, Wisconsin

HIGHLIGHTS OF WISCONSIN'S UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION LAW

A. Background

Unemployment compensation in this country dates back to the depression of the 1930's when millions suffered from unemployment. Wisconsin was the first state to pass a law calling for weekly compensation to the unemployed. Three years later Congress passed the Social Security Act of 1935 which included, among other famous provisions, a federal program to induce all remaining states to pass unemployment insurance laws. A state-by-state system of unemployment compensation laws developed, with minimum federal control. The major objectives of the unemployment compensation program are:

1. to provide a laid-off worker with adequate money benefits to tide him over until he can find work again, and
2. to help stave off nation-wide depression by keeping up purchasing power through the payment of millions of dollars of unemployment benefits.

B. Financing

Employers are required to finance the cost of state unemployment compensation programs by paying a payroll tax. In Wisconsin, this payroll tax is accumulated into separate employer reserve accounts. A worker, laid off from a particular employer, will receive benefits out of that employer's reserve account. Under Wisconsin's experience-rating system, the amount of tax an employer pays depends on the level of his reserve fund. If an employer can keep layoffs to a minimum and keep sufficient money reserves, his tax will be lowered or be nil. If an employer has many layoffs, and constantly depletes his reserve account (like AMC), that employer's tax will be at the highest rate allowed under the law. This system of raising and lowering the tax rate was devised to encourage employers to stabilize employment in order to get the advantage of a lower tax.

Q. CAN YOU SEE ANY DANGERS IN A SYSTEM THAT REWARDS EMPLOYERS WITH A LOWER TAX, WHEN THEY KEEP WITHDRAWALS TO A MINIMUM?

C. Who is eligible for unemployment benefits?

Most working men and women who are laid off from work are eligible for unemployment benefits. The amount and duration of benefits are based on a person's work and wages for each particular employer he has worked for in the previous year. However, before a person can draw benefits, he must meet the eligibility requirements listed below:

1. He must work for an employer with four or more employees.

All employers who employ four or more employees must pay into the unemployment compensation fund (with certain exceptions) and, therefore, his employees would be eligible for benefits.

Employees working for employers with three or less employees, for religious or charitable organizations, for smaller governmental units or for agricultural enterprises are not eligible.

Employees of the federal government, of the State of Wisconsin, of the City of Milwaukee and servicemen with an honorable discharge are eligible.

2. He must work 18 weeks in the previous year.

An employee must have worked in at least 18 weeks in the 52-week period immediately preceding his first claim for benefits. These 18 weeks do not have to be for one employer, they can be for 18 different employers.

3. He must average at least $16.00 per week.

A person must maintain a $16.00 average weekly wage in order to be eligible for benefits from a particular employer's account.

4. He must be physically able to work and available for work.

A person's health must be good enough to be able to do some work. He must be substantially in the job market and looking for work.

5. He must serve a waiting-period week.

A person must put in one week a year in which he meets all the eligibility requirements for unemployment compensation, but he does not get paid for that one week.

6. He must register each week at a state employment office.

A laid-off worker must register at the Wisconsin State Employment

Office (or some other state employment office) each week he expects to get unemployment compensation.

7. He must report and pick up a claim form from an unemployment compensation office.

A person filing for unemployment compensation must report and pick up a claim form from the unemployment compensation department each week. This is in addition to registering for work. Both visits are necessary.

8. He must return a claim form after each week is over.

After each week of unemployment, the person must return his unemployment compensation claim form (UC 17) to the unemployment compensation department.

Example: A person reports to an unemployment compensation office during his first week of lay-off. At that time, he picks up a claim form applying to that week. But he cannot turn it in that week because he does not know if he will end up doing any work that week. The unemployment compensation law defines a week as ending at midnight on Saturday. Since it is always possible he could work on Saturday, he cannot fill out the claim form accurately until after the close of the week. Therefore, he turns it in on his second visit to the unemployment compensation office. At that time, he picks up a new claim form, covering the second week of unemployment, which he will turn in the third week of unemployment, etc.

Q. WHEN A PERSON HAS TO ESTABLISH A WAITING PERIOD, DO YOU SEE WHY HE MAY NOT GET HIS FIRST CHECK UNTIL HIS FOURTH WEEK OF UNEMPLOYMENT?

9. He must not be disqualified under any other section of the law. (See Section H. on disqualifications.)

D. <u>How much are benefits?</u>

The top benefit rate is $59.00 for the first six months of 1967.

1. The top benefit rate of $59.00 is paid to persons who start their claim after January 1, 1967, and who average $118.00 per week or over. No matter how high a person's earnings, he cannot receive a higher benefit rate. This top rate is set by law to represent 52½% of the average weekly wages of all covered workers in the state. It is re-figured every six months for new claims.

Q. DO YOU THINK $59.00 IS AN ADEQUATE AMOUNT OF MONEY FOR THE TOP RATE? WOULD YOU ADVOCATE A DEPENDENT'S ALLOWANCE?

2. Lower benefit rates are figured at 50% of the person's average weekly wage with an employer.

Q. WHAT WOULD A PERSON'S BENEFIT RATE BE WHO AVERAGES $110.00 A WEEK?

E. How long do benefits last?

Thirty-four weeks is the longest a person can draw unemployment benefits. This is based on at least 43 weeks of work in the previous year. If a person has worked less than 43 weeks, the number of weeks he can draw benefits is scaled down accordingly. Every time a person works for an employer, he builds up benefit rights. He may be entitled to as little as one-half week of benefits or as many as thirty-four depending on how long he worked for a particular employer.

Q. WHAT HAPPENS TO THE LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED -- GENERALLY SOMEONE OVER 50 WHO IS UNSKILLED? SHOULD THE STATE PROGRAM PAY MORE THAN 34 WEEKS? SHOULD THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT STEP IN WITH SOME KIND OF PROGRAM?

F. Partial and Full Unemployment

If a person earns less than his benefit rate for a particular week (either in the form of wages, holiday pay, vacation pay, etc.), he is still entitled to unemployment compensation, either in the form of a whole check or a half-check. If his earnings are less than one-half of his benefit rate, he is entitled to a full check. If his earnings fall between one-half and all of his benefit rate, he is entitled to a half-check.

G. Wages Must be Reported Accurately

The gross amount of wages received for a given week must be reported accurately on the claim form for that week. Wages include holiday pay, vacation pay, dismissal pay, salaries, bonuses, incentives, board, room and anything of value received from an employer for services performed. Failure to report wages is usually considered a fraudulent claim for unemployment compensation. Penalties include cancellation of future weeks of unemployment compensation, possible fines and even jail sentences.

1. All wages and any job offer must be reported for the week in which

the wages or job offer occurred.

2. Vacation pay must be reported for the week or weeks which are being considered the weeks of vacation, regardless of when the person receives the check for his vacation.

H. Disqualification Sections of the Law

The unemployment compensation law in Wisconsin has a harsh or restrictive disqualification section designed to deny unemployment compensation to persons under special circumstances. In certain types of cases, such as a quit without good cause or a discharge for misconduct, it is up to the employer to raise the denial issue. If benefits are finally denied after an investigation and possible appeals, and if this is the only employer in the picture, then all potential benefits are wiped out. There is no possibility of drawing benefits based on a person's work for that employer.

Q. UNDER SOME STATE LAWS, BENEFITS ARE ONLY SUSPENDED FOR SIX WEEKS AFTER WHICH THE CLAIMANT CAN DRAW BENEFITS BASED ON HIS PAST WORK FOR THAT EMPLOYER. WHAT ARE THE PRO'S AND CON'S OF EACH SYSTEM?

The following pages explain briefly the important disqualification sections of the law.

1. If a person quits a job without good cause, benefits are denied.

If a person does not have a compelling reason for quitting, benefits are denied. However, if an employee can prove he quit for one of the following reasons, he can get benefits.

a) If he quits to take another job and works in seven subsequent weeks

b) If he quits because he was physically unable to do the work assigned to him, but he can do other general work

c) If he quits because of the health of a member of his immediate family, and he is now available for work

d) If he quits for good cause attributable to the employer (such as--if the employer moves out of town)

2. If a person is discharged for misconduct connected with his employment, benefits are denied.

A discharge for misconduct is a serious event. Sometimes the

employer has ample proof of misconduct, but other times, it is a borderline case depending upon how you evaluate the events leading up to the discharge.

a) Misconduct is loosely defined as any wilful, deliberate or substantial disregard of the employer's interests. This could include excessive absenteeism, tardiness, gross negligence, theft, dishonesty, drunkeness, insubordination, etc.

b) A discharge for inefficiency is not grounds on which to deny unemployment compensation. If an employee is discharged because he is unable to meet the production standards required by the employer, he is still eligible for benefits.

3. If a person refuses a job referral or refuses a job offer without good cause, benefits are suspended.

a) A person is allowed a six-weeks canvas period to canvas the labor market for a job of equal skill and comparable rate of pay to his previous job. During these six weeks, if the Employment Service refers him to a job, or if he receives a job offer on his own, he can turn it down only if it does not compare favorably to his former job.

b) After six weeks, a person has to look for and take a lesser job. He is expected to take any work so long as it does not pay a sub-standard rate of pay or have other sub-standard conditions connected with it.

4. If a person fails to return to work on a recall, benefits are denied.

If a person is unemployed and fails to return to work at the time of recall, benefits are denied. If the employer could not notify the employee of the recall because of a faulty or outdated address, this is considered the employee's fault.

5. If a person is physically unable to work or substantially unavailable for work, benefits are suspended.

No one can get unemployment compensation benefits if he is in poor health and unable to work or if other personal circumstances keep him from working. As soon as he can do some work again, benefits can be paid.

6. If a person has been notified by his employer of further work available in a particular week, but he does not do all the work there is available to him, benefits are denied.

Example: If a person has been on layoff and called in to work on Thursday and Friday, but doesn't start back until Friday (no matter what the reason), benefits are denied for that week if the employer raises the issue. Even if the employee could have earned only partial wages on Thursday and Friday, he is not entitled to any benefits for that week.

7. If a woman is laid-off and is pregnant, she can get benefits up to a certain suspension period.

A pregnant woman who is able to work can get benefits up until ten weeks prior to the week the child is expected. Benefits are then suspended until four weeks after the week the child is born and until she notifies her employer that she is willing to work again.

8. If a person is unemployed because of a strike in the establishment where he is employed, benefits are denied. Strikers cannot get unemployment compensation and neither can anyone else employed by the firm.

Q. IN NEW YORK STATE, STRIKERS CAN GET UNEMPLOYMENT AFTER SIX WEEKS. DO YOU THINK THIS IS REASONABLE?

I. Appeal Procedure

In every case of a disputed claim for unemployment compensation, the department goes to great lengths to try to determine the merits of the case. An investigation is made and an initial determination is issued, either allowing or denying benefits. A person has a perfect right to appeal any adverse decision all the way to the Industrial Commission, without charge to him. He can be represented by a union official or lawyer at any step of the way. The following are steps in the appeal procedure:

1. After an Initial Determination is mailed, the person has ten days to file an appeal. He can do this by going to his unemployment compensation office and they will help him fill out the appeal form, or he can do it himself. But it must be done within ten days of the mailing date.

2. A hearing is scheduled and a notice of the hearing is sent to both the worker and the employer. The hearing is conducted by a trial examiner representing the Industrial Commission. He tries to get all the facts on the table. This is the only hearing that will be held, no matter how far up the case is appealed. The person appealing should bring all information and evidence supporting his objection to the Initial Determination. If a person is represented by a lawyer, the lawyer can only charge 10 per cent of the maximum benefits at issue in the case.

3. The trial examiner issues an Appeal Tribunal Decision. If the worker disagrees with this decision, he has ten days to appeal the case to the Industrial Commission. The procedure in filing this appeal is the same as in filing the first appeal. The Industrial Commission will issue a decision and notify the parties to the dispute.

4. Any further appeal is through the courts. So far the appeal

precedure has been part of the unemployment compensation procedure, but a further appeal goes to the Circuit Court of Dane County and then to the Wisconsin State Supreme Court. Both higher levels require hiring a lawyer.

J. Some Proposed Changes in Wisconsin's Unemployment Compensation Law

A number of changes have been proposed in Wisconsin's Unemployment Compensation Law and in the federal law which controls all the state programs (under the Social Security Act). These changes would mean an inevitable raise in the payroll tax and, therefore, have been opposed by most employer groups. There has been a continuing tugging and hauling in Congress and in State legislatures between these forces which would like unemployment compensation to pay substantially higher benefits and cover more workers and those forces which oppose any such extensions. Arthur Altmeyer, one-time administrator of the Social Security Act, estimates that average unemployment compensation benefits pay only 35 per cent of the average loss in wages and 20 per cent of the workers have no coverage. The AFL-CIO nationally have taken a strong position for strengthening unemployment compensation programs across the country. In order for unemployment compensation to be a more current and vital program, continuing political pressure will have to come from unions and working people who are most affected by the inadequacies of the program.

Following are some changes which have been proposed for the unemployment compensation program in Wisconsin:

1. Extend coverage to employers with one or more employees.

The law now applies to employers with four or more employees. Persons working for smaller firms (from one to three employees) should be eligible for benefits. (Change Section 108.02 (4) (d))

2. Extend coverage to include non-profit, charitable, religious and agricultural enterprises.

Persons working for hospitals and other denominational institutions need coverage. Farm workers are in particular need of protection against seasonal layoffs. Farms which employ four or more persons

should cover their workers with unemployment compensation as they have been required to do under workmen's compensation. (Change Section 108.02 (4) (a))

3. Increase the wage-base on which the employer tax is paid from $3,600 to $5,600.

In order to finance a broader program of unemployment comepnsation, additional revenues should be raised by increasing the wage-base on which employer taxes are paid. Under the present law, only the first $3,600 of each employee's wages are taxed. This should be increased to $5,600 which is less than the wage-base used in applying the Social Security tax. (Change Section 108.02 (8) (b))

4. Eliminate the one-week waiting period.

The one-week waiting period is an annoyance and causes unnecessary delay in receiving benefits. The program should be in good enough financial condition to be able to pay benefits for the first week of unemployment. (Change Section 108.04 (3))

5. Eliminate the provision which cancels out all benefits in the cases of discharge for misconduct or a quit without good cause.

Under Wisconsin law, if an employee is found to be discharged for misconduct or have quit without good cause, all known potential claim for benefits is wiped out if there is only one employer. It is felt that the maximum penalty should be a delay of benefits rather than a denial. If an employee is still unemployed after six weeks. After that time, his continuing unemployment is caused by lack of job opportunities in the labor market and he should not be further penalized by his own conduct in quitting or being discharged. (Change Sections 108.04 (5) and (7) (a))

6. Extend unemployment compensation benefits beyond 34 weeks for the long-term unemployed.

Under a strengthened federal-state program of unemployment compensation, additional benefits would go to those who use up all their state allowance. Payments should continue up to 52 weeks, if needed, so long as the unemployed worker maintains his eligibility. Benefits should be payable during an approved training period.

7. Increase the maximum benefit rate.

Under the law, an individual's benefit rate is supposed to be 50 per cent of his average weekly wage. However, there is a maximum benefit rate which places a limitation on this formula. The maximum benefit rate is based on 52½ per cent of the average weekly wages of all covered workers in the State. For those who fall within this 52½ per cent, it is true that their benefit rate will amount to 50 per cent of their average weekly wage. But for the higher paid workers, they will receive a progressively smaller proportion of their wage loss. In order to attain a benefit rate of 50 per cent for the majority of these higher paid workers, the maximum benefit rate should be increased to 66 and 2/3 per cent of the average

weekly wage in the State. (Change Section 108.05 (2) (c))

8. Eliminate the provision which requires the Industrial Commission to oppose further strengthening of federal standards.

This little known section of the law makes it mandatory that the Director of the Unemployment Compensation Law, or through some other representative of the Industrial Commission, oppose any further strengthening of federal standards over state unemployment compensation programs. The Industrial Commission is directed to lobby against federal standards, a position opposed by the AFL-CIO. (Change Section 108.14 (14))

"WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION"

I

HISTORY & NATURE OF THE ACT

Germany adopted its act in 1884 and England in 1897. Both these countries have disability insurance which covers benefits to employees for non-industrial disability. Wisconsin adopted its act in 1911, covering only work connected disability.

New York, New Jersey, California and Rhode Island provide non-industrial disability benefits. The general rule is that the employees and employers share the cost of the premiums for non-industrial disability benefits.

Some unions negotiate these benefits.

A system which covers only disability arising out of employment encourages insurance carrier or employer resistance to bona fide claims for workmen's compensation.

Organized labor should seek legislature covering non-industrial disability.

II

THE THEORY OF THE ACT & HOW IT WORKS

A worker is entitled to workmen's compensation benefits, "where at the time of injury, the employee is performing service growing out of and incidental to his employment."

Employee must prove that he was injured while engaged in some activity related in some way to his employment.

Injured on the Job

Most frequent type of accident occurs on the job while employee is struck by falling or moving object, where he slips or falls or where he strains or over

exerts himself.

NOTE: Where employee slips or falls and cannot explain how or why, benefits will be denied.

NOTE: Employee should beware of giving statements to employer representative outside presence of attorney. If employee states, "I don't know what I slipped on," his case may be lost.

Injured While Going to and from Work

General Rule: Benefits paid only where injury takes place on company property, company steps or company owned parking lot.

Injured While Attending to Personal Needs

General Rule: Employee injured while eating lunch, on coffee break, going to toilet or during wash up time, if on company property, is entitled to benefits. Some exceptions where employee entitled to benefits while off company property.

Injured During Horseplay or Fighting

General Rule: Employee entitled to benefits unless he started the horseplay or was the aggressor in the fight.

III

GIVING PROPER NOTICE TO EMPLOYER

All injuries should be reported to employer immediately so as to dispel employer distrust. Especially true with back injury which at first may not appear very serious.

Obtain names and addresses of witnesses. It is also wise to notify union steward on date of injury for corroboration.

Notice & Filing Limitations

The law provides that an injured worker should give notice to his employer within thirty days of any industrial injury or occupational disease or within thirty days after employee knew or ought to have known the nature of his dis-

ability and its relationship to his employment.

Application must be filed with the Industrial Commission within two years from the date of the injury or death or from the date the employee or his dependant knew or ought to have known the nature of the disability, its relationship to his employment, unless employer knew or should have known within the two year period that the employee sustained the injury on which the claim is based.

Payment of compensation other than medical expenses is exception to above two year rule.

In any case, an employee must file his claim with the Industrial Commission within six years of the date of injury or disease or from the last date that compensation was paid -- (excludes medical expense payment.)

IV

KEEPING A WRITTEN RECORD

Employers and insurance carriers may contest a claim for a variety of reasons ranging from disbelief of injury to a desire to **minimize payment** of money.

While it is unrealistic to believe that every injured employee will keep a detailed record of his injury, the following list of information is helpful to an attorney in preparing for a workmen's compensation hearing.

1. The date of injury or first indication of an occupational disease. The date is very important.
2. The type of accident such as struck by an object, over-exertion, etc.
3. The nature of the injury or disease such as cut, sprain, hernia.

4. The part of the body affected such as a finger, low back, etc.

5. The kind of action that was taking place such as lifting, carrying, bending.

6. The source of injury such as machinery, hot or flammable substance.

7. The weight of the object causing the injury.

8. Physical symptoms such as sharp pain, stiffness, loss of motion, rash.

9. How long the symptoms lasted and if and when they recurred. (dates)

10. All doctors seen and on what dates.

11. Names of any witnesses who saw the accident or who the injured employee spoke to immediately following the injury.

12. All money spent on doctors, examinations, treatment, medicines, transportation. (Be sure to get receipts.)

13. All days and parts of days lost from work because of the disability.

14. Demand and keep any statement made to the employer or the insurance company representative.

15. Keep copies of any agreement of final receipt signed for a workmen's compensation claim.

V

UNLIMITED MEDICAL, HOSPITAL & SURGICAL EXPENSE PAID FOR

An injured employee who is injured at work or who suffers from occupational disease is entitled to unlimited hospital and medical attention, crutches, and artificial limbs and training in their use and lost time and traveling expense when undergoing treatment or examination.

However, employee must comply with employer's selection of medical panel of doctors and employer must sufficiently notify employees of panel and must have broad enough panel to satisfy Industrial Commission.

Some employers allow open panel of doctors.

Can go to any doctor in emergency.

Chiropractors not covered.

Employee should not reject reasonable examination or treatment where requested by employer.

VI

DISABILITY BENEFITS

Where employee misses less than ten days of work, he is not paid for first three days.

Temporary total disability payments are computed on 70 percent of employee's weekly wages with maximum of $68 per week.

Permanent partial disability based on scheduled benefits, i.e., loss of hand at wrist, 400 weeks. Ten per cent loss of use of hand would be 40 weeks. Maximum payment is $46 per week for permanent partial disability.

Reduction of permanent disability benefits by 2½ per cent for each year employee over 50 years of age. Maximum reduction 50 per cent.

Rehabilitation

Where employee has suffered from serious industrial injury or disease making it difficult or impossible to do his regular work, he may be eligible to receive up to 40 weeks of additional benefits while taking rehabilitation instruction.

Death Benefits

May vary in amount up to $19,430.00 (as of 1965), children under sixteen may be entitled to additional benefits and children over sixteen if mentally or physically incapacitated may be entitled to additional benefits.

Burial expenses up to $500 allowed.

No reduction in benefits because of age of deceased.

VII

BENEFITS MAY BE INCREASED OR DECREASED IF VIOLATION FOUND

Fifteen per cent increase if employer violates safety codes.

Employee or union can obtain copy of safety code by writing to Industrial Commission.

Safe Place Statute. Employer must do everything reasonably necessary and adopt and use methods and processes reasonably adequate, to protect the life, safety and welfare of his employees. If employer fails to comply with safe place statute, employee is entitled to fifteen per cent increase in benefits.

Employee loses fifteen per cent of benefits if injury occurs because of intoxication.

VIII

RETURNING TO WORK PROBLEMS

Employer may be fined up to $500 for refusing to re-employ injured employee. Each day's refusal could be considered a separate violation. Employee should make effort to return to work where employer or employer's physician make such request.

Further compensation due where recurrence of injury.

IX

STIPULATION VERSUS COMPROMISE

Where there is a dispute as to whether benefits are due, employee and employer can work out agreement before Commission.

If word stipulation is used, employee can reopen case within six year period should there be a recurrence or worsening of his injury or disease.

If word compromise is used, employee has only one year to reopen.

Employees advised to avoid compromise agreements, particularly where permanent disability involved.

X

DISPUTED CLAIMS & HEARINGS

Where employee desires a hearing, he must file an "Application for Adjustment of Claim" in triplicate with Industrial Commission. Forms can be obtained from Commission.

Where a claim is in dispute, an employee generally will be aided by retaining a lawyer. Attorney fees are 20 per cent of amount in dispute.

Employee must pay for medical examination and medical testimony even if successful in his claim.

THE NATURE OF "GOOD FAITH" IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

One of the most difficult problems confronting the National Labor Relations Board and the courts in interpreting the Taft-Hartley Act is defining the obligation to bargain in good faith. Sections 8(a)(5) and 8(b)(3) impose the obligation to bargain on employers and unions respectively. Section 8(d) states that collective bargaining:

> " . . . is the performance of the mutual obligation of the employer and the representative of his employees to meet at reasonable times and confer in good faith with respect to wages, hours and other conditions of employment, or the negotiation of an agreement, or any question arising thereunder, and the execution of a written contract incorporating any agreement reached if requested by either party, but such obligation does not compel either party to agree to a proposal or require the making of a concession . . ."

The words of the statute provide only sketchy guidelines to the definition of the obligation to bargain. The NLRB and the courts have interpreted the statute as applying to both the conduct of the parties in the act of bargaining and the substantive issues in bargaining. Thus the NLRB requires that both parties meet and discuss their proposals, and it determines whether a party may refuse to discuss certain specific proposals.

Substantive issues in collecting bargaining are divided into three legal categories: (1) unlawful issues; (2) mandatory issues; and (3) non-mandatory issues. The parties are forbidden to agree on unlawful issues, e.g., the closed shop. Either party is within the law when it demands a mandatory issue and refuses to sign an agreement unless its demand is satisfied. Both parties are required to bargain about any

mandatory subject. Unions and managements may agree to bargain about non-mandatory subjects and any agreement they voluntarily reach on non-mandatory subjects is lawful. Moreover, neither party is obligated to bargain on non-mandatory subjects, nor is either party permitted to insist upon a demand for a non-mandatory subject. A few illustrations on mandatory and non-mandatory subjects may help to clarify the significance of these categories.

The following are examples of mandatory subjects for collective bargaining:

1. Employee stock purchase plans
2. Profit sharing retirement plans
3. Group insurance
4. Pensions
5. Christmas bonuses
6. No-strike clauses

Suppose the union and management had agreed on wages, hours, seniority provisions, grievance procedures, and all other matters usually in an agreement. The union would not be guilty of refusal to bargain if it demanded, and struck for, an extra bonus to be distributed at Christmas. Nor would the employer be guilty of refusal to bargain if he refused to sign an agreement incorporating these understandings unless the union agreed to include a no-strike clause in the agreement.

The following are examples of non-mandatory subjects for collective bargaining:

1. Demands a union or employer post a performance bond.
2. Demands a union withdraw an unfair labor practice charge.
3. Demand a union forego certain appropriate bargaining subjects for a time.
4. Demand a supervisor be discharged.

An employer may agree with the union that a supervisor will be discharged as a means of improving the labor relations climate, or a union may withdraw its pending unfair labor practice charge against the employer for the same reason. However, the union is guilty of refusal to bargain if it strikes for the purpose of causing a supervisor's discharge, and the employer is innocent of refusal to bargain if he steadfastly refuses to listen to the union's protestations about the supervisor. The employer is guilty of refusal to bargain if he insists that he will not sign an agreement until the union withdraws its unfair labor practice charges.

In general, statutory law specifically prohibits relatively few collective bargaining clauses, e.g., closed shops and, under the 1959 law, "hot cargo" clauses.

The statutory right of employees and their duly designated representative to performance of an employer's duty to bargain concerning "wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment" may, under certain circumstances, be waived voluntarily pursuant to genuine collective bargaining. However, such a waiver, as with all waivers of statutory rights, must be clearly and unmistakably established and is not to be lightly inferred.

Whether certain contract provisions constituted a waiver by the union of bargaining rights was recently discussed by the Supreme Court in C + C Plywood Corporation. In C + C Plywood, the claim was asserted as an affirmative defense to what the NLRB found to be a prima facie

violation of Section 8(a)(5) by the employer's unilateral institution of a premium pay schedule provided the employees meet certain production standards. The employer asserted it had the authority to do so under a contract provision permitting a premium rate above the contract rate to reward any particular employee for a special fitness or skill. The Board recognized that "in order to determine the validity of this waiver defense. . .we must necessarily evaluate the testimony as to what occurred during contract negotiations, and must interpret the wage clause in the contract." The Board found a refusal to bargain violation by concluding that there was not sufficient evidence to establish that in the course of negotiations the union waived its right to bargain about a wage incentive system. The Board rejected the employer's construction of the premium pay clause as granting it the privilege of selecting a group of employees for unilateral changes in compensation by raising the hourly contract rate contingent upon increased productivity.

In the New York Mirror case, the Board held the "zipper" clause of a contract, even when read in conjunction with other provisions, did not give the employer the privilege to unilaterally terminate its operations. The clause provided that the parties had fully bargained with respect to bargainable subjects and had settled those issues for the term of the contract. The employer contended the "zipper" clause, when read in conjunction with provisions concerning severance and termination pay, did constitute a waiver of the union's right to consultation and bargaining. In finding no waiver, the Board stated,

"This boilerplate clause, carried over from previous agreements, does no more than indicate that the parties embodied their full bargaining agreement in the written contracts. A wrap-up clause of this nature affords no basis for an inference that the agreement contains an implied understanding over and beyond those actually written in the agreement."

The following cases are submitted for the student to analyze the problems, applying the principles learned from the foregoing outline and from general classroom instruction and discussion. The two cases here presented do not pretend to be exhaustive, but rather suggestive. Moreover, having started with the cases and the dialogue that follows, the students can present to the class their own experience and observations.

CASE NO. ONE

FACTS OF THE CASE

The facts in this case are quite simple, the issue more complex. Article X (Hours of Work) of the collective bargaining agreement provided over many years as follows:

> "Unless changed by mutual agreement between the Company and the Union, the normal hours of employment shall be as follows:
>
> Shift No. 1: 8 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. less 30 minutes for meals
> Shift No. 2: 4:30 p.m. to 1 a.m. less 30 minutes for meals
> Shift No. 3: 1 a.m. to 8 a.m. less 30 minutes for meals

However, since approximately 1952, the Die Cast Department had begun and terminated each shift an hour earlier than the schedule described in the above provision of the contract. There is no evidence as to the circumstances under which this arrangement came into being.

On April 23, 1967, the Company posted a bulletin announcing that effective April 30, 1967, shifts in the Die Cast Department were to begin and end one hour later than had been the practice. The new hours, therefore, coincided with those provided in Article X (Hours of Work).

Posting on the bulletin had been preceded by discussion between the Union and the Company. The parties differ on their construction of these meetings. The Union maintains that their purpose was to reach mutual agreement on the proposed change, and that it was unable to agree. The Company maintains that the purpose was to inform the Union of its intention and to accomplish the transaction with a minimum of friction.

The evidence discloses the change by the Company was initiated in good faith and was not discriminatory.

The Management Rights Clause provides:

> The right to hire, promote, discharge or discipline for just cause, maintain discipline and efficiency of employees, determine the type of products to be manufactured, the schedule of production, the location of plants, the methods, processes and means of manufacturing are examples of management prerogatives. However, it is understood that the company retains all of its rights to manage and operate the business except as may be limited by an express provisions of this Agreement.

The last sentence was not a part of preceding agreements. The contract contains no clause generally preserving past practices but only practices with respect to certain specific matters.

QUESTIONS

1. Since the contract contains no clause generally preserving past practices, does it lie with the domain of management to unilaterally change the starting time? Why?

2. Would you file an unfair labor practice charge on the employer's action? Why?

3. Aside from the above, what additional facts might be necessary to establish a prima facie case in filing an unfair labor practice case to the NLRB?

4. What language would you use in alleging the unfair labor practice? Why?

5. If the employer offered to discuss the change with the union at any time after April 30, would this change your decision to file the unfair labor practice charge? Why?

CASE NO. TWO

FACTS OF THE CASE

In March, 1966, an independent Union was certified by the NLRB as the bargaining representative for a union comprising all production and maintenance employees of the Fat Cat Corporations consisting of about one hundred employees. On September 1, 1966, after a series of bargaining sessions, the parties reached agreement and signed a one year contract expiring September 1, 1967.

The agreement does not set forth any comprehensive rules governing employee conduct. It does: (1) allude to safety practices, and (2) reserves to the Employer the right to discharge any employee who, without permission from the Employer, distributes literature in the plant during working hours.

During the course of bargaining over the contract in 1966, the parties did not specifically discuss plant rules.

At the time of certification, the Employer had an unpublished series of plant rules setting forth when disciplinary action would be taken because of repeated tardiness or absenteeism. The Employer found the implementation and administration of this procedure to be inconsistent among the various foremen. To remedy the situation, the Employer on April 21, 1967 instituted a new series of absentee and tardiness rules setting forth the reasons absenteeism and tardiness could be excused and providing points for each unexcused absence or tardiness. Accumulation of a specified number of points in a given period would

then result in disciplinary action. The Employer furnished a copy of the new procedure to the Union on April 18, three days before it was put in effect.

The Management Rights Clause states:

> Management Rights: The direction of the working forces including the rights to hire, transfer, promote, suspend or discharge for proper cause, to adopt shop rules and the right to relieve employees from duty because of lack of work or for any other legitimate reason, and to maintain discipline and efficiency in production is confined exclusively to the Company, provided that no such action by the Company is in conflict with or circumvents any provisions of this contract. In addition, there is reserved to the Company all the regular and customary functions of management which are not limited by the terms of this contract.

The contract further contains the following language on discharge:

> Discharge: The Company has the right to discipline or discharge employees for just cause. Just cause shall be construed to include sabotage, drunkness, criminal acts, inefficiency, incompetency, insubordination, repeated tardiness, absenteeism, carrying of contagious or infectious disease, creating unsanitary conditions in plant, and the violation of company rules which are not in conflict with this agreement.

The contract also contained the following "zipper" clause:

> This agreement sets forth the entire agreement and understanding between the parties hereto and all prior understandings or agreements, oral or written, are merged herein. This agreement may not be changed except in writing and signed by a proper and duly authorized representative of each of the parties hereto.

I. The Union Committee Consists of:

Steward: _____

Chief Steward: _____

Local President: _____

Negotiating Committee: _____

II. The Company Committee Consists of:

Foreman: _____

Plant Superintendent: _____

Director of Industrial Relations: _____

The act takes place in the office of the Director of Industrial Relations. Each side must carefully plan its strategy in light of the availability of: (a) the grievance machinery (use own contracts); and (b) Unfair Labor Practice Charges (forms are provided).

QUESTIONS

1. Has the Employer violated his duty to bargain by instituting the absentee procedure? Why?

2. If the parties had discussed an absentee procedure in their 1966 negotiations, would the instituting of the procedure in April, 1966 be a refusal bargain violation? Why?

LAW OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

In 1935 Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act. (The text is in your folder.) This Act protects the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively. It is enforced by the National Labor Relations Board. Basically, the Board has jurisdiction over all business which "affect" interstate or foreign commerce.

Unfair Labor Practices: Proceedings before the Board are begun by CHARGES filed with the regional office. There are 31 regional offices in the country including offices at Milwaukee, Chicago and Minneapolis.

I. ARBITRATION versus NLRB JURISDICTION

The nation's labor relations policies favor voluntary arbitration of disputes. The Board will, therefore, not second guess an arbitrator's decision as long as: 1) it does not repudiate the Act; 2) it is fair; and 3) all parties agreed to be bound by the arbitrator.

Discussion Questions

1. Two employees were dissatisfied with Union A, the incumbent union. While they were assisting Union B in raiding the plant, they were fired allegedly "for cause." An arbitration panel consisting of representatives of the employer and the incumbent union rejected the employee's grievance.

   Should the NLRB set aside the arbitrator's decision and decide the case for itself? (Auburn Rubber Company, 156 NLRB 301)

2. An employee was discharged for threatening to go to the NLRB for advice concerning his rights under the contract. The arbitrator held this was a discharge for "just cause" since an employee has no right to make unjustified threats against his boss.

   Should the Board reverse the arbitrator and order the employee reinstated? (Virginia - Carolina Freight Lines, 155 NLRB 447)

II. REPRESENTATION CASES

The Act requires that an employer bargain with the representative designated by a majority of his employees in a unit appropriate for collective bargaining.[1] But it does not require that the representative be designated by any particular procedure as long as the representative is clearly the choice of a majority of the employees.

As one method for employees to select a majority representative, the Act authorizes the Board to conduct representation elections.[2] The Board may conduct such an election after a petition has been filed by or on behalf of the employees, or by an employer who has been confronted with a claim for recognition from an individual or a labor organization.

Incident to its authority to conduct elections, the Board has the power to determine the unit of employees appropriate for collective bargaining,[3] and formally to certify a collective-bargaining representative upon the basis of the results of the election. Once certified by the Board, the bargaining agent is the exclusive representative of all employees in the appropriate unit for collective bargaining in respect to rates of pay, wages, hours of employment, or other conditions of employment.

The Act also empowers the Board to conduct elections to decertify incumbent bargaining agents which have been previously certified, or which are being currently recognized by the employer. Decertification petitions may be filed by employees, or individuals other than management representatives, or by labor organizations acting on behalf of employees.

A. EXISTING CONTRACT AS BAR TO AN ELECTION

Generally, the Board will not hold an election during the term of a valid, written, properly executed and binding contract. The contract must be for a definite period and not longer than three years. The Board will entertain a petition for an election during the period from 90 to 60 days before the expiration of the contract.

Discussion Questions

1. During the middle of a two year contract, the Ace Nut Co. moved its plant, together with almost all employees, a mile down the road to a new location. An outside union filed a petition for an election at the new location. The union at the old plant objected.

[1]Secs. 8(a)(5) and 9(a).
[2]Sec. 9(c)(1).
[3]Sec. 9(b).

Discussion Questions (continued)

1. Should the Board order a new election? Should the old contract be considered binding at the new location?

2. The employer had separate dairy and ice cream plants. It merged the operation into a new modern single plant. Both old plants had different unions and contracts. Both unions demanded representation rights without an election. A third union filed a petition for election. The employer threw up his hands.

   Are the existing contracts still valid? If not, why not? (Kroger Co., 155 NLRB 546, General Extrusion Co., 121 NLRB 1165)

3. A petition was filed 59 days before the expiration of the existing contract. Not sure the contract was valid, the NLRB held a hearing at which it determined the contract was valid. On the day before the contract was to expire, the union and the company signed a new three year contract.

   Should the Board order an election or make the employees wait three more years to see if they really want the incumbent union? (Electric Boat Division, 158 NLRB No. 95)

4. Normally the Board will not permit a test of the union's majority status for at least one year after certification. Suppose the employer refused to give the union certain information it needed in bargaining for a period of five months.

   Should the union get any extra time if it appears at the end of a year that most of the employees have lost faith in the union?

B. UNITS APPROPRIATE FOR BARGAINING

General Rule: Discussion - Section 9, Taft-Hartley Act

1. Insurance Industry Units: Should a single district office be the appropriate bargaining unit where so requested by the union? (Metropolitan Life Ins. Co., 156 NLRB 1408; State Farm, 158 NLRB #84)

2. Grocery Store Units: A unit consisting of less than all the employees of a store may be appropriate. But should an election be directed in a unit consisting of grocery clerks, but excluding meat cutters where no one is seeking to represent the meat department? (Mock Road Super Duper, 156 NLRB 983)

   What about the delicatessen department?

3. Department Store and Warehouse Units: There can be separate units consisting of only selling or non-selling employees. There can also be a single unit consisting of all (wall to wall) employees. The decision in a given case will largely depend on the facts of the case such as:

   -history of bargaining
   -skills of workers
   -degree of common supervision
   -functional integration of duties
   -working conditions

   (Bonwit Teller, Inc., 159 NLRB #62; Sears Roebuck & Co., 154 NLRB 1818)

4. Craft Units: Traditional crafts can properly bargain separately from selling employees in a department store (example: electricians); or from production and maintenance employees in a plant (example: plumbers, welders; Union Carbide, 156 NLRB 634). However, the Board is unlikely to sever tool and die makers from an already existing unit of production and maintenance employees. (Rohr Corp., 157 NLRB 1351)

5. Professional Employees: Section 9(b)(1) of the Act

6. Race: Race cannot be a factor in determining the unit a union will represent. This is true even where historically employment patterns were set by discriminatory hiring practices.

C. CONDUCT OF REPRESENTATION ELECTIONS

Section 9(c)(1) of the Act provides that if, upon a petition filed, a question of representation exists, the Board must resolve it through an election by secret ballot. The election details are left to the Board. Such matters as voting eligibility, timing of elections, and standards of election conduct are subject to rules laid down in the Board's Rules and Regulations and in its decisions.

Board elections are conducted in accordance with strict standards designed to assure that the participating employees have an opportunity to determine, and to register a free and untrammeled choice in the selection of, a bargaining representative. Any party to an election who believes that the standards have not been met may file timely objections to the election with the regional director under whose supervision it was held. In that event, the regional director may, as the situation warrants, either make an administrative investigation of the objections or hold a formal hearing to develop a record as the basis for decision.

If the election was held pursuant to a consent-election agreement authorizing a determination by the regional director, the regional director will then issue a decision on the objections which is final.[4] If the election was held pursuant to a consent agreement authorizing a determination by the Board, the regional director will then issue a report on objections which is then subject to exceptions by the parties and decision by the Board.[5] However, if the election was one directed by the Board,[6] the regional director may (1) either make a report on the objections, subject to exceptions with the decision to be made by the Board, or (2) dispose of the issues by issuing a decision, which is then subject to limited review by the Board.[7]

1. Employer Petitions challenging incumbent union's majority status must be supported by some evidence to show that there is reasonable grounds to believe the union no longer represents a majority of the employees.

2. Timing of Election in a Seasonal Industry: Elections are only held at peak employment periods in seasonal industries. Sometimes this frustrates the need for a prompt election.

   Discussion Question: Where a canning company has one peak crop but a series of shorter and smaller peaks for other crops, should the Board make the employees wait almost a year for an election? (Elsa Canning Co., 514 NLRB 1810)

[4]Rules and Regulations, sec. 102.62(a).
[5]Rules and Regulations, secs. 102.62(b); 102.69(c).
[6]Rules and Regulations, secs. 102.63; 102.67.
[7]Rules and Regulations, secs.,102.69(c); 102.69(e).

3. Disclosure of Names and Addresses of Employees: Within seven days after an election has been ordered or agreed upon, the employer must file with the regional director a list of names and addresses of all eligible voters.

   Why is this needed by the union?

   Doesn't this violate the rights of the employer and give the union an unfair advantage?

4. Secrecy of Ballot: All employees are entitled to secret voting in a Board election. Sam Jones, who was strongly anti-union, remembering the famous story of John Hancock in signing the Declaration of Independence (large so John Bull can read it without specs), wrote across the bottom of his ballot, "I voted no big enough so the union bosses could see it through the smoke from their expensive cigars." When the Board agent opened the box and counted the ballots, he found that Sam's vote would decide the election.

   Should that vote be counted? (J. Brenner & Sons, 154 NLRB 656)

5. Conduct Affecting Elections: An election will be set aside, and a new election directed, if the election campaign was accompanied by conduct which, in the Board's view, created an atmosphere of confusion or fear of reprisals which interfered with the employees' exercise of their freedom of choice of a representative as guaranteed by the Act.

   In evaluating the interference resulting from specific conduct, the Board does not attempt to assess its actual effect on the employees, but rather concerns itself with whether it is reasonable to conclude that the conduct tended to prevent the free formation and expression of the employees' choice. In making this evaluation the Board treats each case on its facts, taking an ad hoc rather than a per se approach in resolution of the issues.

   a. Election Propaganda: The Board will set aside an election where either party engages in campaign trickery or serious misrepresentation. It will not upset an election merely because of exaggeration or because a message is vague or could be misconstrued.

a. Election Propaganda (continued)

Discussion Questions

1. Just before an election, a union handbill stated that several of its contracts in the area "provide" 47¢ per hour wage increases. The union did not point out that the increases were granted in steps over a three year period. The union won the election.

   Should the Board set it aside as an omission which is part of a deliberate pattern of deception? (Russell-Newman Mfg., 158 NLRB No. 117)

2. On the day of the NLRB election the employer took $6.00 from each employee's pay check. He placed it in a separate envelope which stated, "This is the estimated amount the union will take out of your pay each month." The union lost the election and objected to the employer's conduct within five days of the election. It took the position that the union had set no dues structure and since no Wisconsin Employment Relations Commission referendum had been held, no employee had to pay any dues.

   How should the Board rule? (Caressa, Inc., 158 NLRB #150)

b. Employer Talks to Employee Groups: An employer interferes with an election where he:

   1) holds mass meetings with employees within 24 hours of the election

   2) holds meetings in places where managerial authority is based.

Discussion Questions

The company president, U.B. Loyal, called the employees together at 9:00 a.m., October 3, 1967, in the plant cafeteria. He discussed the NLRB election which was to begin the following day at 10:00 a.m. Mr. Loyal indicated that the whole company was really "one big, happy family" and had no need of outside union representatives.

1) Did the company interfere with the election? Why?

2) Resolve the following issues:

-24 hour rule

-content of speech

-area of managerial authority

III. UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES

The Board is empowered under Section 10(a) of the Act "to prevent any person from engaging in any unfair labor practice (listed in Section 8) affecting commerce."

In general, Section 8 prohibits an employer or a union or their agents from engaging in certain specified types of activity which Congress has designated as unfair labor practices. The Board, however, may not act to prevent or remedy such activities until a charge of an unfair labor practice has been filed with it. Such charges may be filed by an employer, an employee, a labor organization, or any other person irrespective of any interest they might have in the matter. They are filed with the regional office of the Board in the area where the alleged unfair labor practice occurred.

A. SECTION 8(a)(1): EMPLOYER INTERFERENCE WITH EMPLOYEE RIGHTS

1. Limitations Upon Communication

A collective bargaining agreement provided that the company would provide the union with bulletin boards for "union business." The contract further provided that there would be no other distribution of union material on company time or premises. A group of employees wanted to bring in a rival union to represent the workers. When they

distributed some handbills during a lunch break, they were issued warning slips.

a. Did the company violate Section 8(a)(1)? (Take a look at Section 8(b)(1)(a).)

b. Could the union get these men discharged for filing a decertification petition?

c. Could it bring them up on charges before the union executive board?

2. Discharges for Engaging in Protected Activity

a. Sarah Jones, a clerical worker, arrived for work on September 29, 1967, only to find that the production workers, who had been bargaining with the employer for some time, had set up a picket line. Sarah, whose father had told her about unions, refused to cross the line. She was promptly informed of her discharge. When the strike ended, Sarah went back to work with the rest of the strikers. They were all received, but Sarah's discharge was not rescinded.

-Is this discrimination? (Canada Dry Corp., 154 NLRB 1763)

-Should Sarah get her job back?

-What about back-pay?

-Does it matter whether or not Sarah will be covered by the contract (or in the bargaining unit)?

b. Suppose Sarah had told the company she would not cross the picket line, but would come in at night and perform her clerical duties? (Cooper Thermometer Co., 154 NLRB 502)

c. The Restaurant Workers Union picketed Sneaky Pete's Saloon to protest substandard conditions. Al, the bartender, continued to work, but after his shift ended, joined the picket line while still wearing his uniform. Pete came running out of the saloon shouting, "You are a disgrace to the uniform. A man in uniform has no business picketing. You're fired!"

-Those whose names begin with A through L, be prepared to argue on Al's behalf.

-Those whose names begin with M through Z, argue the employer's position on the discharge.

(Edir, Inc., d/b/a Wolfie's, 159 NLRB No. 72)

d. The Lumber Company regularly issued its pay checks without sufficient funds to cover them. Although the contract prohibited strikes until the grievance procedure was exhausted, the employees got fed up and went on strike to protest the practice.

-What is the normal effect of a no-strike clause?

-Are there any exceptions to the general rule?

-In the case at hand are the employees legitimately subject to discharge? (San Juan Lumber Co., 154 NLRB 1153)

e. Two employees wrongly thought the employer had underpaid them. They filed a complaint with the Industrial Commission. After carefully determining that the employees were wrong, the company fired them for the wrongful charge.

Has the employer violated Section 8(a)(1) and Section 7? (B & M Excavating, 155 NLRB 1152)

f. Three union members refused to cross a legally authorized picket line. The union brought them up on charges and threatened to fine them. The company paid for a lawyer to defend them.

- Is this a legitimate function of the employer? (Leeds & Northrup Co., 155 NLRB 129)

- Suppose the company offered to pay their fines. Would the result be different?

B. SECTION 8(a)(2): EMPLOYER SUPPORT OF LABOR ORGANIZATION

Section 8(a)(2) makes it unlawful for an employer "to dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it."[8] The section provides, however, that an employer may permit employees to confer with him during working hours without loss of pay.

Discussion Questions

1. The union officers met monthly with management on non-working hours. The company paid them at their regular hourly rate.

   Does this violate Section 8(a)(2)? (Farmbest, Inc., 154 NLRB 1421)

2. A clause in the Collective Bargaining Agreement provided for "automatic termination of policies, benefits and provisions in the event there was a change in the bargaining representative."

   Does this clause illegally assist the incumbent union?

[8]Sec. 8(a)(1) contemplates a "labor organization" as defined in Sec. 2(5)

C. EMPLOYER DISCRIMINATION AGAINST EMPLOYEES

See Section 8(a)(3) of the Act.

D. THE BARGAINING OBLIGATION

Discussion Questions

1. After a successful campaign during which five of six employees joined the union, the union representative walked into the owner's office and stated it had majority status and spread out the five cards before the boss. Although he probably saw the signatures, the owner simply stated he preferred to have an NLRB election before bargaining.

   Has the employer illegally refused to bargain in good faith? (John P. Serpa, 155 NLRB 99)

2. Suppose the employer started to bargain and then decided he wanted an election? (Jem Mfg. Co., 156 NLRB 643)

3. In the first situation would the result be different if the employer also sent employees letters and gave speeches threatening to cut wages if the union became the bargaining representative? (Lake Butter Apparel Co., 158 NLRB No. 85)

E. SUCCESSOR EMPLOYER'S OBLIGATION TO BARGAIN

Discussion Questions

The Acme Bolt Co. had been represented by Local 1001 for many years. On June 1, 1967, their contract expired. Although the company and Local 1001 bargained from May through July, no agreement was reached. After expiration, the company simply continued to honor the terms of the old contract.

The Sure Fit Parts Co. bought Acme Bolt on August 1, 1967. Sure Fit purchased all assets and continued the plant, manufacturing the same products. All employees were hired but at new rates of pay and under different conditions of employment (some better - some worse).

On August 15, 1967, Sure Fit recognized Local 1001 and began to bargain. It bargained in good faith toward a new contract but refused to return to the old contract while bargaining.

1. Did Sure Fit have an obligation to bargain with Local 1001 without an NLRB election?

2. Since the contract had expired, was Sure Fit free to change conditions?

3. What can Local 1001 do in this situation?

   a. _____

   b. _____

   c. _____

   d. _____

4. What should it do? (Overnite Transportation Co., 157 NLRB 1185)

F. EMPLOYEE RIGHTS: UNION CONDUCT

Read Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act.

Discussion Question

Local 1341 had a very imaginative organizing technique. During the workday, thirty of their sympathizers would invade an unorganized shop and sign up members at their work stations. On a number of occasions, plant managers were heard to shout desperately, "You can't do this!" as the organizers went ahead and did it. Often work stopped and picketing went on in front of the plant.

The company filed charges against the union charging violations of Section 8(b)(1)(A).

The union denied the charges. It pointed out there was neither violence nor economic coercion involved in the organizational drive.

-Who is right? Why? (B. Brown Associates, 157 NLRB 615)

COMMENT ON PROPOSED FEDERAL SAFETY LEGISLATION

Below is a position statement from the Wisconsin Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations on the proposed Federal Occupational Health and Safety Act (S. 2864 and H. R. 14816).

For a different view see: "Job Safety, A National Tragedy," in the American Federationist, April, 1968. That article is the testimony given by George Meany before a House Education and Labor Subcommittee.

WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY, LABOR AND HUMAN RELATIONS

Position Statement on: February 28, 1968

THE OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY ACT OF 1968:

The companion bills, S 2864 and HR 14816, would establish a federal occupational safety and health program administered by the U. S. Department of Labor. In brief, the Act would do these things:

1. After an interim period of 545 days (18 months) all state laws covering occupational health and safety and applying to firms in interstate commerce would be abrogated.

2. To take the place of state law and administration, the Secretary of Labor would establish federal standards governing industrial health and safety, and enforce these standards by administrative orders, inspections, judicial proceedings, and public contracts.

3. The bill provides a penalty of up to $1000 per each violation and the possible shut down of operations.

4. The legislation contains authority for the Secretary to make contracts with the states for the administration of the law or parts of it.

The Wisconsin Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations opposes the passage of the Occupational Health and Safety Act for the following reasons:

1. The Department opposes the concept that federal control can solve or even reduce the rate of job accidents and injuries. The sponsors of this legislation butress their case by pointing to the toll of job accidents and injuries. Deaths and injuries resulting from traffic and crime are equally serious. Thus the federal government could make a similar case for taking over the administration and enforcement of state traffic and criminal laws.

Continued on Page 2

But the main flaw in the Act is the supposition that federal standards and strong enforcement can materially reduce accidents and deaths. Safety authorities throughout the Nation, including the National Safety Council, agree that 75 percent of all job accidents arise not from unsafe conditions, but from unsafe acts. The reduction of unsafe acts depends upon education and cooperation. The Wisconsin job safety program provides afor about 90 percent education as against 10 percent enforcement. Beyond statistical research, we find no reference to education in the federal language. Further, we feel that any alleged improvement in standards will be more than offset in reducing injuries through the loss of cooperation. Cooperative and educational efforts are more successfuly when they take place between business and the units of government closest to them and the problems.

2. Under the proposed law, Wisconsin's codes and standards built up through 53 years of experience would, for all practical effects, be null and void. These codes have been developed by countless thousands of hours of effort by volunteer advisory committees from industry, labor and the professions. We feel that it would be impossible for a federal agency to duplicate this experience in 18 months, or even 18 years.

As a second point under "2", we feel that the structures in which men work and equipment is installed is just as important from the standpoint of safety as is the equipment itself. Approximately 25 percent of Wisconsin's budget in Industrial Safety is devoted to the inspection of plans and structures under construction for their safety features. We find no reference to buildings and plan inspection in the proposed federal law.

3. Wisconsin law provides for a penalty only when an unsafe condition remains uncorrected. The proposed federal law does not allow for a correction period. In Wisconsin we have found that most violations of the code are inadvertent. We feel it is unrealistic and unduly harsh to impose a $1000 fine upon a business which inadvertently violates one of several thousand code provisions. Such imposition would certainly work to the disadvantage of cooperative efforts as discussed above.

4. The proposed law provides that the Secretary may make grants up to 90 percent of the state's cost for collection of information; increasing enforcement capabilities, and otherwise improving the administration and enforcement of state occupational safety and health laws.

From this language it does not appear that we would be paid for the day-to-day routine of education, inspection and enforcement, even if we were doing this job to the satisfaction of the Secretary. If this law passes, it seems Wisconsin would be forced into doing one of the following, none of which are satisfactory or practical.

a. Discontinue our occupational safety program in its entirety and turn over this work to the U. S. Department of Labor.

b. Maintain an inspection and enforcement bureau at state expense to enforce federal codes and standards.

c. Maintain an inspection and enforcement bureau to cover those businesses not engaged in interstate commerce, and to enforce those parts of our codes which are above and beyond the federal codes.

Finally, we believe that federalization of job safety may well have the opposite effect of that intended. We believe that it is unnecessary in Wisconsin, unworkable in Wisconsin, and will in fact work to the detriment of the job safety program now in effect in Wisconsin.

Text of Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, as Amended by Public Law 86-257, 1959*

[Public Law 101—80th Congress]

AN ACT

To amend the National Labor Relations Act, to provide additional facilities for the mediation of labor disputes affecting commerce, to equalize legal responsibilities of labor organizations and employers, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

SECTION 1. (a) This Act may be cited as the "Labor Management Relations Act, 1947."

(b) Industrial strife which interferes with the normal flow of commerce and with the full production of articles and commodities for commerce, can be avoided or substantially minimized if employers, employees, and labor organizations each recognize under law one another's legitimate rights in their relations with each other, and above all recognize under law that neither party has any right in its relations with any other to engage in acts or practices which jeopardize the public health, safety, or interest.

It is the purpose and policy of this Act, in order to promote the full flow of commerce, to prescribe the legitimate rights of both employees and employers in their relations affecting commerce, to provide orderly and peaceful procedures for preventing the interference by either with the legitimate rights of the other, to protect the rights of individual employees in their relations with labor organizations whose activities affect commerce, to define and proscribe practices on the part of labor and management which affect commerce and are inimical to the general welfare, and to protect the rights of the public in connection with labor disputes affecting commerce.

TITLE I—AMENDMENT OF NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

SEC. 101. The National Labor Relations Act is hereby amended to read as follows:

FINDINGS AND POLICIES

SECTION 1. The denial by some employers of the right of employees to organize and the refusal by some employers to accept the procedure of collective bargaining

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*Section 201(d) and (e) of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 which repealed Section 9(f), (g), and (h) of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, and Section 505 amending Section 302(a), (b), and (c) of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, took effect upon enactment of Public Law 86-257, September 14, 1959. As to the other amendments of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, Section 707 of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act provides:

> The amendments made by this title shall take effect sixty days after the date of the enactment of this Act and no provision of this title shall be deemed to make an unfair labor practice, any act which is performed prior to such effective date which did not constitute an unfair labor practice prior thereto.

the school for workers

the university of wisconsin university extension division

Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, As Amended[1]

[Revised text [1] showing in bold face new or amended language provided by Public Law 89—216, as enacted September 29, 1965, 79 Stat. 888]

AN ACT

73 Stat. 519.

To provide for the reporting and disclosure of certain financial transactions and administrative practices of labor organizations and employers, to prevent abuses in the administration of trusteeships by labor organizations, to provide standards with respect to the election of officers of labor organizations, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959."

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[1] Public Law 257, 86th Cong. (73 Stat. 519–546), as amended by Public Law 216, 89th Cong. (79 Stat. 888). This revised text has been prepared by the U.S. Department of Labor.

FORM NLRB-501
(2-67)

Form Approved
Budget Bureau No. 64-R001.12

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

CHARGE AGAINST EMPLOYER

INSTRUCTIONS: File an original and 4 copies of this charge with NLRB regional director for the region in which the alleged unfair labor practice occurred or is occurring.

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

Case No.

Date Filed

1. EMPLOYER AGAINST WHOM CHARGE IS BROUGHT

a. Name of Employer

b. Number of Workers Employed

c. Address of Establishment (Street and number, city, State, and ZIP code)

d. Employer Representative to Contact

e. Phone No.

f. Type of Establishment (Factory, mine, wholesaler, etc.)

g. Identify Principal Product or Service

h. The above-named employer has engaged in and is engaging in unfair labor practices within the meaning of section 8(a), subsections (1) and _____ of the National Labor Relations Act,
(List subsections)
and these unfair labor practices are unfair labor practices affecting commerce within the meaning of the Act.

2. Basis of the Charge (Be specific as to facts, names, addresses, plants involved, dates, places, etc.)

By the above and other acts, the above-named employer has interfered with, restrained, and coerced employees in the exercise of the rights guaranteed in Section 7 of the Act.

3. Full Name of Party Filing Charge (If labor organization, give full name, including local name and number)

4a. Address (Street and number, city, State, and ZIP code)

4b. Telephone No.

5. Full Name of National or International Labor Organization of Which It Is an Affiliate or Constituent Unit (To be filled in when charge is filed by a labor organization)

6. DECLARATION

I declare that I have read the above charge and that the statements therein are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

By _____ _____
(Signature of representative or person filing charge) (Title, if any)

Address _____ _____ _____
(Telephone number) (Date)

WILLFULLY FALSE STATEMENTS ON THIS CHARGE CAN BE PUNISHED BY FINE AND IMPRISONMENT (U.S. CODE, TITLE 18, SECTION 1001)

GPO 904-534

Form NLRB-502
(11-64)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Form Approved.
Budget Bureau No. 64-R002.14

PETITION

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE
CASE NO.
DATE FILED

INSTRUCTIONS.—Submit an original and four (4) copies of this Petition to the NLRB Regional Office in the Region in which the employer concerned is located.
If more space is required for any one item, attach additional sheets, numbering item accordingly.

The Petitioner alleges that the following circumstances exist and requests that the National Labor Relations Board proceed under its proper authority pursuant to Section 9 of the National Labor Relations Act.

1. Purpose of this Petition *(If box RC, RM, or RD is checked and a charge under Section 8(b)(7) of the Act has been filed involving the Employer named herein, the statement following the description of the type of petition shall not be deemed made.)*

(Check one)

☐ RC-CERTIFICATION OF REPRESENTATIVE —A substantial number of employees wish to be represented for purposes of collective bargaining by Petitioner and Petitioner desires to be certified as representative of the employees.

☐ RM-REPRESENTATION (EMPLOYER PETITION)—One or more individuals or labor organizations have presented a claim to Petitioner to be recognized as the representative of employees of Petitioner.

☐ RD-DECERTIFICATION — A substantial number of employees assert that the certified or currently recognized bargaining representative is no longer their representative.

☐ UD-WITHDRAWAL OF UNION SHOP AUTHORITY—Thirty percent (30%) or more of employees in a bargaining unit covered by an agreement between their employer and a labor organization desire that such authority be rescinded.

☐ UC-UNIT CLARIFICATION—A labor organization is currently recognized by employer, but petitioner seeks clarification of placement of certain employees: *(Check one)* ☐ In unit not previously certified
☐ In unit previously certified in Case No. _____.

☐ AC-AMENDMENT OF CERTIFICATION—Petitioner seeks amendment of certification issued in Case No. _____.

Attach statement describing the specific amendment sought.

2. NAME OF EMPLOYER	EMPLOYER REPRESENTATIVE TO CONTACT	PHONE NO.

3. ADDRESS(ES) OF ESTABLISHMENT(S) INVOLVED *(Street and number, city, State, and ZIP Code)*

4a. TYPE OF ESTABLISHMENT *(Factory, mine, wholesaler, etc.)*	4b. IDENTIFY PRINCIPAL PRODUCT OR SERVICE

5. Unit Involved *(In UC petition, describe PRESENT bargaining unit and attach description of proposed clarification.)*

Included

Excluded

6a. NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN UNIT:

PRESENT _____

PROPOSED (BY UC/AC) _____

6b. IS THIS PETITION SUPPORTED BY 30% OR MORE OF THE EMPLOYEES IN THE UNIT?*

☐ YES ☐ NO

*Not applicable in RM, UC, and AC

(If you have checked box RC in 1 above, check and complete EITHER item 7a or 7b, whichever is applicable)

7a. ☐ Request for recognition as Bargaining Representative was made on ..... *(Month, day, year)* and Employer declined recognition on or about ..... *(Month, day, year)* *(If no reply received, so state)*

7b. ☐ Petitioner is currently recognized as Bargaining Representative and desires certification under the act.

8. Recognized or Certified Bargaining Agent *(If there is none, so state)*

NAME	AFFILIATION
ADDRESS	DATE OF RECOGNITION OR CERTIFICATION

9. DATE OF EXPIRATION OF CURRENT CONTRACT, IF ANY *(Show month, day, and year)*	10. IF YOU HAVE CHECKED BOX UD IN 1 ABOVE, SHOW HERE THE DATE OF EXECUTION OF AGREEMENT GRANTING UNION SHOP *(Month, day, and year)*
11a. IS THERE NOW A STRIKE OR PICKETING AT THE EMPLOYER'S ESTABLISHMENT(S) INVOLVED? YES ..... NO	11b. IF SO, APPROXIMATELY HOW MANY EMPLOYEES ARE PARTICIPATING?

11c. THE EMPLOYER HAS BEEN PICKETED BY OR ON BEHALF OF ..... *(Insert name)* A LABOR ORGANIZATION, OF ..... *(Insert address)* SINCE ..... *(Month, day, year)*

12. ORGANIZATIONS OR INDIVIDUALS OTHER THAN PETITIONER (AND OTHER THAN THOSE NAMED IN ITEMS 8 AND 11c), WHICH HAVE CLAIMED RECOGNITION AS REPRESENTATIVES AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS KNOWN TO HAVE A REPRESENTATIVE INTEREST IN ANY EMPLOYEES IN THE UNIT DESCRIBED IN ITEM 5 ABOVE. (IF NONE, SO STATE.)

NAME	AFFILIATION	ADDRESS	DATE OF CLAIM *(Required only if Petition is filed by Employer)*

I declare that I have read the above petition and that the statements therein are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

..... *(Petitioner and affiliation, if any)*

By ..... *(Signature of representative or person filing petition)* ..... *(Title, if any)*

Address ..... *(Street and number, city, State, and ZIP Code)* ..... *(Telephone number)*

WILLFULLY FALSE STATEMENT ON THIS PETITION CAN BE PUNISHED BY FINE AND IMPRISONMENT (U.S. CODE, TITLE 18, SECTION 1001)

GPO 923-779

WASHINGTON REPORT

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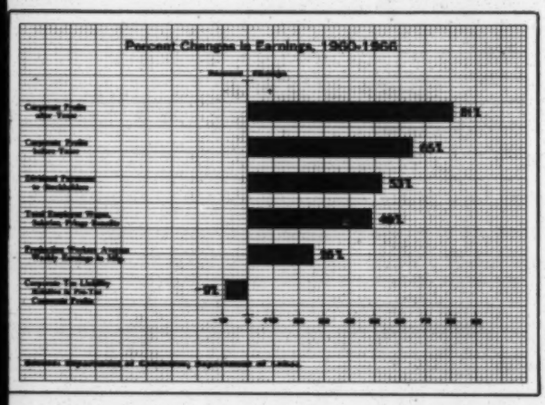
Vol. 7, No. 2 — January 9, 1967

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO



Teacher Corps in action—it costs tiny fraction of Vietnam war.

Paul Conklin

Tax corporate profits for warring on poverty

Michigan's Senator Phil Hart is against any general tax increase now or the near future. Instead he's for tapping soaring corporate profits to keep Great Society programs running.

Hart is chairman of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee. After-tax corporate profits have climbed 88 percent in the past nine years, he charges, in part because there is no longer enough competition to keep prices at minimum levels.

Hart said that any new tax laws should be aimed at reducing excessive corporate profits, providing tax incentives to firms that cut prices, and discouraging business mergers.

"If the nation is troubled by high prices and insufficient revenue why not devise a tax program that attacks both problems simultaneously?" he asked last week.

Hart delivered a ringing defense of Great Society programs, insisting that the domestic war on poverty, crime, air and water pollution, poor education and inadequate housing is just as important as defending democracy abroad.

"These programs," he said, **"take only about 10 cents of every federal dollar.**

"If I thought a drastic cut in this spending would have any effect on inflation I might be for it. But it wouldn't."

"If I thought a general tax increase would have a significant effect on high prices, I might be for it. But it wouldn't."

. . . in ten years, under the present trend, two-thirds of the nation's manufacturing assets will be owned by 200 firms."

"American industry is riding the crest of the greatest profit boom in history."

He said the Subcommittee's studies of economic concentration indicate that a general tax increase or a drastic cut in government spending could trigger a business slowdown but would probably not have much effect on prices.

"These measures would be an attempt to reduce prices by reducing demand. But our economy very often no longer responds to this kind of classic economic theory and we are kidding ourselves if we fail to recognize it," he continued.

"They would work if consumer demand was outstripping productive capacity—but it is not.

"They would work if manufacturers would hurriedly

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued from page 1)
lower prices in the face of reduced demand. But there is little evidence that they would and much evidence that they would not."

Ruefully acknowledging that "any fellow who begins lecturing on the nation's economic structure is not likely to draw much of a crowd," Hart said it is nevertheless interesting to note:

1. That manufacturing labor costs have gone up by less than 2½ percent since 1957-59 while consumer prices have climbed 14 percent.

2. That after-tax corporate profits in the same period have jumped by $20 billion yearly (88 percent).

"That indicates clearly enough," he said, "that higher prices have little relationship to higher costs. And prices also no longer bear a clear relationship to demand.

"So why hit consumers, already hard pressed by high prices and high interest rates, with another punishing blow in the form of a tax hike when it won't have the desired result anyway?

"And why sacrifice essential domestic programs—such as the War on Poverty—to an economic theory which in many cases is not applicable?"

Hart said that competition in many of the nation's basic

(Continued on page 3)

Subsidies pour out of U.S. Treasury, while editorial and political critics try to chop programs to make America stronger by wiping out poverty.

How Rich Are Getting Richer

AMERICANS with annual incomes of $1 million or more actually pay out only 26.7 per cent in federal income taxes, even though a 70 per cent rate is supposed to apply to incomes over $200,000. That's revealed in a study made by Joseph A. Pechman, a top economist for the Brooking Institution, a conservative economic research agency.

The rich in the million-plus bracket pay out a smaller percentage in taxes than do those with incomes of $100,000 to $1 million, Pechman said. Tax loopholes—chiefly the "capital gains" loophole—explain the disparity, he added. Those in the million-plus bracket get much of their income capital gains—that is investment profits—and these are taxed at half the regular rate or 25 per cent, whichever is lower.

Those in the $100,000 to $1 million bracket pay somewhat higher than 26.7 per cent in income taxes, but still an exceptionally low amount. The highest tax percentage is paid by those in the $150,000 to $200,000 bracket, but even there it's only 29.1 per cent.

Pechman cited many other disparities in the tax laws, and proposed various corrections, though he did not recommend abandonment of the notorious capital gains tax loophole.

* * *

ACTUALLY, the capital gains device is one of numerous loopholes in the tax laws, as often reported.

The magazine U.S. News & World Report turns the spotlight on another one that has been growing in recent years—among the wealthy. This it describes as the "Arts Dodge" and it goes on to declare:

"Cheating on income taxes by means of art donations has become a widespread racket in this country, and officals say the practice still is spreading. The gimmick is based on claiming excessive deductions."

This example of how the gimmick works is given by the magazine:

"A high-income taxpayer buys a painting for, say, $25,000. Then he gets a cooperative art dealer to appraise it at $80,000. The buyer then donates the painting to a church, school or other tax-exempt organization and he claims an $80,000 deduction on his income tax return.

"If this taxpayer is in the 50 per cent bracket of the income tax, the deductions reduces his tax by $40,000. That tax saving is a clear profit of $15,000 on his $25,000 purchase."

* * *

THE U.S. NEWS quotes Internal Revenue Service officials as saying that "ingenious taxpayers have devised many variations of the practice"; also that the practice is "certainly increasing and involves good many millions of dollars of lost (tax) revenues each year."

Pechman's report and the U.S. News article underscore what Labor has often stressed editorially—that there's need for action in Congress to plug these and other notorious loopholes, so that income taxes will truly be based on ability to pay, not on ability to evade.

After all, workers pay their taxes in full through payroll deductions. Why should any other standard apply to the wealthy?

—from LABOR, weekly publication of Railroad Brotherhoods

Teacher Corps costs .000003 percent of war

It takes three hours of Vietnam war to pay for the National Teacher Corps for a whole year. In picture (right) you see dedicated Teacher Corps volunteer making call to student's home in West Virginia. What kind of economy votes billions for war, but fails to support modest program for Teacher Corps (costing roughly $7 million for whole year)?

Paul Conklin

"The domestic war on poverty, crime, air and water pollution, poor education and inadequate housing is just as important as defending democracy abroad."

(Continued from page 2)

industries has diminished to the point where one corporation sets prices to reach a target profit and others follow along.

"This lock-step pricing," he said, "means that price competition is not at work to force the sharing of high profits with the consumer in the form of lower prices.

"American industry is riding the crest of the greatest profit boom in history. At one time, a 10 percent return on net worth was considered good. Now, 20 percent is not uncommon.

"Yet prices go up, very often in industries that are operating far below productive capacity, indicating that the price hike is not in response to an overwhelming demand exceeding an insufficient supply.

"Are price increases a response to increased labor costs? Not likely, in view of the fact that average productivity is on the increase—meaning that labor costs per unit are going down.

"Economic theory presumes that a high-profit situation should attract new competitors who want to cut into the gravy train. But what small businessman is going to start a new auto plant or chemical complex?"

Hart added that business mergers and sell-outs are being undertaken at such a rapid rate that in 10 years, under the present trend, two-thirds of the nation's manufacturing assets will be owned by 200 firms.

He said: "Competition is still the factor we depend on most for low prices but competition clearly does not flourish when competitors are declining in number."

"Why hit consumers, already hard pressed by high prices and high interest rates, with another punishing blow in the form of a tax hike when it won't have the desired result anyway?"

If a tax increase proves necessary, Hart offered this program:

1. The 48 percent tax ceiling on corporate profits should be raised—allowing a graduated levy of perhaps up to 75 percent on firms with a very high profit rate.

"This would have the effect," he said, "of encouraging firms to share high profits with the consumer in the form of lower prices rather than turning them over to the government."

2. Economists should begin exploring the feasibility of tax incentives to firms that lower prices.

"Using tax policy to further the national interest is certainly not a novel idea. And if we assume that a controlled price decline would contribute to the country's well-being, then a tax program might be one of the best ways to effect it."

Hart said that his Subcommittee economists were already studying the idea and added his hopes that administration experts would also examine it.

3. Tax law revision to discourage business mergers and the ingestion of small companies by large corporations.

"Today, the tax laws provide one of the most compelling

"These programs take only about 10 cents of every federal dollar."

reasons for many small companies to sell out to big corporations. Why should the government provide incentives to accelerate a trend that is not in the interest of a free enterprise society?"

Hart added that increasing concentration of economic power is a problem that few recognize and fewer are willing to face.

"When competition diminishes to the point where it is no longer a regulatory force in the marketplace, then some other force must be substituted."

Hart said that government has two courses open to it.

One is to take action to insure competition by actively combating economic concentration. The other is to allow concentration trends to progress relatively unhindered, thus making eventual wage and price controls inevitable.

"Government wage and price controls are certainly not attractive possibilities to me," Hart said. "Competition is certainly much more efficient. But with competition slowly fading, price control would be the only available substitute."

WEEKEND WRAPUP

Peace in Vietnam still seems far, far away. Yet nobody in Washington would begrudge our fighting men every last cent they ask for to wage war or seek peace, whatever it is. Why, then, is it so hard to extract pennies and dimes to fight poverty in America? We've only had three years at this game—but newspapers yell, politicians scream that war on poverty is one big boondoggle, because we haven't licked the problem overnight. Why this double standard? There are 20 million Americans wallowing in misery, and we've tried to find answers with a paltry $3 billion or so. . . . We think President Johnson will ask for both **guns and butter,** but he'll hedge on going allout for waging war against domestic enemies of poverty, pollution, and ignorance. . . . There's wave of **sympathy for President Johnson,** troubled by plummeting polls, war worries, and bad press. But there's also grumbling that many troubles are his own making. What most critics don't realize is Johnson's super-human legislative output. Republicans may growl, as Gerry Ford did last week—but generations yet unborn will be grateful for what Johnson administration did to push America forward. War troubles, creeping inflation, personality quirks tend to make people forget what great things Johnson has done to build Great Society. . . . Conservation people who care about America's diminishing unspoiled outdoors are boiling mad at Internal Revenue Service ruling that **Sierra Club** will lose its tax exemption. Sierra Club got knee-deep in Grand Canyon controversy, making some slightly far-fetched arguments which got into Washington's bureaucratic craw—but if big government cracks tax whip when private groups like Sierra Club score some points, what can stop those tax bureaucrats from silencing all critics? . . . Washington is sitting on a powder keg that can rock the **auto insurance industry.** Over $100 million in claims were wiped out by phoney, high risk insurance companies who come and go with the wind making huge profits at expense of auto drivers. It's an $8 billion industry which reaches into political high places, but it's also a juicy political issue waiting for public exposure. Several candidates last year found voters up in arms about auto insurance company shortcomings. It's an issue catching fire. . . . House liberals are in trouble if Texas and Republicans each get additional seat on **House Ways and Means Committee.** Texas Democrats picked Omer Burleson—14 carat anti-Lyndon Johnson Great Society reactionary—as their man for Ways and Means. New York Democrats with Jake Gilbert had more votes for Democratic vacancy. In a typical clubby-style compromise, House leaders are now talking of adding spot for Democrats and Republicans to make room for Burleson. Thus liberals gain one vote, conservatives gain two—and more Social Security, more liberal foreign trade, federal standards for unemployment insurance may go down drain with Ways and Means Committee already too conservative. . . . House liberals are in better shape as Congress opens this week because they've got seasoned organization: **Democratic Study Group.** Senate liberals are split four ways to Sunday—but there's fairly good chance they'll get some improvements in Rule 22 which now allows 34 Senators to block legislation. . . . **North Dakota's Quentin Burdick** is a prairie profile in courage. Burdick gets plenty of credit for starting us toward popular election of Presidents of the United States, dumping electoral college, which nobody likes. Now comes an American Bar Association recommendation (including UAW President Walter Reuther) calling for same thing. Burdick polled nation's state legislators, found big majority favoring direct election of our Presidents.

Paul Conklin

HIGHLY MOTIVATED, dedicated teachers and teacher interns are core of National Teacher Corps, designed to help inspire young people in schools seeking additional help. This young lady in Washington slum school is working to help neglected young people get best possible education. Teacher Corps costs $20,500 a day for entire program. We are paying $66 million a day or $2.75 million an hour for war in Vietnam.

WASHINGTON REPORT

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Roy Reuther, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

Great Society programs cost 10 cents out of every federal dollar.

NEWSPAPER

UAW-WR
LABOR PROGRAM
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Affirms Readiness To Debate Issues

AFL-CIO

UAW

2/23/67

By Saul Miller

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO Executive Council unanimously declared its "complete readiness" to debate and act upon "any complaint, charge, proposal or program novel or ancient" from any affiliate or its officers that comes before it through "appropriate channels" spelled out in the federation's constitution.

"There is no other procedure by which the trade union movement can effectively reach, and carry out, its decisions," the council said in adopting the statement as the first order of business at its mid-winter meeting here.

The resolution emphasized the council's position that it is ready to consider and "act upon any matter at any time, either at this or a future council meeting, at a meeting of the General Board, at a special convention, if necessary, or at the next regular convention." It added:

"We are not, however, prepared to act upon the basis of a kaleidoscope of ever-changing allegations and demands, expressed through press releases, public speeches or circular letters."

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany read the text of the council resolution to a crowded press conference and stressed in reply to a series of questions that he will not discuss any charges made by Auto Workers Pres. Walter P. Reuther any place except "in the forums of the AFL-CIO." **(Text of Statement, Page 2.)**

Meany told the press conference that Reuther's resignation from the AFL-CIO Executive Council had been received and that before the current council meeting is over the vacancy will be filled. A subcommittee of the council has been named, in line with standing council practice, to recommend a candidate for the seat.

Next Objectives

The council followed its opening day statement on federation procedures with statements focusing on the campaigns to win higher social security benefits and secure effective enforcement of the expanded minimum wage law for all Americans—union and non-union members alike.

It received also a detailed briefing on Administration programs and policies by Labor Sec. W. Willard Wirtz, Budget Dir. Charles L. Schultze and White House Assistant Joseph A. Califano, Jr., and voiced its praise for the great record on social legislation achieved by Pres. Johnson and the 89th Congress. (Story this page, text on Page 6.)

The federation will carry directly to the President the question of awarding government contracts to companies which discriminate against workers because of union activities and will ask the President to issue an executive order barring such contract awards where the companies are in violation of federal labor law. **(Story this page.)**

In a series of statements on domestic policies and legislation the council:

- Voted strong support for a 20 percent increase in social security benefits coupled with extension and improvement of public welfare programs. **(Story, Page 3; text, Page 6.)**
- Called for increased funds for enforcement of the expanded minimum wage as a "necessary first step" in making a reality of the new amendments to the law. **(Story, Page 2.)**
- Pledged its "enthusiastic support" for the President's proposals to protect the right of privacy by banning wiretapping and eavesdropping. **(Story, Page 3.)**
- Urged the adoption of programs to control medical costs in

Social Gains Under LBJ Draw Praise

(Continued from Page 1)

security benefits, the tremendous scope of aid to education programs at all levels, the great jump in programs to combat poverty and assist the poor, the aid for youngsters and the expansion of manpower training programs.

The President's legislative program for the 90th Congress was presented to the Council along with a detailed analysis of the federal budget by White House Assistant Joseph A. Califano, Jr. and Budget Dir. Charles L. Schultze.

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany commented at a press conference that the federation has had very good relations with "this Administration." Labor's programs and the social welfare of the nation, he said, have made greater progress and there has been greater cooperation with labor than in any other administration, including that of Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In response to a reporter's query, Meany said that the council statement was not put out as an endorsement of Johnson as a presidential candidate in 1968, but that "personally it's a pretty good reason for an endorsement."

Earlier in the council sessions, Labor Sec. W. Willard Wirtz and Under Sec. James Reynolds had discussed Labor Dept. programs and policies in a meeting described by both Wirtz and Meany as friendly and constructive.

UAW

Editorial

Come on back, Walter

For as long as there has been a labor movement, union men have known that unity is labor's only source of strength. The greater our unity, the stronger we are—and vice versa.

Thoughtful trade union members greeted the merger of the AFL-CIO almost 12 years ago with satisfaction. Here was proof that the leaders of labor could practice the unity they preach.

Now, labor's unity is being threatened. At the instruction of their Executive Board, leaders of the Auto Workers' Union have resigned their offices in the AFL-CIO. In April, the UAW convention is scheduled to consider pulling the UAW out of the AFL-CIO.

We believe that withdrawal would hurt the UAW and its membership. Years ago—in the 1940's—our union disaffiliated from the old AFL. We have been through that revolving door and we can testify that it doesn't pay. You don't win that way.

Withdrawal of the UAW would also hurt every state federation and every city central body. It would mean that UAW leaders everywhere would be disqualified from speaking, voting, and holding office in state and central bodies.

The IAM has always been proud of its warm and friendly relations with the UAW. We have admired its officers, its aggressive and militant program and its unity. The mutual assistance pact between the IAM and the UAW was the first in the modern labor movement between an AFL union and a CIO union. It has paid many dividends to the membership of both unions.

We were proud last year when IAM President Roy Siemiller had the honor of administering the oath of office to UAW international officers after their re-election at the UAW convention.

Today, we are sorry to say, Walter Reuther's best friends are as uncertain as everyone else about what he hopes to accomplish for the UAW by threatening to go it alone.

The situation is not like that of the 1930's when John L. Lewis led a group, most of them industrial unions, out of the AFL in protest against its domination by the craft unions.

If any principle is involved in the current UAW protest, Mr. Reuther and his fellow officers have failed to make it clear. There are differences, of course, between the president of the UAW and AFL-CIO President George Meany. But to most observes they seem to be differences of degree and of style rather than differences on any basic principle.

The statement adopted last week by the AFL-CIO Executive Council outlines the steps by which the UAW or any other union can try to change AFL-CIO policies when it is dissatisfied. Here in part is what the Executive Council said:

> **There is only one limitation upon the extent to which any individual or any organization within the trade union movement can influence the direction of the AFL-CIO, its program and policies or the character and identity of its leadership. As in any democratic order, they must be able to persuade the majority that their complaints are valid, that their proposals are sound and that their alternatives are preferable. Neither size, financial resources, nor extravagance of language can overcome or substitute for that simple basic requirement.**
>
> **The officers and members of the Executive Council declare the complete readiness of the AFL-CIO to receive, consider, debate and act upon, any complaint, charge, proposal or program—novel or ancient—that any affiliate or its officers may desire to advance and advocate—if and when properly offered through the appropriate channels of the AFL-CIO Constitution.**

We can only hope and pray that the UAW will not split labor's strength. We need every ounce we can muster in the months ahead.

The Machinist

The official weekly newspaper of the

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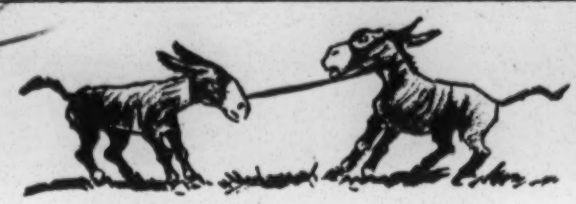


Two fool jackasses—Say! get this dope—
Were tied together with a piece of rope

Said one to the other, "You come my way,
While I take a nibble from this new mown hay"

"I won't!" said the other "You come with me,
For I too have some hay, you see."

So they got nowhere, just pawed up dirt,
And Oh, by Golly! that rope did hurt

PULLING APART

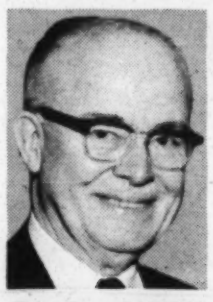
Then they faced about, these stubborn mules,
And said, "We're acting like *human* fools."

"Let's pull together I'll go your way,
Then come with me and we'll both eat hay."

Well, they ate their hay and liked it too,
And swore to be comrades good and true.

As the sun went down they were heard to bray
"Ah! this is the end of a perfect day"

PULLING TOGETHER



Live a Little Longer

Treating apoplexy

By Dr. William A. Sawyer

Apoplexy or stroke is a growing problem. As the population ages, the number of stroke victims increases. Each year stroke kills an estimated 50,000 citizens during their working years. And many more over 65 succumb yearly. Although ranked below heart disease and cancer, many authorities think it would be our number one killer, if accurate figures were known.

What is a stroke? It is a blockage or rupture of a blood vessel in the brain. Deprived of blood supply, brain cells die rather quickly. They are irreplaceable. Paralysis results. A variety of things can interrupt the blood supply to the brain. High blood pressure may rupture a blood vessel. A clot from elsewhere in the body—usually the heart—may be carried to the brain and wedged into a small artery, stopping the flow of blood. At times brain arteries harden and form obstructions within, by developing clots. If blood loss from a ruptured vessel is large and sudden, the victim can be out in seconds and dead in minutes. These are the chief causes of stroke.

Artery obstruction, with resulting pressure on brain cells, in some areas, may give cause paralysis, blindness, speech loss of mental confusion.

One small area of the brain largely governs one arm or one leg. Should the pressure of clot or hemorrhage be exerted in this area, the arm or leg becomes paralyzed. If the affected area is large enough, one whole side of the body becomes paralyzed. This is called hemiplegia. Because of the cross-over of nerves from the brain, the opposite side of the body is paralyzed.

Modern treatment

Up until ten years or so ago, there was relatively little available in the way of treatment. Today with the aid of modern x-ray techniques, and surgery on blood vessels, much can be offered in good medical centers.

Formerly, at least a third or a quarter of stroke cases showed no damage to the brain. This was puzzling until many cases of autopsies were studied and it was found that clots which formed in the large neck blood vessels were responsible for blocking circulation to the brain, thus starving certain brain cells. These clots in the neck blood vessels can now be located by the injection of certain dyes and taking of x-rays (angiography). By surgery they can be removed. From present evidence, one third of all strokes can be attributed to blocked neck vessels.

Successful operation

Dr. De Bakey of Houston tells of a 60-year-old woman, almost completely paralyzed, with such a stroke, who 24 hours after surgery on a neck clot, was walking and talking normally. He has operated on 300 such cases.

Following such surgery it may be necessary to rehabilitate some of the limb muscles which have been weakened or partially paralyzed. Wonders are being accomplished these days through physiotherapy in stroke cases.

The hope for such cases today lies in getting them into medical centers, experienced in handling the results of strokes. Present legislation in Congress is being promoted for the establishing of more well equipped and staffed centers for treating such vital catastrophes. Remind your congressman that you are hopeful for its successful passage and implementation.

SHOP SHAVINGS

"That's what I call tough luck."

"What, old man?"

"Well, I've got a check for $40 and the only man in town who can identify me is one I owe $50."

★ ★ ★

It rains alike upon the just
And on the unjust fellows,
But more upon the just because
The unjust swipe umbrellas

★ ★ ★

This week's brain twister: Two missiles are speeding toward one another. One is traveling at the rate of 9,000 miles per hour. The other is moving at 21,000 miles per hour. They are 2,672 miles apart. How far apart are they one minute before they collide? (Answer on page 2.)

UAW

UAW Administrative Letter

Walter P. Reuther . . . . . President
Emil Mazey . . Secretary-Treasurer
Leonard Woodcock . Vice-President
Pat Greathouse . . . Vice-President

Volume 19 | February 8, 1967 | Printed in USA | Letter No. 1

IN THIS ISSUE:

Clarifying Statement Regarding Resignations By UAW Officers From AFL-CIO Posts Pursuant to Instruction By IEB

To All Local Unions:

GREETINGS:

The Administrative Letter dated December 28, 1966 which was sent to each UAW Local Union and which clarified problems with regard to the relationship of the UAW with the AFL-CIO noted:

"There is no basic difference between the UAW and the AFL-CIO in the commitment to resist communist aggression and to struggle against all forms of tyranny that would destroy human freedom and enslave the human spirit. We in the UAW can be proud of our record of continuous and successful struggle against communism and all other forms of totalitarianism. We share the view, however, that the most effective way to fight communism is to make democracy work. We believe that anti-communism in and of itself is not enough. We must take positive steps to abolish poverty and hunger and to eliminate social and economic injustice, which are the ingredients that communism exploits and attempts to forge into political power.

"Together with many others in the labor movement, in church, civic, and educational affairs, we have felt that the attitude of the AFL-CIO on most foreign policy questions has been narrow and negative and has not strengthened but rather weakened the free world's efforts to resist communism and all forms of tyranny. We feel that an affirmative, constructive role should be undertaken by the AFL-CIO in matters involving international affairs which will promote and strengthen the efforts of free people in their search to find a basis for building a just and enduring peace.

"While we do disagree on foreign policy matters, it is important to understand that UAW concern and disagreement regarding policies, programs and actions of the AFL-CIO extend far beyond consideration of international affairs and go to the heart of the fulfillment of the fundamental aims and purposes of the American labor movement."

The Administrative Letter further stated:

"The UAW International Executive Board, after serious deliberation and after carefully weighing its responsibilities to UAW members and their families, has concluded that our Union is obligated to speak out on fundamental issues and to express openly our Union's disagreements with the AFL-CIO whenever, in our judgment, the failures or inaction of the AFL-CIO require it."

When in Doubt About International Policy...Contact Your Regional Director

The Administrative Letter stated, moreover, that the UAW International Executive Board would "continue to evaluate and review the work and activities of the AFL-CIO . . ." and "make a further and more detailed report . . ." to all UAW Local Unions.

ACTION TAKEN BY UAW INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

The UAW International Executive Board met in session January 31-February 3, 1967 and, in the course of its deliberations, further discussed in depth and reviewed carefully the relationship of the UAW with the AFL-CIO.

Acting upon these most careful and serious deliberations, the International Executive Board unanimously concluded that the interests of UAW members and their families and the entire labor movement could best be served by directing the officers of the UAW to resign from the posts which they respectively hold on the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the AFL-CIO General Board and the AFL-CIO Standing Committees.

Notice to this effect was sent to the AFL-CIO in a telegram dated February 3, 1967, copy of which appears on page 12 of this Administrative Letter.

In addition, President Walter P. Reuther was directed to resign from the Board of Directors of the American Institute for Free Labor Development and the African-American Labor Center, both of which are organizations tied closely to the AFL-CIO.

Staff representatives of the UAW assigned to participate in AFL-CIO committee work will continue to do so on a selective basis and as the need requires.

Local Union affiliation with and participation in the work of AFL-CIO subordinate bodies at the state, county and municipal level will continue to be guided by the procedures adopted earlier by the International Executive Board and concerning which all UAW Local Unions were notified in an Administrative Letter dated April 5, 1965.

The International Executive Board further unanimously directed that the official call to the UAW Special Convention, scheduled to be held April 20-22, 1967, shall include as a subject for discussion and Convention action a review of the relationship of the UAW with the AFL-CIO, and granting to the International Executive Board the authorization to take whatever action in this regard will best serve the interests of the UAW, its members and their families, the entire labor movement and the nation as a whole.

These serious steps by the UAW International Executive Board are not taken without carefully weighing the responsibilities which the UAW has to its members and their families, to the American labor movement and to the nation. The UAW is convinced, however, that the current state of the AFL-CIO, its complacency, its indifference, its adherence to the status quo, its lack of social vision, dynamic thrust and crusading spirit, its inability to engage in critical self-analysis, is robbing the labor movement of its opportunity to be the vital, constructive social force that it should and can be.

The UAW's disagreements with the AFL-CIO are basic and fundamental. They relate directly to democratic trade union principles and policies and the development and implementation of sound union programs. They relate to the overall, far reaching question: What should be the essential role of labor's cause in our 20th century technological society and how best can the labor movement fulfill its purposes and its responsibilities to its members, their families and to the whole of society.

From the outset it should be made unmistakably clear that this action by the UAW International Executive Board is taken not in anger, but in sadness; not out of personal pique, but as a matter of conscience; not out of any desire for self-aggrandizement or as a maneuver to gain personal advantage, but as a matter of principle. For the American labor movement, if it is to fulfill its destiny and become the vanguard of social progress, must restore its sense of purpose and direction, instill vitality, imagination and initiative in its programs and their accomplishment and be imbued with the dynamic spirit of social responsibility.

AIMS AND PURPOSES OF A DEMOCRATIC LABOR MOVEMENT

The UAW believes today and has always believed that a free and democratic labor movement in a free society has an obligation to carry out certain basic and essential responsibilities:

- It must work to advance the interests and welfare of its members and their families through the collective bargaining process and through appropriate progressive legislation.
- It must work as a responsible member of the community to help solve the problems of the total community and improve the quality of life for all the people, acting always in the knowledge that labor can make progress only as it shares in the general progress of the entire community and the entire nation.
- It must deploy its unique position as a progressive and advanced social force in cooperation with other progressive community groups to initiate imaginative social invention toward the achievement of creative and constructive social change.
- It must work with the labor movement of the free world to strengthen the forces of freedom and to resist communism and all forms of totalitarianism that would enslave the human spirit.
- It must strive with men and women of good will everywhere to minimize world tension, to fight poverty, human exploitation and social injustice and to build bridges of understanding among peoples and nations to the end that a more rational and responsible world community can emerge in which both peace and freedom can be made secure.
- It must symbolize in its internal structure and procedures the fundamental values of the democratic process to insure that its programs, policies and activities reflect the high moral and social objectives of labor's cause and simultaneously set an example for the nation and people everywhere of the democratic promise in a free society.

AFL-CIO FAILING TO MEET ITS RESPONSIBILITIES

The merger of the AFL and the CIO eleven years ago was born in high hopes of a new thrust, a dynamic forward surge in labor's cause both at home and in the world. The UAW leadership shared the exhilaration of the great promise of a vibrant stirring response to compelling new challenges and to new achievements of progressive thought and progressive action for the labor movement.

The 20th century technological revolution, with its automation, computerization and its fantastic new tools of science and technology, confronts the labor movement and the nation with new and urgent problems, compelling challenges and exciting opportunities. Yet the AFL-CIO, in policy and program, too often continues to live with the past. It advances few new ideas and lacks the necessary vitality, vision, imagination and social invention to make it equal to the challenging problems of a changing world.

It is sad but nevertheless true that the AFL-CIO is becoming increasingly the comfortable, complacent custodian of the status quo.

The continued deterioration of the AFL-CIO is most tragic for there is an urgent need in America for a vital, vibrant, dynamic, socially progressive labor movement. The broad public support that an enlightened and responsible labor movement could inspire would provide important impetus to the creative and constructive forces of social change.

If the drift in the AFL-CIO continues, history will leave it further and further behind and it will be less and less an effective instrument to deal with the problems of our 20th century technological society.

UNDEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION OF AFL-CIO PREVENTS MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION IN ITS DECISION MAKING PROCESS

In the eleven years of merger, the officers of the UAW who have participated in AFL-CIO deliberations on the Executive Council, the General Board or in Standing Committees have seen the great promise of the merger go unfulfilled and have become increasingly disturbed by the inaction, by the indifference, by policies reflecting narrow negativism and by the lack of dynamic and inspired leadership in the AFL-CIO.

A free labor movement needs strong leadership; but there is a fundamental difference between undemocratic, heavy-handed leadership and strong democratic leadership which encourages the democratic process and which demonstrates both the will and the ability to respect dissent and to forge labor unity out of the diversity essential to a free labor movement.

The chief officer of the AFL-CIO has used a heavy hand in discouraging in-depth discussion of basic policy issues and the objective evaluation of new ideas and new concepts. He has failed or he has refused to display a willingness to share democratic leadership responsibility in the formulation of policies and programs for the AFL-CIO, and their effective implementation.

A free labor movement must be the instrument of its members and must reflect their hopes and aspirations and must be able to translate their needs and their will into effective policy and program. Its decisions must draw upon the full play of the democratic processes and arise from the substance and splendor of human diversity. A democratic labor movement cannot be used as though it were the private and personal property of one person.

Over the years repeated efforts have been made to get the AFL-CIO off dead center and to accept new ideas and new concepts to meet new problems and new challenges. Even when such efforts were successful, however, and were carried by a democratic majority vote, the actions taken have not

always been carried out. Basic provisions of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO have been violated; on occasion even the almost unanimous mandate of the AFL-CIO Convention itself has been thwarted, if the constitutional provision or the Convention mandate did not meet with the personal pleasure of the president of the AFL-CIO.

As the UAW officers pointed out in the Administrative Letter of December 28, 1966, the AFL-CIO Constitution has been violated by the failure to establish the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO as required by the Constitution.

A glaring example of failure or refusal to carry out the democratic mandate of an AFL-CIO Convention decision was the failure by the chief officer of the AFL-CIO to support efforts to implement the San Francisco Convention mandate in 1959 to establish an internal disputes mechanism by setting up an orderly procedure to stop destructive raiding among AFL-CIO affiliates, which was pitting labor union against labor union and dissipating their resources and good will. Prior to the San Francisco Convention of 1959, a sub-committee of the AFL-CIO Executive Council was established to make recommendations for effective internal disputes machinery. This sub-committee, chaired by A. J. Hayes, then president of the IAM, met, deliberated at length and submitted specific proposals to the Executive Council, which unanimously approved them and which subsequently were approved at the 1959 San Francisco Convention with only one affiliate, the International Typographical Union, opposed. The efforts of the sub-committee, the decision by the Executive Council to accept its recommendations and even the Convention mandate itself were blocked and not carried out by the chief officer of the AFL-CIO.

Two years later, at the next AFL-CIO Convention in Miami, in 1961, the earlier Convention mandate had still not been carried out because of opposition by the president of the AFL-CIO to the recommendations which had been made. This failure by the president of the AFL-CIO to cooperate in implementing the San Francisco Convention mandate created a grave crisis within the AFL-CIO. This crisis was finally resolved at the Miami Convention in 1961 only by reason of the pressure brought by the industrial unions in the AFL-CIO insisting that the chief officer of the AFL-CIO withdraw his resistance to the San Francisco Convention mandate and permit it to be carried out. Only after long, arduous and at times bitter wrangling was the internal disputes machinery finally worked out at the Miami Convention and incorporated in the AFL-CIO Constitution as Article XXI.

UAW WILL PRESENT ITS RECOMMENDATIONS ON BROAD POLICY ISSUES TO THE ENTIRE LABOR MOVEMENT

In this undemocratic climate, in which democratically arrived at decisions are ignored or thwarted, Convention mandates are not carried out, constitutional provisions are violated, and in which new ideas and new concepts are rejected and dissent and diversity are not tolerated, it is not possible to share in democratic leadership responsibility, which is essential if the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the AFL-CIO General Board and the AFL-CIO Standing Committees are to function properly and make their constructive contribution to the American labor movement.

Under these circumstances, continuation of membership in these bodies is merely an exercise in futility and we cannot in good conscience continue to serve.

The UAW International Executive Board therefore determined that UAW officers should not be saddled with the restrictions and obligations associated with participation in the Executive Council, the General Board or the Standing Committees of the AFL-CIO. Rather, the UAW will express its views and promote its ideas and proposed programs and policies within the broader arena of the total labor movement.

These fundamental differences over program and policy are not private matters that can best be discussed in the narrow, exclusive and limited circle of the AFL-CIO Executive Council or any other limited body of the AFL-CIO. Matters of basic policy and program of the American labor movement affect every wage earner and the public at large and they have a right to know what the policy and programmatic differences in the labor movement are so they can help influence the ultimate decisions and determinations.

It is for this reason that the UAW International Executive Board has determined to issue a series of program and policy recommendations to stimulate and encourage a discussion of these matters within the overall labor movement and the public at large.

The UAW decision to have its officers resign from their posts in the AFL-CIO does not mean that the UAW is running away from a fight. To run away from a fight on program, policy and principle would be incompatible with the whole history and tradition of the UAW. We are choosing rather to make the fight for sound programs, policies and principles in the broad arena of the whole labor movement and not within the narrow, private and exclusive top structure of the AFL-CIO.

OUTLINE OF UAW PROGRAM FOR THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

In the weeks ahead the UAW will be advancing recommended programs and policies for consideration by the American labor movement which we believe are essential to get the American labor movement off dead center and on the march and to make it equal to the complex and challenging problems we face in a 20th century technological society. The recommendations will cover the following basic areas in which the American labor movement must share responsibility and play a decisive role:

I. Internal Reform and Democratization of the AFL-CIO

This will include proposals to:

A. Broaden the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO to make it more representative and instill new ideas, new vision and new vitality;

B. Establish the Executive Committee as required by the Constitution and make it a meaningful, functioning committee;

C. Provide the General Board the opportunity to share fully in leadership responsibility in shaping major program and policy decisions and in insuring their effective implementation;

D. Strengthen the work and responsibility of Standing Committees to enable them to make their maximum constructive contribution to the labor movement;

E. Establish a Public Review Board in the AFL-CIO modeled after the UAW Public Review Board and charged with the responsibility to enforce the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Code and to defend the democratic rights of members.

F. Strengthen the state and local federations and councils by constitutional provisions that will insure that the local unions, chapters or lodges of AFL-CIO affiliates will assume their proportionate share of the cost to perform the essential functions of state and local bodies of the AFL-CIO.

II. A Massive Comprehensive, Coordinated, Cooperative Organizing Crusade

A. To organize the millions of unorganized industrial, construction trades, retail and distribution, office, technical, professional, federal government, state and municipal workers, school teachers, etc. to enable them to share the benefits and protection of organization;

B. To organize the millions of agricultural workers and working poor in our cities and rural areas to enable them to achieve the status of first class economic citizens in our free society.

III. Strengthening and Modernizing Collective Bargaining Machinery

This will include:

A. The development of a sound overall economic wage policy to achieve equity for all American wage earners on a basis consistent with the overall needs of society and the realities of our evolving technology;

B. The creation within the AFL-CIO of the appropriate structure and provision of necessary resources and personnel to:

- achieve maximum cooperation and coordination between affiliates with respect to their collective bargaining responsibilities, including the establishment of a computerized data center modeled after the IUD Data Center to provide up-to-date collective bargaining information to all affiliates;

- establish and administer a United Defense Fund to provide adequate support for workers under circumstances in which the employer is engaged in an effort to destroy their union or is unwilling to bargain in good faith;

- develop and implement a positive and constructive program to enable workers in critical and vital public service industries to achieve equity comparable with other workers under circumstances in which workers in these industries will not be forced to resort to strike action that endangers the health and safety of the public.

IV. Labor's Role and Responsibility in the Community

This will include:

A. The development of programs and policies for labor to play its rightful role and meet its responsibilities in the task of rebuilding our cities and rural areas and making low-cost, high quality housing available through the use of the new tools of science and technology in creating a wholesome living environment worthy of free men;

B. Providing educational opportunities to facilitate maximum growth and development of America's children and youth;

C. Assuring a fuller measure of security and dignity for America's older citizens;

D. Removing for all the American people the economic barriers to access to high quality comprehensive medical and health care;

E. Demonstrating greater courage and compassion in extending equal rights and equal opportunity to every American not only at the community level and through legislation, but, of major importance, within the labor movement itself;

F. Working with government and private groups in developing economic programs and policies to achieve maximum economic growth and expansion of our national economy, to the end that every American able and willing to work may be assured the opportunity of a socially useful and rewarding job;

G. Providing affirmative and constructive leadership and adequate resources necessary to assume full partnership with other groups in the community working to supplement government programs in an all out crusade to abolish human poverty in this land of plenty;

H. Assuring a more active role at the federal, state and local level in cooperation with other citizen groups to promote needed programs to conserve and develop

our natural resources, to eliminate pollution of air and water and to beautify and improve our living environment;

I. Sponsoring joint conferences and seminars with the liberal intellectual and academic community and with youth groups in order to build and strengthen the historic alliance with those who can and will be labor's natural allies in the broad effort to advance the common good.

V. American Labor's Relationship With and Responsibility Toward Strengthening the Free World Labor Movement

- By building understanding and cooperation in the common effort to extend the frontiers of economic and social justice and the achievement of human dignity and freedom in the world.

VI. The Role and Responsibility of American Labor in a Changing World

- To defend and extend freedom;
- To resist communism and all forms of totalitarianism that would enslave the human spirit;
- To reduce world tension by building bridges of international understanding leading toward a reduction in armaments and the building of a just and enduring peace in which people with diverse economic and social systems might live peacefully in a more rational and responsible world community.

UAW DISSENT CONCERNS PROGRAMS, POLICIES AND PRINCIPLES

There are others in the labor movement who, though sharing our sense of dissatisfaction and deep concern that the labor movement is vegetating, has lost its drive, its sense of purpose, its sense of social idealism, nevertheless, are hesitant to speak out because they feel that to express disagreement publicly is to be accused of rocking the boat of labor unity. While respecting their right to this view, the UAW believes that, in the face of the continued failures and growing complacency and inaction of the AFL-CIO, we are obligated to take our stand. Our position, however, is not one of negative criticism. We advocate positive alternatives.

Labor unity built upon a monolithic relationship can only be unity in form, not unity in substance. Unity in substance is possible only when the programs and policies of a free labor movement are the end product of free and open debate out of which diversity can be harmonized into a meaningful common denominator for joint action.

The UAW International Executive Board is fully conscious of the fact that its recent action is unprecedented in the history of the American labor movement. At no time have members of the Executive Council resigned over matters of principle, program and policy. Earlier resignations, when they occurred, resulted primarily from disputes over jurisdictional claims. In the light of this historic background, it is understandable that the press and others are trying to figure out (and there will undoubtedly be numerous "dope stories" about it) the UAW's moves and motivations. There will be "dope stories" about power drives, personality clashes, internal political maneuvering, etc.

UAW members may be assured that the leaders of their Union are not engaged in political maneuvers or power drives or personality contests, nor are they motivated by personal considerations.

As time will tell, we are making this fight as a matter of principle, of program and policy. When the merger of the AFL-CIO took place in December, 1955, the leadership of the national CIO, of which Walter P. Reuther was president, took the position, in the discussions with the leadership of the AFL, that the CIO was not concerned with nor interested in matters of personal position, personal power or prestige. The CIO leaders indicated clearly, at that time and since, that they were concerned primarily with matters of principle, program and policy. They did not seek any of the executive offices in the merged labor movement. Both the presidency and secretary-treasurership went to representatives of the AFL.

The current dispute is likewise not a matter of personalities, power or position; we repeat, it is a matter of principles, policies and programs as they relate to the role and responsibility of a modern labor movement.

The UAW and its leadership have many close friends in the leadership of many of the AFL-CIO affiliates, who are dedicated and committed trade unionists. We have chosen not to involve them in this present effort because, to have done so, would have opened us to the charge that we were building a power caucus within the AFL-CIO and that this is not a principled fight, but a political power drive. The UAW leadership is sufficiently sophisticated to know that if a political power drive is contemplated it is essential to build a coalition of allies. Since we are not engaged in a power drive, we have taken no steps to create a caucus of allies and we have no intention of doing so in the future.

We intend to take our stand, and what others do is a matter of their conscience and their judgment based on their individual evaluation as to whether the AFL-CIO is truly fulfilling its purposes and meeting its responsibilities or falling far short of its goals.

UAW PROMISES TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN MOVING THE LABOR MOVEMENT FORWARD

Measured against the background of the past eleven years, we in the UAW believe that the AFL-CIO has failed the bright promise of the merger. Only as the AFL-CIO demonstrates the will and the commitment to free itself from inertia and complacency and to adopt and implement programs which will reflect renewed vigor, new direction and a fresh sense of purpose, can the AFL-CIO meet its obligations to its members and their families, to the nation and to the world.

The UAW played a major role in bringing the merger of the AFL and the CIO into being because it held the strong conviction that the merged labor movement could provide the inspiring opportunity for a unified labor movement to fulfill the historic social objectives which lie at the heart of labor's cause.

The UAW and its representatives have worked conscientiously and consistently over the years to help achieve the noble objectives for which the merger was created. It has given unstintingly of its manpower, its resources, its time and effort in this cause. Time and time again, the UAW proposed policies and programs designed to move the labor movement forward along an enlightened path of social and trade union accomplishment. These efforts, however, were smothered by the complacency, indifference and undemocratic administration in the top structure of the AFL-CIO. The UAW International Executive Board therefore has made the historic decision to fight for these principles, programs and policies in the broad arena of the whole labor movement.

In the past the UAW has made it a cardinal principle to cooperate to the fullest extent possible in all significant, meaningful, progressive activities and undertakings of the labor movement. Its commitment to labor's cause and the cause of social justice remains as firm today, and the UAW will continue to offer cooperation and assistance in partnership with all unions and with individuals and groups within and without the labor movement whose dedication and purpose are consonant with these aims and objectives.

As the UAW leadership completes the details of its program and policy recommendations they will be submitted to all UAW Local Unions and will be submitted for discussion and action at the UAW Special Convention scheduled April 20-22, 1967.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emil Mazey
Secretary-Treasurer

Walter P. Reuther
President

Pat Greathouse
Vice-President

Leonard Woodcock
Vice-President

WPR:EM:LW:PG/
opeiu42

TELEGRAM

FEBRUARY 3, 1967

TO: GEORGE MEANY AND WILLIAM SCHNITZLER

THIS IS TO ADVISE THAT BY UNANIMOUS ACTION OF THE UAW INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD WE HAVE BEEN DIRECTED TO AND HEREBY DO RESIGN EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY FROM THE POSITIONS WE RESPECTIVELY HOLD ON THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, THE AFL-CIO GENERAL BOARD AND AFL-CIO STANDING COMMITTEES. IN ADDITION PRESIDENT WALTER P. REUTHER HAS BEEN DIRECTED TO AND DOES HEREBY RESIGN FROM THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR FREE LABOR DEVELOPMENT AND THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN LABOR CENTER. LETTER FOLLOWS.

EMIL MAZEY
Secretary-Treasurer
International Union, UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER
President
International Union, UAW

PAT GREATHOUSE
Vice-President
International Union, UAW

LEONARD WOODCOCK
Vice-President
International Union, UAW

Dissent is familiar role for Reuther.

UAW

Walter Reuther in 1955: 'George, this is the beginning. You will lead the American labor movement to higher and higher and higher levels of achievement.'

Walter Reuther in 1967: 'The failure of AFL-CIO to fulfill its promise [to be] a dynamic and effective instrument for . . . social change is a cause for grave concern.'

Reuther walks out—but doesn't shut the door

Reuther-Meany estrangement is widened by UAW resignations from AFL-CIO posts, but insiders expect that labor unity will survive

Firm stance is par for George Meany.

Over the next few months, "marriage counselors" from the Johnson Administration and organized labor will be busy trying to save the 12-year-old AFL-CIO partnership.

At this point, there is only a sort of separation: The United Auto Workers, the largest, richest, and most influential union in AFL-CIO, has taken the first steps of separation, but there has been no formal talk of a divorce. The betting inside labor is that there won't be one.

But the fear remains that a bad situation could become intolerably worse—shattering labor unity and replacing it with feuding and fighting.

A week ago, the United Auto Workers executive board "unanimously directed" the union's four top officers to resign from the AFL-CIO executive council, general board, and standing committees. The board said the action was considered in "the best interests of UAW members and their families and the entire labor movement."

Resignations. The order, on the recommendation of UAW President Walter Reuther, resulted in Reuther's resignation as an AFL-CIO vice-president, member of the federation's six-man executive board, member of its 29-man executive council, and chairman of its economic policy and organization committees. UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey and Vice-Presidents Leonard Woodcock and Pat Greathouse also quit AFL-CIO posts.

The four officers had joined earlier in a strong statement that criticized AFL-CIO's "failures" and that affirmed their "obligation to speak out on fundamental issues and to express openly our union's disagreements with the AFL-CIO."

Significantly, the board action did not apply to positions held or activities conducted through the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Dept., a 29-union body that has former CIO unions as its core.

Jolting. The withdrawals from federation jobs came as a surprise to most at Solidarity House, the auto union's headquarters in Detroit, and it jolted AFL-CIO. However, the action itself was less a surprise than its timing: It came much sooner than expected.

A short time before the announcement, a top UAW officer, briefing union staff people in Pennsylvania on relations with AFL-CIO, said only that it had been decided that Reuther should "speak out on UAW's views about domestic and international policies, regardless of AFL-CIO's position." The staff people applauded the decision. They

left the meeting, one said, without an inkling that in less than two weeks UAW's future affiliation with AFL-CIO would be in question.

When the news came out in Solidarity House, there was shock. It was recognized as a Reuther-inspired step—and not to be questioned. Nobody except a few close, trusted aides ever really knows what Reuther really has in mind or why he does what he does. To many associates, he is a somewhat mysterious figure who keeps his own counsel; there is a feeling that he always follows some majestic grand strategy—that there is much more in what he is doing than meets the eye.

Pondering. In this instance, there is widespread speculation that Reuther may be planning to lead UAW out of AFL-CIO, either at a special bargaining convention in April or by the end of the year if the federation doesn't shift to policies along the lines Reuther proposes.

At this time, a walkout hardly appears likely. Reuther's strategy often isn't as majestic or grand as it's supposed to be. It can be simple: Reuther may only feel that when a man is a member of a group operating under majority rules, he ought to abide by the rules. By the wholesale resignations, UAW's top officers can be free to speak critically from a strong minority position.

When Reuther has in the past taken AFL-CIO to task for what he considers its failures and record of inaction, his arch-foe George Meany, powerful president of the federation, has chided him for not confining his disagreements over policy matters to the privacy of the council room. If Reuther is outside the council, he'll no longer be in the closed sessions of the men who formulate AFL-CIO's between-conventions policies.

Influential dissenter. Outside the council, Reuther is likely to be, if anything, more influential—as a dissenter who represents one-tenth of AFL-CIO members, about 1.4-million of a total 13.5-million, and as a constant threat to the AFL-CIO establishment.

Most of the talk of UAW quitting AFL-CIO comes from outside labor. Officially, the auto union isn't doing anything to discourage it—and isn't likely to. It gains bargaining power with the federation leadership as long as the talk persists.

UAW lower-echelon people don't expect secession. They say there's been no preliminary talk of it. But, more importantly, they point out that Reuther needs IUD as a forum to give his wide-ranging views a broader perspective. They also note that UAW holds—and finds useful

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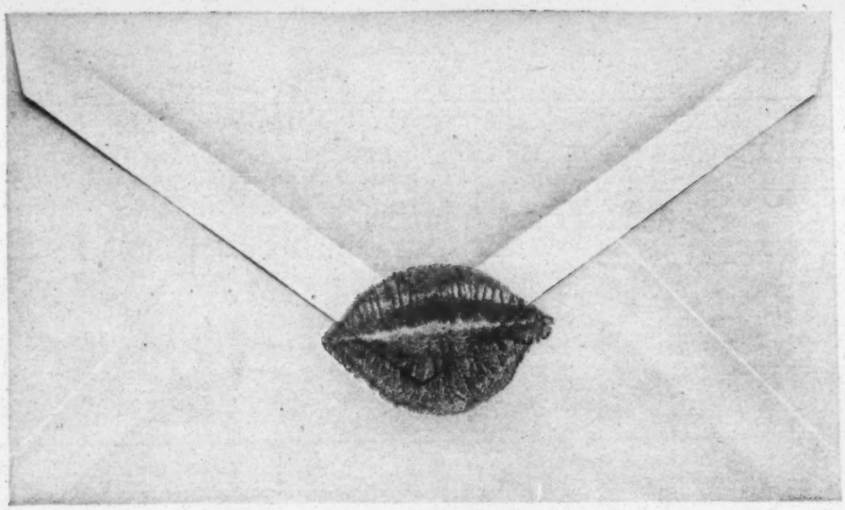

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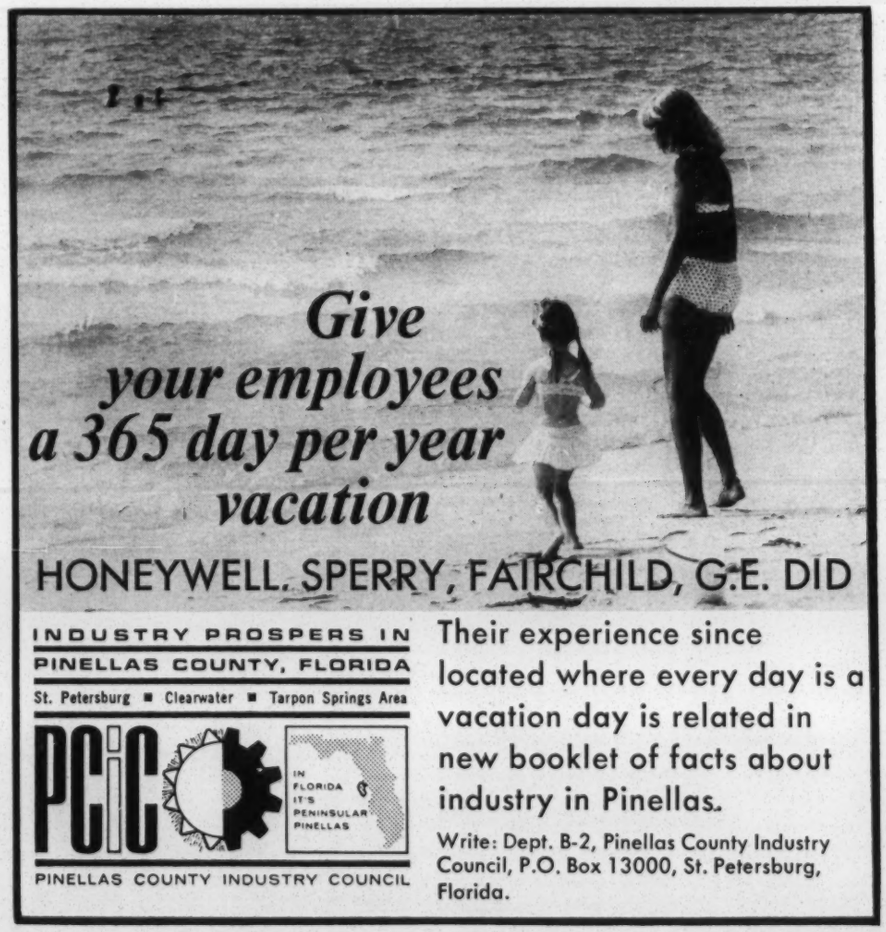

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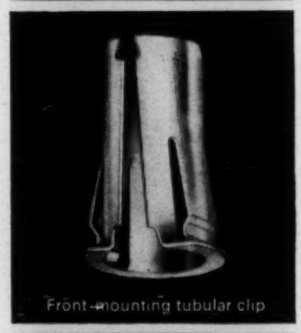
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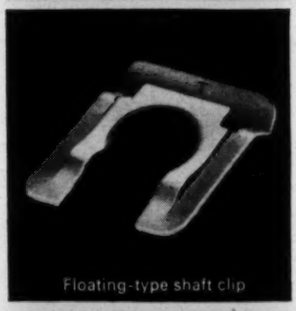
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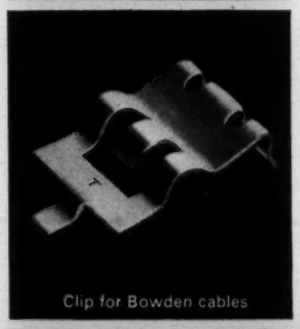
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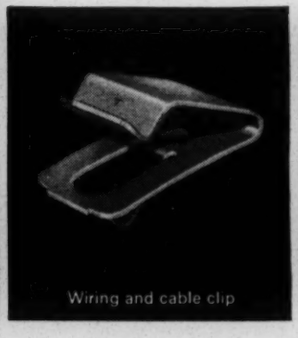
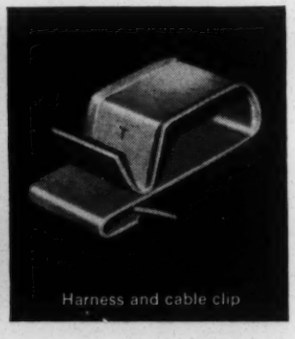

Wiring and cable clip


Harness and cable clip

—influential posts in many state, county, and city central labor bodies (alliances of AFL-CIO unions) that it would have to quit at a cost of power and prestige if it left AFL-CIO. Finally, they point out that UAW can't stand alone and do the kind of social reform work it considers vital.

Lower level agreement. Officers of other AFL-CIO unions don't expect UAW to walk out: They say that basically the dispute isn't as much between AFL-CIO and UAW as between Meany and Reuther. Below the executive level, the schism is felt little nationally and almost not at all in regional and local relationships. Still, if chips go down in a Meany-Reuther contest, Reuther could get secession approval by asking for it.

Major concerns. Such a possibility worries top leaders of the federation who will be gathering in Florida a week from now for AFL-CIO's suddenly critical midwinter executive council meeting. And it's what worries the Johnson Administration, too. The possibility that an incident could lead to a secession action now weighs heavily in many minds. For labor, the carefully nurtured unity of 1955 is in jeopardy, and bitter internecine fighting similar to that of the old AFL and CIO days could flare up once more. For the Administration, the threat is of unsettling labor wars—harmful to the economy—and another political uncertainty for the Democrats in 1968.

The result will be the marriage-counseling efforts by labor middle-of-the-roaders and by the Administration. Meany and Reuther can expect what has come to be known as the "jawbone treatment" in Washington—persuasive discussions about the need to reconcile at least the most pressing of their differences in the interests of the labor movement and the Great Society.

Unpalatable potato. Some close to both Meany and Reuther suggest that this is actually what Reuther hopes to achieve—that what he has actually done is to throw a hot potato to Meany and that it's now up to Meany to hold onto it—for compromises—or drop it.

The crisis time for unity is likely to be next December—when AFL-CIO's biennial convention is scheduled, and when Reuther can move dramatically for changes in AFL-CIO policy directions—if necessary—with an implied threat of secession.

Most of the men in the top offices of AFL-CIO affiliates hope it won't come to that then—or ever. **End**

CABLE: "UAW DETROIT"

UAW

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48214
PHONE 926-5000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY .....SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

February 13, 1967

Greetings:

Enclosed is a copy of an Administrative Letter sent to all UAW Local Unions, outlining the relationship of the UAW with the AFL-CIO. This statement of program and policy recommendations was unanimously adopted by the International Executive Board at its recent meeting in Detroit.

We thought you might like to have a copy of this statement.

Sincerely yours,

Walter P. Reuther

Walter P. Reuther
President

WPR/mjj
opeiu42aflcio

February 20, 1967

Mr. Walter Reuther, President
UAW
8000 East Jefferson
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Reuther:

This rather full report may not have come to your attention. I thought the attitudes expressed towards unions would be of special interest.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

SEMANTIC STEW: A CRABWISE MINI-SLUMP?

Recessions—like failing marriages, decaying empires and other unpleasant things—are always labeled in retrospect. While they are actually happening, most people look for softer words to describe what is going on. The result is a semantic stew of euphemisms: "rolling readjustment," "high-level stagnation," "crabwise movement" or just plain "dip."

Last week, economists in and out of government were using all these phrases, and groping for more, to describe the current slowdown in the U.S. economy. What prompted the dialogue was the fact that eleven of the twelve foremost "leading indicators" of business activity (including the average workweek, the layoff rate and the pace of manufacturers' orders) have been trending downward for months, and the index of industrial production showed an outright drop of a full percentage point last month after a six-month leveling trend. Yet most experts were inclined to be cautious, for in the past the leading indicators have sometimes turned sour only to herald a one- or two-month "pause."

Has a full-scale recession actually begun? Officially, at least, the Johnson Administration is still hewing to the line that chief economic adviser Gardner Ackley set out last December: "Recession is the least of our worries." The Council of Economic Advisers conceded that the first half of 1967 looked "soft," but predicted an upsurge after midyear strong enough to require the dampening effects of the President's proposed 6 per cent tax surcharge.

Nongovernment economists offered all shades of opinion. Last week Pierre Rinfret, head of the economic consulting firm of Rinfret-Boston Associates Inc., boldly maintained that "the recession has begun." But New York's First National City Bank spoke only of "a continuing slowdown," while the Chase Manhattan Bank letter called it "a period of basic readjustment."

The Key: If it persists, the slump in industrial output will be the key indicator; the commonly accepted definition of a recession requires a drop in the production index for at least six months. And the pessimists see little chance that production will turn up again soon. Orders for new goods are tailing off, and inventories have ballooned in recent months.

Against this, the optimists foresee a new surge in demand for goods as the Federal Reserve Board's easy-money policy works through the economy in the next few months and continuing Vietnam spending pumps money into it.

But no one can be sure—and meanwhile, the semantic problem continues. Bank of America president Rudolph Peterson sees "traces of schizophrenia" in the economy. Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler discerns "substantial moderation." Fed chairman William McChesney Martin calls it a process of "orderly corrective adjustments." And in what may well be this year's definitive euphemism, a chart-watcher at the Commerce Department says: "You can't call this a recession yet. It's more like a mini-slump."

"I suggest," said a top economist at the Office of Business Economics last week, "that we all wait until the warm weather comes before we make precise judgments." That is undoubtedly good advice—and when that time comes, whatever it is will hopefully be over and done with. Then, perhaps, it can be called by its rightful name.

■ Whatever the state of the economy, a solid two-thirds of the U.S. public want no part of the President's proposed 6 per cent income-tax surcharge. A Louis Harris survey this week shows 65 per cent opposed, only 24 per cent in favor and 11 per cent undecided—a striking change from a year ago, when 44 per cent of those surveyed thought a tax rise was necessary to fight inflation and only 49 per cent opposed such a move.

LABOR:

Who's Angry?

As members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council gathered for their annual winter meeting at Miami Beach early last week, the betting was that tough ol' George Meany might outdo the hot Florida sun in tanning hides. For one thing, United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther had just resigned from the council with a bitter blast at Meany's conservative and "undemocratic" rule—and the outspoken AFL-CIO president had yet to reply. But perhaps more important, this is the time of year when the 13.5 million-member federation traditionally takes its stand on government economic policy—and Meany up until now has been a blunt and unrelenting critic of the Johnson Administration's wage guidelines.

Soft Answer: But George Meany turned out to be an old softy. Supported unanimously by 26 other members of the Executive Council, he read an uncommonly gentle reply to Reuther, pointing out only that if the UAW president had any complaints about the way the AFL-CIO is run, he could always bring them to the Executive Council. Meany also let it be known that Reuther can return to the council if he wants, and quickly answered "yes" when a reporter asked if he'd like Reuther back. Said Meany: "I'm for labor unity."

Yet Meany's calm handling of l'affaire Reuther was only a prelude to an even bigger surprise: a week-long love feast between the AFL-CIO and the Johnson Administration. At last winter's council meeting, Meany was so angry at the Administration's insistence that labor curb its wage demands that he threatened to break with the Democratic Party. But this year, courted by an unprecedented array of Administration persuaders, the 72-year-old Meany and the labor coun-

Bob East

Meany and Fowler: A love feast at Miami Beach

cil he controls talked as if the Democrats could do no wrong.

The persuaders were led by Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz, Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler, Presidential Assistant Joseph Califano and Budget Director Charles Schultze (Vice President Hubert Humphrey was scheduled to wind up the courtship this week). And while the Administration ambassadors had little of economy-shaking significance to bring to Miami Beach, their courtesy calls did bolster the fresh spirit of cooperation between the White House and the AFL-CIO.

To AFL-CIO insiders, that spirit dates from a long letter Meany sent to the President shortly before Mr. Johnson delivered his State of the Union Message in January. In the letter, Meany said that labor wanted Mr. Johnson to continue with the basic Great Society programs and—most important—would join in supporting "any sacrifices" needed to finance them along with the war in Vietnam. President Johnson promptly called Meany to the White House, where the two talked candidly one evening about Administration-AFL-CIO relations. Since then, one key AFL-CIO staffer said, there has been a series of meetings at the White House level dealing with the economy, election strategy and techniques for pushing Great Society legislation on Capitol Hill.

Outlook Sunny: With that kind of background, it was hardly surprising that last week's mood at Miami Beach was as sunny as the weather. "This is probably a historic event," exulted Henry Fowler, referring to the fact that rarely—if ever—had a Treasury Secretary called on labor's ruling council. Labor Secretary Wirtz was equally ebullient as he thanked labor for "helping to achieve the fulfillment of the liberal program in America." For his part, Meany got so carried away that he called the work of the President and the Democratic-controlled 89th Congress "a record unsurpassed in any period of democratic government." It came almost as an anticlimax when he endorsed Lyndon Johnson for re-election next year.

Such expressions of mutual affection, of course, masked the fact that the Administration representatives and AFL-CIO leaders simply didn't talk about subjects that might have sent everyone away mad—chiefly the White House's continuing desire for wage restraint. Plainly, the Administration did not want to rile labor in a year when union leaders will be negotiating contracts covering 7 million workers. At the same time, with the Presidential campaign just a year away, it was anxious to begin rallying labor's support for the Democratic column.

But inside the AFL-CIO, the new rapport—and the impressive list of guests from Washington—emphasized another fact: the Johnson Administration recognizes George Meany, for all his troubles with Walter Reuther, as the unchallenged leader of the AFL-CIO.

So it was that George Meany had a wholly satisfying week. In high good spirits, he padded around the Americana Hotel pool without the cane he has long used, managed a few games of gin rummy with old cronies, shot a 91 on the golf course and even went dancing one night with his daughter, Genevieve—"the first time I've tried that in many, many years." As one observer from Reuther's hometown of Detroit summed up: "Walter Reuther is getting no younger and George Meany is getting no older."

Chapin and Rambler: Back to the days of Romney

AUTOS:

The 69-Cent Special

Detroit's auto moguls tend to shudder at the mere thought of flat-out price competition. Not only does it eat into profits and condition the customer to look for bargains instead of luxurious optional extras; it is all too often the last gasp of a dying company. "Remember," says one Detroiter, "all those billboards offering Packards for $2,224?"

Despite this ominous precedent, the ailing American Motors Corp. last week announced the sharpest auto price cut in years—a drop of $154 to $234 in retail list prices of its bottom-of-the-line American models. And for all their skepticism, rival executives conceded that the move could well be a shrewd moneymaker.

The cuts bring the lowest-priced Rambler American down to $1,839, about $280 below its six-cylinder competition from Falcon, Valiant and Corvair. More important, the American now sells for only $200 more than the fast-moving Volkswagen—and AMC chairman Roy D. Chapin Jr. made it plain that VW and fellow imports were AMC's real targets. In fact, the company will copy VW—and offset the price cuts—by abandoning yearly restyling of the American.

There is no doubt that imported cars are a tempting target in today's auto market. While sales of domestic autos have been in a prolonged slump (most recent ten-day sales off 21 per cent), the imports continue to match their record pace of 660,000 cars sold last year.

Chapin punched home the lesson at a news conference featuring a comparison of the American and the VW. After the price cuts, he said, the six-passenger American will cost only $306 per passenger seat, compared with $409 per seat for the four-passenger import. And in price per pound, Chapin said, the American is a steal: 69 cents vs. 90 cents.

Healthy Gain: AMC's Detroit rivals showed no sign of matching the price cuts but they were clearly intrigued by the strategy. "Who's to say they can't get 140,000 out of the market?" said one Big Three executive. That would be a healthy gain for AMC, which sold only 78,000 Americans last year.

Plainly, AMC was returning to the strategy of Michigan Gov. George Romney, who led the company to prosperity with a sales pitch focused on economy and durability. "I happen to feel strongly that we should pick areas where we can do something unique," Chapin said. "If that harks back to George Romney, I can't deny that . . . We had to do something that would sort of stir things up."

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

NEWS from UAW

8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48214 Public Relations Department, Joseph Walsh, Director Telephone, Area Code 313, 926-5291

For Release: immediate--Wednesday, Sept. 25, 1968

Cord made

Address List X

BRENDAN SEXTON APPOINTED

TO NEW UAW EDUCATION POST

Brendan Sexton, director of UAW's Leadership Studies Center, has been appointed by UAW President Walter P. Reuther to the newly-created post of Director of Educational Activities.

Sexton will provide overall direction to and co-ordinate all union education activities including the Leadership Studies Center and the U. S. and Canadian programs conducted by Education Dept. Director Carroll Hutton. He will continue as director of the Leadership Studies Center, the union's staff training school, and additionally will assume directorship of UAW's Family Education Center, an 800-acre school and recreation complex under construction on the shores of Black Lake near Onaway, Mich.

Sexton also has been serving as director of training for the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty but will relinquish that assignment.

His association with UAW goes back to 1941 when he joined Local 50 at the Willow Run, Mich. bomber plant. He was president of the local when he was appointed to the first of a series of posts in the International Union which included those of co-ordinator of organization and Education Dept. director.

In addition to his labor activities, Sexton has earned wide recognition in the educational world.

He and his wife, Dr. Patricia Cayo Sexton, a member of the graduate school faculty at New York University, have taught at NYU a special course entitled "Labor and Society." Mrs. Sexton previously served on the faculty of Wayne State University and is the author of four books, including Education and

-more-

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

Income. Her fifth book, The Feminized Male, will be published this winter by Random House.

Sexton has taught or lectured at Harvard University, Princeton University, Cornell University, Rutgers University, the University of Michigan, Michigan State University, the University of California and UCLA.

Sexton has served on advisory committees on worker education at Cornell, Wayne State University, Michigan State University, Roosevelt University and the University of Chicago.

He has written for New Republic, Progressive, Dissent, Social Problems and other magazines.

He represented America as a delegate to the United Nations Educational Scientific & Cultural Organization's Consultative Committee on Adult Education.

Before joining UAW, Sexton was an international representative and assistant regional director for the United Steelworkers of America.

# # #

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(Kathy, list this on Labor Papers list.)

F.U.E. P.A. S.W.

WASHINGTON REPORT

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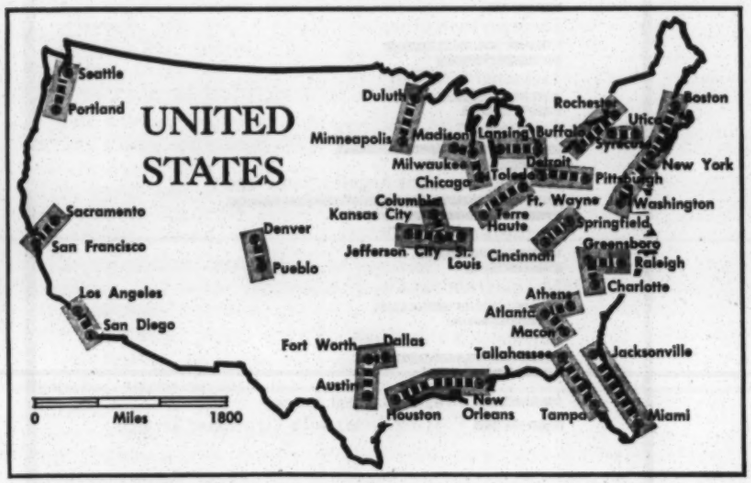
United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW



THESE BIG POPULATION CORRIDORS will soon be bursting with people trying to get from place to place. New fast trains like the Washington-New York-Boston train (built by UAW members for the Washington to New York run) will cut down travel time, ease a lot of frazzled nerves, and make automobile driving a pleasure instead of a chore once again. The new trains (upper left) whiz by in test runs and will soon be operating in the most densely populated section of the nation. Ultimately, the same concept in transportatoin will extend to the rest of the country.

New fast trains will revolutionize travel between population areas

By LEO SOLOMON

A year behind schedule, January should see the start of fast train service in the northeast corridor, extending from Washington through New York to Boston.

The cars are ready for the New York to Boston part of the trial service. They will consist of two trains of three cars each.

Over half of the 50 metroliners—self-propelled electric cars for New York to Washington runs—have been delivered. The electrical bugs that held up final acceptance of the 20 day coaches have been eliminated. All of them should be ready for service at the start of 1969.

The electrical trouble was not as great as had been anticipated. In part a good deal of the delay on these cars was caused by a dispute, between the Budd Company, which built all the metroliners, and Westinghouse the subcontractor for the electrical equipment in the 20 coaches, as to who was at fault. That has been resolved and the coaches are being delivered to Penn Central ready to go into service.

Two very different types of equipment will be used. Because, unlike the fully electrified Penn-Central between Washington and New York, less than one-third of the New Haven road between New York and Boston is electrified, gas fuel, not electricity, will be used to propel the turbo trains. They embody aero-dynamic

(Continued on page 2)

DESIGNED FOR HIGH-SPEED TRAVEL ALONG MAJOR POPULATION CORRIDORS

Speeds up to 160 mph will greatly reduce time between points along heavily-traveled corridors in all sections of the United States. Below is a comparison of typical travel times under present rail schedules and estimated travel times obtainable on the high-speed Budd Corridor Train.

New York/Washington

Boston/New York

Pittsburgh/Cleveland
No Service

Cleveland/Toledo/Detroit

Chicago/Twin Cities

Jacksonville/Miami

Ft. Worth/Dallas/Houston

San Francisco/Los Angeles/San Diego

Seattle/Portland

St. Louis/Kansas City

Philadelphia/Pittsburgh

Present fastest times
Possible times with high speed service

(Continued from page 1)

principles and were described in detail in a previous issue of UAW Washington Report.

Each 3-car turbo train will have some electrical propulsion to provide for operation in the tunnel under Park Avenue, New York, into Grand Central Station.

All 50 metroliner cars were built by the Budd Company. General Electric installed the electrical equipment in the 20 snack coaches and the 10 parlor cars. These have already been delivered and accepted. Westinghouse provided the electrical equipment for the 20 coaches which are now being delivered.

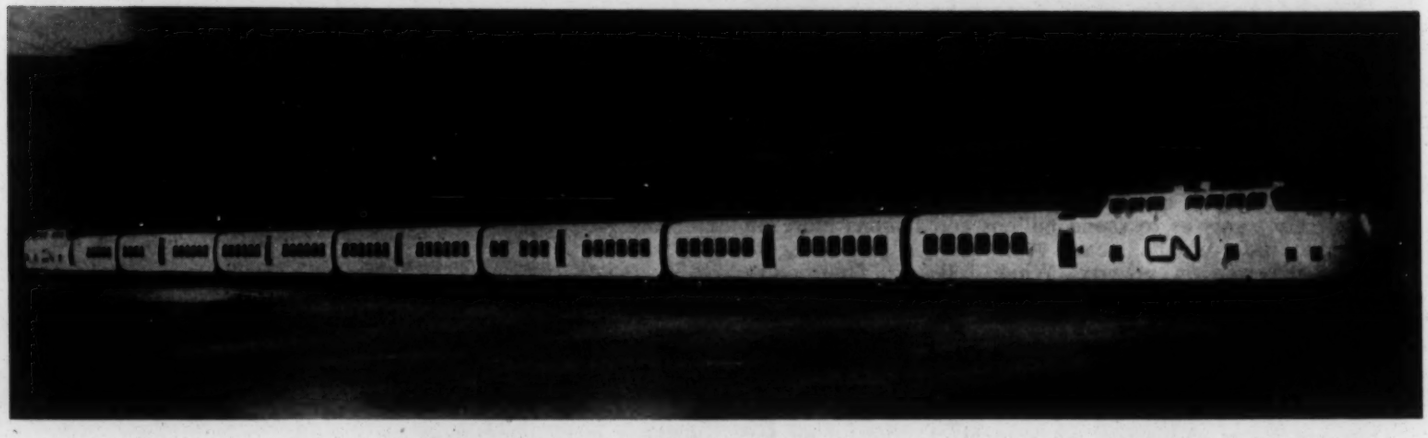
Penn Central may use more of these cars before the formal start of the experimental service, but the U.S. Department of Transportation will not sign the contract for the 2-year demonstration until 28 of the 50 cars—with at least 80% coaches—have been accepted.

The hold-up delaying the start of the New York-Boston fast service is financial not mechanical. The Department of Transportation is holding off on signing a contract with the New Haven until a final decision is reached on the inclusion of the New York, New Haven and Hartford into the Penn Central. Naturally, it will not offer the same financial inducements to the prosperous Penn Central that it would have given to a railroad on the verge of bankruptcy.

Initially the metroliners will cover the 226 miles between New York and Washington in 3 hours flat. That is 35 minutes better than the best time—Congressional Limited—now. Ultimately, it is hoped that another half-hour can be lopped off the running time to make the regular scheduled time 2½ hours. There will be proportional time savings for the intermediate stops at Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore. Newark, N.J., will be eliminated as a station stop for the metroliners. Instead these trains will use a new station to be built at Woodbridge, N.J., where the rail line crosses the Garden State Parkway. And a station will be added for Virginia and Maryland suburbanites in Maryland where the railroad croses I-495, the Washington beltway.

The turbotrains will save a full hour for New York to Boston passengers, making the run in 3 hours, 15 minutes, instead of 4 hours, 15 minutes.

(Continued on page 3)



CANADIANS DO IT BETTER—This sleek new turbo train will whisk you from Toronto to Montreal in four hours. It's an example of how modern technology can serve the transportation needs of people on the ground, instead of catering to the whims of a few luxury air passengers who are the beneficiaries of much goverment assistance.

(Continued from page 2)

Once the new fast service starts it will take a lot of hard selling to woo passengers back to the railroad. A hopeful sign is that in a recent statement, senior vice president Robert W. Minor, of the Penn Central, spoke of "customers" instead of "passengers." From the way railroads have been getting rid of passenger trains it has seemed that the only customers in their lexicon were freight shippers.

Another hopeful sign is that Penn Central is putting about $50 million of its own money into the experimental service. That has gone and is going for improving the roadbed, adding continuous rail, eliminating grade crossings, building new car level platforms at Washington, Baltimore and Wilmington, plus 2 new stations at beltway intersection and retraining personnel for the operation of the new service.

There should be a good market for frequent, fast passenger trains in the northeast corridor. For one or two persons it may prove not only faster, but cheaper than door to door by private automobile. The new stops at beltways will make for convenience and time saving. Frequent service may overcome the reluctance to adjust departures to time tables. Low prices (fares), courteous service, good, low cost meals and consistent on-time arrivals and departures should all help.

Though nation-wide the railroads are still discarding passenger trains, the northeast corridor experiment would indicate that some railroad managers are not as short sighted and certainly not as mercenary as those described by Peter Lyon in his lively and well documented *"TO HELL IN A DAY COACH," (J.B. Lippincott, $5.95).* He blames management, past and present, for the sorry state of U.S. railroads.

Lyon indicts the robber barons who built, put together and operated the first railroad systems for greed, corruption of legislators and outright thievery. He accuses their successors of stupidity and of being more concerned with carrying out stock manipulations for and with their banker backers than with operating a sound transportation system.

Though railroad management wails about competition from trucks, inland waterways, airplanes, the high cost of labor, taxes and government regulation, Lyon insists that loss of railroad traffic is their own fault.

He devotes pages to labor's early struggles for a decent wage, citing especially Eugene V. Debs' leadership of his brotherhood and later of the American Railway Union. The early rail magnates practised wage cutting at every opportunity and for years succesfully fought establishment of strong unions.

Lyon insists that, though hauling freight is wholesale business and more profitable than passenger service, which is essentially retailing, carrying passengers did not produce the enormous losses management claims.

According to Lyon the passenger loss is minimal, if indeed, there is any loss at all. Antiquated bookkeeping, established in 1887 by the Interstate Commerce Commission, is still used, though even the railroads admit it does not convey a true picture of the breakdown between freight and passenger costs.

He cites examples of railroad efforts to get rid of passengers. Then, they turn around and blame buses, airplanes and private cars for the loss of passengers. There have been some exceptions to this effort to lose passengers, principally in the far west and along the Atlantic seaboard where passenger service from the northeast to Florida is still going strong.

And across our northern border, The Canadian National Railway with fast, clean, comfortable trains and lowered fares has regained passengers from the airline.

Let's hope it is not too late for our railroads to regain the passengers they have driven away. The northeast corridor project indicates, some, at least, have had a change of heart.

There are many reasons the corridor experiment should succeed. A return of any considerable portion of the travelling public to the railroads would ease congestion on the highways and in the airlanes. Putting stations at beltways should prove a convenience and a time saver, especially for suburbanites. Convenient low cost parking at such spots may make the trip faster, more comfortable and cheaper than all the way by private automobile.

Compared to the huge amounts, billions of dollars, the United States has spent and is spending to subsidize building mammoth passenger airplanes, the $11¼ million appropriated for the Penn-Central part of the corridor experiment is a bargain. Millions living in the corridor should benefit, while only the comparative few who fly the oceans will benefit directly from the projected supersonic planes carrying several hundred in a few hours across the Atlantic.

Faster trains are a small part of a whole new system of transportation which we'll need to move around efficiently with a mushroming population in the years and decades ahead.

WEEKEND WRAPUP

Strom Thurmond has his pipeline to Nixon, so **the right-wing bigots of America can relax.** It had to be that way. A Rockefeller adviser complained recently after his third interview with Nixon: "I agreed with everything he (Nixon) said, but each time I walked out of his office Strom Thurmond was waiting to come in." And what does Thurmond want? He wants us to spend billions and billions more on ways to blow up the world. And cut out this nonsense about the war on poverty. White folks in Thurmond's South Carolina are scratching out a miserable living on virtually nothing, but Thurmond wants to forget about all that poverty stuff and plunk down billions for the anti-ballistic missile—the biggest boondoggle to ever come down the political pike. . . . **That's the way it is** from the Hotel Pierre, where President-Elect Nixon is putting together the bits and pieces of his new government. A little tid bit for everybody: an offer of the UN ambassadorship to Humphrey, Secretary of Defense for Scoop Jackson (insiders tell us Jackson won't take it), and a nice strategic spot for Thurmond's legman. . . . **This is the season for Great Society farewells.** The packers and movers are in, tucking away files and mementos of a fading administration. There's a universal sadness about the departure from Washington of Lady Bird Johnson. She's been a remarkable woman. She did a lot more than plant pretty flowers and galivant around the country. Mrs. Johnson cared deeply about the poverty-stricken of this country. Sadly, she watched a cruel war diminish the opportunities to do as much as needed doing. And her beautifying bit was something which lifted up the whole scene, and got us thinking seriously about our sleazy surroundings. Two cabinet members who'll be greatly missed are Stewart Udall and Ramsey Clark. Udall was a Kennedy find, who stuck it out during 8 exciting years for conservation. We doubt any other President, Democrat or Republican, can ever find another man with the same vision, brains, and courage of Stewart Udall to preside over the nation's dwindling natural resources and properly tend our changing environment. Ramsey Clark is a Johnson production, and President Johnson can proudly take a bow for his appointment of this thoughtful, unruffled chief law enforcement officer. One of the cheapest things Nixon did during his acceptance speech was to single out Ramsey Clark for a round of booes. We predict Ramsey Clark will look good in the history books and that Nixon's attorney-general, whoever it is, will not measure up to Clark. . . . **Those announcements** of the death of Czech democracy are grossly exaggerated. The Czechs have a high fever and the medication they're getting from Russian quacks is no cure. The spirit of Czech nationalism is not dead, despite daily rumors it will die. Prague is filled with junketing experts who are filling stories that Dubcek's days are numbered, that the Russians will smother the fragile beginnings of democrary in Czechoslovakia. Maybe so—but it still hasn't happened. The human animal can be a tough cuss, especially after he's tasted the heady wine of political freedom. . . . **Ralph Nader** writes in Playboy: *"Every year the public is mulcted of from $500 million to $1 billion by securities frauds alone. Dishonest and illegal practices in the area of drugs, therapeutic aids and home repairs rob the consumer of even more untold hundreds of millions of dollars annually. The automobile industry has knowingly permitted cars with safety defects to reach the market, with no effort to recall them or to inform the unwitting buyer. Irresponsible use of pesticides and chemicals, poison and kill thousands of human beings every year. Yet willful violations in all these areas are punished only by mild civil fines that will never deter corporate malpractice. The civil penalties generally meted out are so modest that the big corporation won't even blink an eye at them; and on the rare occasions when the fines are stiff, the corporations just pass the cost on to the consumer in the form of higher retail prices."* . . . The UAW's good works offshoot, **Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty,** gets a strong pat on the back in an article in this month's Atlantic "Going Hungry in America." The scandal of plantation owners like Sen. James Eastland pocketing huge subsidies (last year the Eastland family got a $211,364 "welfare" check from the government) for not growing cotton, while millions still starve in this country is but a dramatic sidelight to the larger scandal of an agricultural political establishment which thumbs its nose at starving Americans, pays political homage to rich farmers, and then condemns the poor white and black people of America for demanding a share of the political action. The whole sordid story of buck-passing, hand-kissing, and politics-as-usual goes down as one of America's sorriest chapters in letting the worst reactionaries have their way about some of the nation's most serious backyard problems. People are still starving in America and politicians on Capitol Hill are still telling themselves it aint so. There's a great opportunity for a new administration to straighten things out. . . . Here's a sensational fact to tuck away: While the U.S. population has increased by 30 percent since 1950, **the amount of waste has increased by 60 percent.** U.S. Public Health Service estimates that in a typical year, Americans throw away over 30 million tons of paper, 4 million tons of plastic, 48 billion cans—more than 250 a person—and 26 billion bottles and jars, or more than 135 a person. Getting rid of all the junk is a huge problem. Manufacturers who design throwaway soft drink bottles do practically nothing to find places to throw these things once they're discarded.

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THIS WEEK

New fast trains revolutionize travel between major population center corridors

NEWSPAPER

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Wall Street Journal 5-14-69

15 CENTS

Union Conglomerate

Alliance of Teamsters, UAW Maps Bold Plans In Labor, Social Fields

Housing Ventures, Organizing Drive Are Among Goals; Financial Resources Large

Are the Partners Compatible?

By JAMES P. GANNON and
LAURENCE G. O'DONNELL
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The nation's two biggest, richest unions are quietly putting the finishing touches on the labor movement's first conglomerate.

Like today's multifaceted corporate conglomerates, the labor organization about to be launched by the United Auto Workers union and the Teamsters Union will engage in a kaleidoscopic array of activities. The UAW-Teamsters joint venture, the Alliance for Labor Action, is designed on so grand a scale that it could be the pride of the most ambitious corporate empire-builder.

According to the prospectus outlined by key planners of the ALA, the alliance will be:

—A real-estate developer, planning, designing and building low-cost urban housing for slum dwellers, retired union members and others, using advanced building technology.

—A private antipoverty program, sponsoring job-training centers and slum-neighborhood service centers that would take an ombudsman's role in helping the poor with legal, medical and financial problems.

—A ghetto-mobilizing "new politics" machine, organizing, registering and "educating" black and other minority voters to increase pressure on city hall, school boards, landlords and merchants.

—A new, well-financed organizing force, aiming to spread unionism to low-wage industries and to unorganized regions, such as the South.

—A new bargaining-table combine, backed by a huge strike fund, eager to match muscles and wits with corporate conglomerates.

A Final Fling

If the scheme seems grandiose, it is because some of the labor movement's most visionary planners are drafting it. The ALA is basically Walter Reuther's dream, but the idealistic UAW president has found in the Teamsters Union other big thinkers eager to embellish it. Many labor observers see the ALA as a final

UAW president has found in the Teamsters Union other big thinkers eager to embellish it. Many labor observers see the ALA as a final, grand fling for the 61-year-old Mr. Reuther before retirement and as a hopeful grasp at respectability by the Teamsters Union, whose last two presidents have landed in prison.

The unlikely alliance of the UAW idealists and the hard-bitten Teamsters has led to widespread skepticism in the labor movement that the partnership will ever work. "It's a rope of sand," contends the leader of a big AFL-CIO union who thinks the Teamsters and UAW officials are such disparate characters they won't be able to work together.

The curious confederacy faces many sticky problems. Despite sales pitches to numerous unions, the partners have won only two small groups as allies—the 110,000-member International Chemical Workers Union and the breakaway New York division of the AFL-CIO's Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, embracing 30,000 workers. Hoped-for recruits, including the United Rubber Workers, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen, have hung back, though they could join later.

Tactical Problems

There are tactical problems, too. Various UAW and Teamsters men have differing ideas on just which workers should be organized by the ALA. Finding suitable targets for the ALA brand of "conglomerate bargaining" isn't easy either, because AFL-CIO unions have a strong foothold in most of the big, diversified companies.

And over the grand dream hangs a nightmare worry voiced by one UAW official: "What happens if Hoffa becomes free?" In the unlikely event that the jailed Teamster president is paroled from his eight-year jury-tampering sentence while still holding his office, then idealist Walter Reuther would find himself presiding along with ex-con Hoffa. Intimates say Mr. Reuther gets fretful and snappish when this possibility is even gently suggested.

The alliance's aims will be revealed publicly soon. After lengthy delay, the ALA will hold its first national conference here May 26 and 27. The meeting of some 500 UAW and Teamster officials and staff men from around the country will mark the formal launching of the joint venture agreed to last July.

"In 1969, we are going to provide some therapy to the American labor movement just as the CIO did in 1939," says Mr. Reuther, who vows the ALA will prod AFL-CIO leaders "to get off their rusty bottoms."

Adds acting Teamster chief Frank E. Fitzsimmons: "We're not going to come out of the sky wearing white robes and waving magic wands and expect everyone to capitulate or bow down. But we're ready to get off the ground with a program that reinvigorates the labor movement."

Ample Resources

Officials of the AFL-CIO, which expelled the Teamsters on corruption charges in 1957 and which the UAW quit last year, tend to scoff at the rival group's plans as grandstanding by Mr. Reuther, more rhetoric than action. But they privately concede the two strong alliance partners have the resources to make good on their big promises.

The Teamsters, with more than two million members, and the UAW, with some 1.6 million, are the largest unions in the U.S. Their combined net worth tops $170 million.

The alliance, insiders say, will be very well-heeled. To bankroll it, the two unions each have agreed to contribute a dime per member per month, or a total of nearly $4.5 million a year. (The AFL-CIO's head-tax yields about $11.5 million a year.) In addition, it's understood each union has earmarked an added $3 million or so for a "strike defense fund." The big war chest would be used to help weaker unions in strikes against strong employers,

Please Turn to Page 19, Column 1

Union Conglomerate: New Alliance Of UAW, Teamsters Has Bold Plans

Continued From Page One

strategists say. Such aid to unions in distress could be a potent ALA recruiting tool.

The ALA partners have taken a five-year lease on a floor of a new, downtown Washington office building to serve as the alliance's national headquarters. A staff is being assembled, and each union plans to name a man to serve as deputy director of the ALA. To head the new organization, the unions are seeking "a man of stature," says one Teamster chieftain, but they apparently are having some difficulty finding one who wants the job. James J. Reynolds, former Under Secretary of Labor, turned it down.

Such problems have delayed the ALA's launching. "We're finding out we can't get going as fast as we thought we could," concedes a top Teamster. "There are lots of roadblocks when you are trying to design national programs."

The planning for the alliance has been done by two committees. A five-man group headed by Teamsters' Acting President Frank E. Fitzsimmons has mapped organizing and bargaining plans; a similar committee under Mr. Reuther's direction has outlined social and political activities.

Some of the ALA programs are firmly planned, but many others are still in formative stages. Subject to change, the planning committees have outlined four major areas of operation: Organizing, Bargaining, Social action and Politics.

Here's a sample of the planning in each area:

ORGANIZING: Recruiting many of the nation's 58 million unorganized workers into unions gets the top priority of the alliance. Farm workers, white-collar workers, service workers—what one official calls "the miscellaneous unorganized millions"—are among the targets.

"Who will we be organizing?" muses one planner. "Mostly the people the labor movement has been neglecting. They work in small manufacturing shops, retail stores, service establishments, sometimes for city governments. They are in considerable measure, minority-group members."

Some UAW men seem less interested in the miscellaneous millions than in industrial workers and white-collar employes. The chemical industry, especially lightly organized Du Pont Co., is attracting ALA attention. So are the thousands of white-collar employes of Blue Cross and Blue Shield medical insurance plans.

The alliance's promise to organize farm workers threatens a possible conflict with the AFL-CIO's United Farm Workers, headed by Cesar Chavez. The UAW has had close ties to Mr. Chavez's union, which is locked in a marathon struggle with California's grape growers. ALA men are hoping the UFW can cooperate with both the AFL-CIO and the alliance; if not, a tug-of-war for the farm union's allegiance is likely.

BARGAINING: The special target of the alliance's bargaining designs is the fast-growing corporate conglomerates, which pose a new challenge to unions; when a corporation is widely diversified, no one union can exert great pressure on it by striking.

AFL-CIO unions have tried to deal with this changed power balance through coordinated or coalition bargaining by several unions; the ALA is planning a similar approach but chooses to call it "conglomerate bargaining." A major problem, however, will be finding a target where the UAW and Teamsters are so dominant that cooperation of the AFL-CIO affiliates isn't crucial to success. One possibility under study: California-based FMC Corp., maker of food-processing machinery, power transmission equipment, chemicals, textiles, ordnance and other products.

Besides the conglomerates, the alliance aims to throw its weight against other selected employers. The big strike fund would be used to stiffen the backbone of weaker unions that the ALA decides to aid in struggles against "union-busting" companies. Just what strike situations would fit this designation isn't clear. In 1967, the UAW lent the United Rubber Workers $3 million to finance its strike against the major rubber companies, on the theory that the tire-makers were out to "destroy" the financially strapped union.

SOCIAL ACTION: Building low-cost housing for the inner-city poor and retirees will be high on the alliance's agenda. Planners aim to sponsor nonprofit housing projects financed mainly with Federal Government dollars. The ALA would put up "seed money" to buy land, hire architects and help pay for construction.

In California, alliance leaders are eying building sites in East Los Angeles, a mixed Negro and Mexican-American community, and in Richmond, a heavily Negro community across the bay from San Francisco. For retirees, the ALA is planning a "series" of projects for union pensioners and other lower-income aged folk "all across the country," says one official.

A rough prototype of the alliance housing projects, not directly connected to the ALA, exists in Detroit. There, the UAW has put up $1 million of the $5 million seed money for the Metropolitan Detroit Citizens Development Authority, which promotes low-cost housing spon-

June 9, 1969

Mr. Franklin Wallick, Editor
UAW WASHINGTON REPORT
1126 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your response regarding our receiving duplicate copies of the WASHINGTON REPORT. We will see that they get distributed and not bother you further.

Your name will go on our mailing list. In the meantime, I am sending you several items separately which relate to black political participation.

Nice to have heard from you and trust I will see you before too long.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Send: The Julian Bond pamphlet
Voter Registration
Report on Conference
Black Elected Officials

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA—UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER . . . . . PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY . . . . . SECRETARY-TREASURER
LEONARD WOODCOCK . . . . . VICE PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE . . . . . VICE PRESIDENT

IN REPLY REFER TO
1126 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C 20036
TELEPHONE: 296-7484

June 5, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks for telling us about the duplication. I confess it is impossible from Washington to do much about it. You will get two copies until the publication ceases. You may even get three or four. My suggestion is that you pass along extra copies to people who might like to read them.

Can you put me on your mailing list? I'd like to get all the stuff you put out, especially your studies of black voter registration and turnout.

Sincerely,

Franklin Wallick
Editor
UAW WASHINGTON REPORT

FW:mag
opeiu2aflcio

E. T. MICHAEL
DIRECTOR, REGION 8
REGIONAL OFFICE
525 ST. PAUL PLACE
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202

UAW
INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA • UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER . . . . . PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK . . VICE-PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY . . . SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAT GREATHOUSE . . . . VICE-PRESIDENT

IN REPLY REFER TO:
ATLANTA AREA OFFICE
1776 PEACHTREE STREET, N. W.
SUITE 328
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309
PHONE: 874-3868

June 11, 1969

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street,N.W.
Atlanta,Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Mr. Earl H. Henderson of UAW, 1776 Peachtree Street, N.W.,Suite 328, Atlanta, Georgia 30309, has been transferred out of the Atlanta Area office.

In the future, please send his correspondence to Mr. Henderson at UAW Office, 13-1/2 Justis Street, Wilmington, Delaware 19804.;

Thank you in advance for your cooperation in this matter. Your publication entitled "John Willie Reed" has been forwarded to him.

Yours truly,
ATLANTA AREA OFFICE
Region 8 UAW

6-12-69

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UAW WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Vol. 9, No. 25 June 23, 1969

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

WEEKEND WRAPUP

The Los Angeles and New York elections are clearly signs that **the country is moving to the right,** so we're told by the morning-after experts. More cops—hire more cops, this seems to be the rightwing answer to the ills of the big cities. And don't forget the Supreme Court. Get rid of those liberals who insist on reading the fine print in the Constitution. Well, brothers and sisters, it isn't all that simple. And we take for our text the report by a group of young, conservative Republican members of Congress who told President Nixon last week that there's more to campus disorders than a few troublemakers. The same is true with the frustrated, bitter blacks in our big cities who are polarizing the cities and the suburbs. We reap the whirlwind. We allow rat-infested slums, we provide custodial education to black kids, we slam the door on those black kids at the hiring gates—and now we wonder why there's hostility. Crime, whether by black or white, is a phenomena of youth, and these are times when the accent is on youth. It's the result of a post-war baby boom. We've spent our money on highways, arms, suburban sprawl, and shopping centers. We look around and it's not much to look at. Most kids today are groping for a way toward the good life. But, black or white, they don't like what they see, they blame their elders for a job badly done, and they expect something better. We doubt if there's a conservative politician in the country who can respond to these problems—unless they go talk to the kids and find out precisely what's bugging them. For those Republican congressmen who did just that, we offer our compliments and put their thoughts down as signs that the cautious center is waking up. . . . **Mrs. Virginia Knauer,** the Nixon consumer expert, deserves praise for coming to the rescue of the hot dog. Mrs. Knauer joins Arnold Mayer of the Meat Cutters Union and other pro-consumer types in stating that hot dogs should contain no more than 30 percent fat content and the ingredients of hot dogs should be clearly stated on the package. Consumers have a right to know what they are eating, and unless the Knauers and Mayers of this world rise up and demand it, the special interest groups in Washington will see that consumers stay in the dark. . . . **Law and order** is our favorite subject, and it will be interesting to see how the law and order crowd in Congress responds to the Adam Clayton Powell decision by the Supreme Court. The Court ruled that Congress can't throw a man out of Congress if the people from his district vote for him and if he complies with the minimum requirements. The flamboyant Mr. Powell was an easy target for congressmen who wanted to play the backlash game. . . . **Who bugged Martin Luther King's phones,** J. Edgar Hoover or Robert Kennedy? Neither Dr. King nor Sen. Kennedy are alive to defend themselves. But this didn't keep FBI Director Hoover from jumping in with his version of the facts. Former Attorney-General Ramsey Clark, a great and good man, said Mr. Hoover's account was unfair *"because it comes after Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King have been murdered in the service of humanity and are unable to defend themselves."* Clark says that "selective materials from FBI files" released by Hoover were *"deceptive in depicting Mr. Hoover as a reluctant eavesdropper of Dr. King. He (Hoover) repeatedly requested me to authorize a FBI wiretap on Dr. King while I was Attorney-General. The last of these requests, none of which were granted, came two days before the murder of Dr. King."* Former Attorney General Katzenbach, who was undersecretary to Kennedy said *"to say or imply that this tap was the original conception of Robert Kennedy . . . is false,"* indicating that Hoover pressured Kennedy into tapping Dr. King. . . . **The surtax** will go up to 10 percent for six months and the 7 percent investment credit will be knocked out—if the House Ways and Means has its way. Inside the tax-writing committee there are loud protests that tax reform can't wait, that comprehensive tax reform ought to be part of the surtax package. Many House liberals peeved by foot-dragging on loopholes vow they'll vote down the surtax. Congressman Ray Madden, a fire-eating Indiana populist, expects to ask his House Rules Committee for an unprecedented open rule on the surtax extension. . . . **The tobacco lobby won** a big victory last week. They got the House of Represen-

(Continued on Page 6)

'Say! He might turn out to be a better watchdog than that old Texas hound we used to have.'

Tax Reformers Against Surtax

Congressman intent on tax reform say they'll vote down the 10 percent surtax scheduled for House action this week. Unless Congress and the White House agree to combine major tax reform with the surtax, the House liberals say they will vote the surtax down. "We feel the oil and gas lobbyists have made a deal with House leaders and the White House, and tax reform in this Congress is doomed unless the leadership gets the message loud and strong." Nine out of 15 Democrats on the House Ways and Means Committee voted against the surtax bill coming up this week.

WARMER
Mostly sunny with a high in the mid-70s Wednesday. See Page 84.

CHICAGO
SUN-TIMES

FINAL
HOME EDITION

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Gas blasts rip Gary

Fight flames in homes as thousands flee fumes

By David S. Robinson and Dennis Fisher

Nine persons were injured and thousands of others evacuated Tuesday after a series of gas explosions and fires struck southwest Gary.

Gary Mayor Richard G. Hatcher, on the scene with city officials, declared an 8 p.m. curfew for the 18-square-block area hit hardest.

Six homes in the area were destroyed, Hatcher said, and 18 others damaged, in the explosions and fires caused by a massive, high-pressure gas leak.

Fire Chief Alfonse Holliday estimated damage at more than $340,000. Nine of the homes struck by the blasts were unable, he said, and additional homes were damaged by embers and small fires.

Five of the injured were admitted to Gary hospitals. The others were treated and released.

State and local police evacuated thousands of residents from a 108-square-block area when a south wind spread the smell of gas over a large part of the city's predominantly residential Glen Park section.

Hatcher said he was told by Northern Indiana Public Service Co. that a faulty regulator on a gas main caused backup pressure that led to the explosions and fires.

A company spokesman said there was a massive increase in gas pressure in the area just before the explosions.

Witnesses told tales of watching burners and pilot lights flare into four-foot-high flames as the gas pressure rose to a critical point.

At least 320 homes were without gas service Tuesday night, a company spokesman said, but service had been restored to other homes

Turn to Page 4

ABOVE: Homes burn in five-block square of Gary after gas blasts. BELOW, LEFT: As her house flames up, woman waits anxiously for firemen. (AP)

S. Sider charged in kidnap; girl safe

Story, pictures on Page 3

Unionist says $1 item could have barred gas blasts

A simple regulator costing less than $1 for each outlet could have prevented the June 3 natural gas disaster in Gary that hurt nine persons and damaged or destroyed 30 homes, a labor union official said Thursday.

Robert C. Tibbs of St. Louis, business manager of Local 5-6, AFL-CIO Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, told newsmen here that the accident illustrates the need for a better national pipeline safety act.

"The Gary explosion shouldn't have happened," Tibbs said. "There is a simple device that can be installed at every outlet to prevent such things from occurring."

Northern Indiana Public Service Co. blamed the accident on a faulty regulator in its low-pressure gas main in Gary's Glen Park neighborhood. When the regulator failed, the gas pressure increased twentyfold and sent gas shooting through outlets in homes.

With individual regulators at each outlet to customers, Tibbs said, the failure of the regulator in the gas main would not have triggered the costly accident

NATURAL GAS PIPELINE SAFETY

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
COMMUNICATIONS AND POWER
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
SIXTIETH CONGRESS
FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS
ON
H.R. 6551, S. 1166
BILLS TO PRESCRIBE SAFETY STANDARDS FOR THE TRANSPORTATION OF NATURAL AND OTHER GAS BY PIPELINE, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES
(And Similar Bills)

DECEMBER 4, 1967; FEBRUARY 27, 28, 29, AND MARCH 1, 1968

Serial No. 90-28

Printed for the use of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1968

8. Pipeline Safety

Criminal penalties against violations of a new pipeline safety bill was a test of the Senate's willingness to write a tough bill to protect the public from gas pipeline explosions and other hazards. The motion to include criminal penalties was defeated 31 to 44. A + vote is a vote for strong pipeline safety.

A gas explosion in Gary . . . a congressional hearing a year ago . . . a union man's testimony last week . . . and a UAW roll-call; how do they all fit together? The explosion (like scores which occur and are only reported locally) could have been prevented by a simple gas regulator; but this and other safety features are not used because Congress failed to pass a law which tightens and toughens gas pipelines in big urban centers. The UAW roll call tells who voted how in the Senate. There was never a definitive roll call in the House; all the damage was done behind closed doors in committee.

October 10, 1969

Mr. Carroll Hutton
UAW
800 E. Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48214

Dear Carroll:

When you were in Atlanta for the A.L.A. Conference we discussed the possibility of getting together with UAW staff with education responsibilities here in Atlanta. I wanted you to know that I am available and interested.

We also discussed the possibility of sending Southern Regional Council materials to all or to some selected group of UAW staff working in the South. An arrangement which we have worked out with some unions, at least as an introductory offer, is to send all of our publications for a yearly subscription fee of $5.00. Normally our quarterly, New South, is $3.00 per year and our pamphlet series is $5.00.

Under separate cover I am sending you a selection of our publications of the sort that have recently gone to the union staff people.

I would be very pleased to meet with you and whoever else you suggest here in Atlanta. Let me know if the pamphlet idea has any appeal.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Vol. 11, No. 29 July 19, 1971

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

WEEKEND WRAPUP

GIVE MR. NIXON CREDIT—breaking the ice with China is going to be good for world peace. It's a funny twist of history that the same Republicans who got us into a 20-year deep freeze with China are the same ones who are getting us out. China has overshadowed, for a time at least, the U.S. failure to respond to the latest peace offers of the Viet Cong; and Mr. Nixon is crescendoing his way to some dramatic world moves in next year's election year. Nixon insiders are grinning at this diplomatic coup which has suddenly put the world upside down. The secret mission to Peking caught every reporter and congressional know-it-all unawares. There is a great hunger for peace which responds to every U.S. initiative—witness the Khrushchev trip to the U.S. and Kosygin's trip to Glassboro, N.J. High hopes will ride with the Nixon-Mao exchange, and every patriot must wish them well. The China lobby kept the South Vietnamese cranky during the election eve suspense in 1968 and Louis Harris has suggested that Ky's balkiness swung just enough votes to Nixon to make him President. Now Nixon has swung open the door to 750 million Chinese we tried for 21 years to treat as invisible.

SICKNESS INSURANCE—What few Americans have insurance for health have "sickness insurance," not to be confused with health insurance (which puts the emphasis on keeping in good health, not taking care of sickness after good health fails). The American Medical Association's $1.5 million campaign to confuse the American public on the facts about health care is up to some interesting tricks. One ad which appeared recently talks about helping returning Vietnam medic vets get into the health care system as physicians assistants. Great idea, except the AMA brought on the health crisis and the AMA's feeble steps to make amends are hard to swallow. Another cute AMA spot announcement is really farout, suggesting that environmental neglect is the reason we have bad health. The real unwritten story about the AMA, however, is the mass desertion from the ranks of the AMA which is occuring right under the nose of the medical establishment. Many younger doctors are rebelling against the hidebound theories. The Griffiths-Corman-Kennedy bills require doctors to hit the books, keep abreast of new developments in medical science—a notion the new

(Continued on page 2)

'Let me put it this way. I can tell you who I'm not going to vote for!'

Give us at least $150 million

The UAW is asking Congress for at least $150 million to make the job safety and health law work for the 57 million workers it covers. The Nixon administration is asking for one-third this amount. If you think your job should get a federal inspection, if noise, dust, chemicals, and other dangerous hazards bother you—then let Congress know you want no less than $150 million for safety and health at the workplace.

WEEKEND WRAPUP

(Continued from page 1)

breed of doctors fresh out of med school like, but which doesn't sit too well with some of the oldguard.

TRADITIONAL JOBS—The Chinese believe in "saving face." So do Americans. Mr. Nixon's trip to China may, with the help of the Chinese, help the U.S. save face in Vietnam. Mr. Nixon saved face by calling the public service employment bill a way to provide "transitional" jobs for the unemployed. The key words last year were "deadend jobs" which was supposed to be bad. Regardless of what kind of jobs they are called, there are 200,000 jobs around which Congress voted for and which the President signed for. And a lot of cities will have some slots filled at long last.

EXIT HUGHES—If you don't have a financial angel, you might as well forget about running for President. Sen. Harold Hughes of Iowa bowed out last week because he couldn't put together the money needed for a national campaign. The crop of Democratic candidates is large and excellent, but it is all that Party Chairman Larry O'Brien can do to keep them from soaking up all the money or bumping into each other before the big convention next year. Sen. Hughes will be missed. He represented a progressive and antiwar combination the Democratic Party needs to deserve victory in 1972. Mary McGrory, a sympathetic Hughes-watcher, thinks Sen. Hughes did not bow out for lack of money. Rather Hughes felt awkward at scrambling for votes and money. His departure does leave a gap in stature which the other contenders must fill.

SAM EPSTEIN—The name eludes me, is how one writer spoke of Dr. Sam Epstein, one of the nation's toughest toxicologists and a boatrocker among many establishment scientists who feed off government grants. Environmental Protection Agency Chief William Ruckelhaus innocently read off a speech (probably ghosted in good faith by a government flack) which quoted some tough words from Epstein—and this set off a terrible ruckus among the play-it-safe scientists who were listening at this particular meeting. Last week Epstein came back to Washington with an eloquent appeal to keep a ban on a dangerous weedkiller (2,4,5-T) which tests show results in birth defects in laboratory animals. Powerful chemical companies are trying to get the ban lifted, but Epstein and some of Ralph Nader's people have mobilized a strong environmental bloc to uphold the ban.

NO CBS CONTEMPT—The turnaround on the contempt citation for CBS has enough drama for a CBS documentary. Liberals and conservatives for differing reasons ganged up on Chairman Harley Staggers and gave a rebuff to his contempt charge against the Columbia Broadcasting System. There is mistrust of TV, despite the fact people get most of their news from it and tend to trust it more. Too much TV newsreporting is hitched to showmanship and stories which contain "motion excitement." Still the sorriest aspect of the

(Continued on page 4)

Poor, workers hurt most by foul neglect of environments

By MARION EDEY

The rats in the ghetto, the lead paint peeling from tenement walls, the overcrowding, air pollution and inadequate transportation that plague the inner city—all these are environmental problems, and are receiving increasing attention from environmental groups.

The black man in the ghetto and the working man in the factory suffer more acutely for the simple reason that they cannot escape.

There are a hundred ways that an affluent person can cushion himself from his environment.

He can buy a house far out in the suburbs and drive to work in an air-conditioned car; his garbage disposal takes care of the garbage; he can buy bottled water if the tapwater is unfit to drink.

He can even buy a private summer home if the park facilities are overcrowded.

But what is a more general, long term problem for the rich is for the poor an immediate threat to life and health. Anyone tempted to view ecology as purely a middle-class issue should take a hard look at the following issues:

Pesticides

The comprehensive Mrak study for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare found that black people had almost twice as much DDT in their fat tissues as did white people. This can be explained largely through differences in diet. Because fish is cheap and rich in protein it is a staple food for low-income families in coastal cities. But most fish are at the top of a long food-chain and therefore have high concentrations of DDT, mercury, and other poisons.

Lead poisoning

Between 250,000 and 400,000 inner city children have unsafe levels of lead in the blood, and over 6,000 will suffer mental retardation or death from lead poisoning.

The most severe cases involve eating lead paint, but merely breathing the air in New York City can cause unsafe levels of lead in the blood.

A study by Dr. Ronald Engel for the Environmental Protection Agency indicates that ambient lead levels in the air can cause acute lead poisoning in children who would otherwise recover from eating lead paint. Some environmental groups are now supporting efforts to get full appropriations for the Lead Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act, which received no funding last year.

The work environment

The people who suffer most severely from irresponsible corporate pollution policies are often the workers in their own plants. A good example is the Allied Chemical Plant in Moundsville, W. Va., where Public Health officials found mercury vapor levels eight times the safety limit. A comprehensive Public Health Survey found that 46% of all workers in Chicago were subjected to urgent or serious health hazards.

It is easy to understand why workers rated health and safety hazards as the number two item in a scale of 19 job complaints, according to a poll by the Labor Department. They would probably be still more concerned if they realized the extent of in-plant pollution; another Denver study indicated that 75% of the workers exposed to such hazards were unaware of them.

Environmentalists who once neglected this issue are now keenly aware of its importance, and actively supported union efforts to get a strong Occupational Safety and Health bill through the Congress last year.

Transportation

New transportation priorities are essential to the survival of the cities, and this issue is perhaps the strongest bond between conservationists and inner city residents. Both are united in a struggle for more and better mass transit as opposed to the proliferation of highways. Many of the urban poor do not have cars, and they are strangled by highways that displace them from their homes and result in more traffic and air pollution.

The Los Angeles Riot Study by Dr. Nathan Cohen found that transportation problems were one of the major grievances reported by ghetto residents. The Labor Department poll mentioned above found that transportation problems ranked third among all the worker's job complaints.

Environmental groups who began by opposing highways through parks and urban areas are now strongly supporting mass transit funding as an alternative.

Solid waste

No one has a higher stake in developing adequate systems for solid waste disposal than do the ghetto dwellers who watch the garbage pile up on their streets.

The soaring populations of rats which plague the inner city are a direct result of our failure to deal with this problem or to recycle our resources.

The heavy use of poisons to control populations of rats and cockroaches doubtless contributes to the high levels of chemicals like DDT in poor black people.

Air pollution

Air and water pollution despoil our countryside far more severely in the inner city than in rural or suburban areas. Air pollution is directly or indirectly responsible for the deaths of hundreds of people in the inner city every year; in New York City, deaths from emphysema alone have risen 500% in the last ten years.

Studies indicate that air pollution is usually most severe in low-income neighborhoods. One out of four patients in the Harlem hospital now suffer from athsma, compared to 5% in 1952.

When environmental groups began their major lobbying campaign for a strong Clean Air bill last year, they received support from numbers of urban organizations and unions such as the Steelworkers and the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers.

Water pollution

In many cities the tapwater contains poisonous heavy metals in amounts above the levels considered safe by the Public Health Service. People seeking to avoid them have swelled the sales of bottled water by 15-20% a year. In the San Joaquin Valley the average nitrate concentrations in the water are nearly twice the safety limit, and parents are sometimes warned not to give tapwater to babies who might suffer mental retardation as a result. But how can a poor family of migrant workers afford to buy bottled water?

Population

Nearly all our urban problems are aggravated by a population growth which outstrips the capacity of existing facilities and increases critical housing and teacher shortages.

Environmental groups actively support more funding for family planning clinics to help parents avoid unwanted children. Conservationists efforts are not confined to the poor, but aimed also at the affluent who put a greater pressure on their environment by consuming more resources.

Our abuse of human and natural resources is caused by apathy, corruption, and the drive for private gain at public expense.

To cure it will require the close cooperation and hard work of all environmental and citizens groups concerned with the public interest. We must provide the leadership to unite these groups, and be careful not to split them apart.

About the author

A young and sensitive environmentalist, MISS MARION EDEY is chairman of the League of Conservation Voters and is associated with Friends of the Earth. Miss Edey's LCV publishes a conservation roll call, rating Congress on how it treats the environment.

WEEKEND WRAPUP

(Continued from page 2)

whole TV story is the fact that TV has never achieved its full potential, and rather than mislead most Americans (as the citation implied) the TV media puts most people to sleep or drives people back to the printed page or the neighborhood flick.

WHY ARE THEY HEALTHIER? Everytime we look at the list of countries where people live to riper and older ages than Americans, we wonder why. Experts tell us that getting a physical exam frequently, seeing a doctor when you want to, getting a specialist without worry about the cost—these are some of the factors that make people in other nations live longer than Americans. We have more doctors per population than those other countries, and we spend more money on health care than any other nation of the world—but we just don't live longer. It will be interesting to see if the tricky ads the American Medical Association is running will address itself to these very plain facts. We predict the AMA will try to divert our attention from the facts and conjure up farfetched demons about socialism. And we predict that Americans won't fall for it—at least not the generation of kids coming up these days. The young don't always know what they want, but they do know what they don't want. And they don't want name-calling as an explanation for national failure.

FTC DOES IT AGAIN—There's something happening at the Federal Trade Commission—and it's good for consumers. The FTC used to grind out press releases about insignificant frauds, while gigantic con games were pouring out of the TV tube. Now the FTC has accused U.S. and foreign auto companies of making advertising claims which are dishonest. A lot of Washington lawyers make a good living keeping the FTC off the backs of dishonest corporations, so we don't know if the latest FTC gambit will pay off in results. But it should. The slump in auto sales these days is not just a case of thin money. Consumers want their money's worth. They want honest repair service. They want cars that work. And they want service that they can depend on. Nothing fancy. Just an honest deal. All the advertising fluff makes the American consumer wary—and at long last the Federal Trade Commission is doing something about it.

THE LADIES ARE FOR REAL—A lot of women are tired of always doing the dishes at home and stuffing the envelopes in a political campaign. They want more. And by the looks of what happened in Washington last weekend, they are going to get more political clout in the 1972 conventions. When you get Lyndon Johnson's Liz Carpenter and Greenwich Village's Bella Abzug on the same team, if you are running for office you'd better watch out. The fact that President Nixon could crack jokes about this serious drive for more votes in the candidate-selection process shows you how far our Chief Executive is off base.

HOW MUCH PROOF DO YOU NEED?—An unpublished study of blue collar workers and union officials shows that "good health and safety practices" ranks as the number one problem, while "adequate income" ranks fifth in a scale of five considerations (besides health and safety, they were income, opportunity to grow on the job, fair employment, and workmen's compensation). Union officials and union stewards in the study both put income at the head of their list. Of course, workers should not have to choose between safe and healthful jobs and adequate income. But the fact that so many surveys show this deep concern for safety and health on the job is an indicator that the nation needs to do more. Last week Wisconsin's Sen. Bill Proxmire joined the list of lawmakers who are demanding that we reorder our priorities by increasing the federal expenditures for job safety and health.

SOMETHING WRONG—Mary Lasker has been a friend of good causes for years and years. She cares about national health. When a lot of ladies would be sipping tea in garden parties, Mrs. Lasker is out campaigning for national health insurance. Last week Mrs. Lasker said Americans spend more for chewing gum and candy than they spend on research on killing and crippling disease. She said both the citizenry and government have misplaced their values, noting that health research more than pays its way. The national death rate declined between 1944 and 1967, resulting in the saving of 8 million lives. Wage earners whose lives were saved during this time earned an estimated $102.5 billion and paid $12.5 billion in taxes. During this 23 year period, Mrs. Lasker said, the government spent $8.7 billion for its national institutes of health—so that the government got $4.1 billion more in taxes during the added lifetime of these people.

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Leonard Woodcock, *Chairman*
William H. Dodds, *Director*
Franklin Wallick, *Managing Editor*
United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW
UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

How the poor and workers are affected by foul environments

NEWSPAPER

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE
PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

JUL 29 1971

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Vol. 11, No. 37 September 27, 1971

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

WEEKEND WRAPUP

PRESIDENT WOODCOCK tells Congress that giant corporations set high prices to gain still higher profits, urges price-wage review board to get the facts out in the open.

THE CAMERAS GLARE, the room is filled with curious congressional staffers, and the press. UAW President Woodcock is in Washington again to plead the workers' case. Do something about rising prices, but don't take it out of the hide of workers. Put the spotlight on 100 giant corporations which dominate the U. S. economy. Make them tell the public what their profits are, what their unit labor costs are. Get that out in the open. And make the biggies in U. S. industry come before a public board 60 days before they put over a price increase. During that time they must tell everything they know. That's where the damage is done. Not wages. A poor, lonely hospital worker may get a pay increase, but she starts from below the poverty level—so her pay increase is part of the war on poverty. Auto workers consistently have won pay increases in line with national productivity increases — the auto productivity is a big secret. Nobody knows. The Lordstown plant which turns out GM Vegas is probably the biggest and best producer in the business—but the unit labor costs at Lordstown, as throughout the auto industry, are secret. All we have to go by are the national productivity figures.

WHEN A RECESSION HITS, then productivity slumps. That's the word of Nat Weinberg, the UAW's chief economist. Productivity

(Continued on page 4)

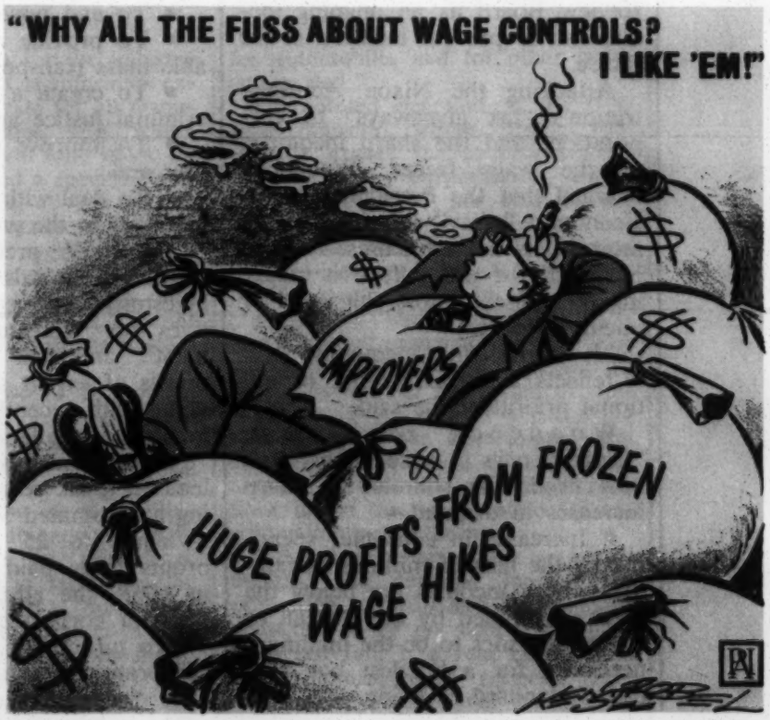
Rich get richer if Nixon tax windfalls prevail

UAW President Leonard Woodcock called for congressional enactment of a sweeping series of programs to revitalize and stabilize the nation's economy after the 90-day wage freeze.

Testifying last week before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, Woodcock urged

- Enactment of a novel "Income Equalization Tax."
- Creation of a new tax to promote and in-

(Continued on page 2)



UPI-82

ADD 1 ECONOMY, WASHINGTON (UPI-64)

THE HEAD OF THE UNITED AUTO WORKERS, LEONARD WOODCOCK, SAID PRESIDENT NIXON'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM REFLECTS "A PERVERSE SENSE OF NATIONAL PRIORITIES" THAT WILL MAKE THE RICH RICHER AT THE EXPENSE OF THE POOR.

WOODCOCK, TESTIFYING BEFORE PROXMIRE'S COMMITTEE, URGED CONGRESS T REJECT ALMOST ALL OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM AND TO ENACT INSTEAD LEGISLATION TO HOLD DOWN PRICES AND TO GIVE CONSUMERS A SHARE OF THE TAX-CUT "WINDFALL" THAT HE SAID THE PLAN PROPOSES FOR BUSINESS.

WOODCOCK SUPPORTED ONLY THREE OF THE FACTS OF NIXON'S PROGRAM: REPEAL OF THE "DISCRIMINATORY" 7 PER CENT AUTO EXCISE TAX, THE FLOATING OF THE DOLLAR IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE, AND THE TEMPORARY 10 PER CENT IMPORT SURCHARGE.

THE REST OF THE PROGRAM "IS A CONFESSION OF THE FAILURE" OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PREVIOUS EVONOMIC POLICIES AND IS "EQUALLY MISGUIDED," WOODCOCK SAID.

"IT WILL HAVE LITTLE, IF ANY EFFECT IN REDUCING THE PRESENT INTOLERABLE LEVEL OF UNEMPLOYMENT," HE SAID. "IT IS RIFE WITH INEQUITIES. AND IT REFLECTS A PERVERSE SENSE OF NATIONAL PRIORITIES...

"IN EFFECT, THE REVENUE REDUCTIONS AND SPENDING CUTS IN COMBINATION REPRESENT A TRANSFER FROM THE POOR TO THE RICH. IT IS THIS FACT THAT HAS GIVEN RISE TO THE PHRASE 'ROBIN HOOD IN RECERSE'."

WOODCOCK WAS PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF NIXON'S PROPOSAL TO INCREASE THE INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT FOR BUSINESS. HE PROPOSED INSTEAD THAT BUSINESS TAXES BE INCREASED AND THAT THE PUBLIC BE GIVEN A GREATER TAX BREAK.

9/20--GE1203P

rich get richer

(Continued from page 1)

tensify corporate competition with imports,

- Establishment of a voluntary and tripartite stabilization mechanism for Phase II, and
- Formation of a Price-Wage Review Board as an ongoing mechanism to prevent inflation in the future.

Attacking the Nixon Administration's "tax giveaways" to corporations and the sharp inequities of the wage freeze, Woodcock charged that the President's "New Economic Policy" is misguided in most of its main features. It "will have little, if any, effect in reducing the present intolerable level of unemployment.

"It is rife with inequities. And it reflects a perverse sense of national priorities," he said.

Woodcock told Congress: "Clearly, ours is an economy that now needs the stimulus of sharp increases in demand—

- Increases in consumer spending by the tens of millions of families whose incomes are below the level determined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to be the minimum necessary for a 'modest but adequate' standard of living
- Increases in government spending to ease the financial plight of the cities,
- To cope with environmental pollution,
- To eliminate urban blight,
- To improve education,
- To bring adequate health care within the reach of all,
- To end poverty,
- To provide efficient and reliable mass transportation,
- To create a sound system of criminal justice and rehabilitation,
- To improve recreational facilities and
- To deal with all the other deficiencies in the public sector."

The UAW president challenged Nixon's proposals for a corporate investment tax credit, tax incentives for "research and development" and tax exemptions for profits of export sales subsidiaries, along with recently liberalized depreciation regulations.

These measures, he said, would lead to a tax revenue loss averaging an estimated $10 billion a year —"equal to 25 per cent of the profits taxes paid by corporations in 1968, the all-time record high year for corporate profits.

"To turn those revenues over to corporations in a slack economy is to drain them out of the stream of job-creating demand and to divert them into idle savings in corporate treasuries and the coffers of wealthy stockholding families," Woodcock asserted.

"To use them, instead, for public purposes or to improve the after-tax buying power of low-income families would be to generate high-velocity purchasing power, lifting the economy toward full employment, which is by far the best and most effective stimulus to increased investment and intensified training, financed entirely by business, of the so-called 'hard-core' unemployed."

Woodcock said that news media reports "on the predictions of Secretary of Commerce Stans with respect to Phase II (of the President's economic plan) sound an ominous warning that the Administration may be bent on imposing grave inequities upon America's workers—to make them and them alone bear the sacrifices of combatting inflation.

Only Congress can stand in the way and see to it that equity is done."

Woodcock urged enactment of the bill sponsored by Rep. Henry Reuss, D-Wis., for a Price-Wage Review Board. He said this meas-

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued from page 2)

ure, HR 10592, would provide a "sound mechanism to deal with the immediate problem and one that would serve also as an on-going safeguard against future inflation."

Saying "I am realist enough, however, to know that a direct move from the freeze to the machinery and procedures of HR 10592 is not going to occur," Woodcock strongly emphasized that the only alternative acceptable to organized labor would be a "voluntary and tripartite mechanism" such as the stabilization boards established in the Korean War and World War II.

He added: " 'Voluntary' means that the government keeps hands off, stays out and leaves all decisions, including those pertaining to standards, rules, regulations and procedures, to the sense of public responsibility of the labor and management parties directly concerned.

"It means also that those parties select their own representatives to develop and implement the program. 'Tripartite' means that labor has an equal voice with management in all decisions, with deadlocks between them broken by public members who are independent of any form of government control and whose impartiality and integrity is beyond question."

Woodcock proposed an innovative Income Equalization Tax if Phase II of the wage freeze "provides for any form of restraint of wages to which non-wage incomes are not subjected."

This new tax would be designed to make the average rate of increase in unearned incomes equal to the average rate of increases in wages. It would be based on the principle that increases from non-wage income should not outstrip wage increases while the latter are under restraint.

The novel tax would be applied to profits, dividends, capital gains and other kinds of non-wage income. Woodcock said that study of such a tax as applied to profits indicate it "would have the effects of increasing output, sharply reducing unemployment and markedly retarding the rate of price increase."

The UAW president also proposed a new and special tax designed expressly to promote competition with imports—"a form of tax that would give the auto industry, and other industries similarly guilty of refusal to compete with imports, a powerful incentive to change their ways."

The "Competition Promotion Tax" would apply only to corporations in industries where average rates of profits on net worth for the industry had persistently and significantly exceeded the average rate for all manufacturing corporations and where imports of the general kind made by the industry exceeded a specified percentage; for example, 10 per cent of total domestic production during the tax year. Woodcock suggested that a "significantly" higher profit might be 15 per cent above the average, and that a "persistently" excessive profit might be over a period of the preceding five years.

The tax, itself, would be applied through a detailed formula under which the firms could increase their after-tax profits only by reducing gross profits through cutting prices, by reducing the flow of competitive imports or by a combination of both.

Woodcock urged the Joint Economic Committee "to look into the possibility of this type of tax as one means to correct the balance-of-payments deficit, to create additional employment in domestic industry and to regain the former share of the United States in the world market for automobiles and for other products as well."

He pointed out that in the U.S. auto industry, whose profits persistently exceed the average for all manufacturing corporations while, simultaneously, 16 per cent of the domestic market is served by imports, "the conclusion is inescapable that the industry is refusing to engage in price competition with imports."

Woodcock supported elimination of the federal excise tax on cars, providing the full amount is passed on to consumers, the suspension of convertibility of dollars into gold and the temporary 10 per cent import surcharge. He proposed a means of assuring consumers that they continue to get the benefit of excise tax elimination year after year.

He called, however, for action to increase the personal income tax exemption to $750 and the standard deduction to 15 per cent retroactively to last Jan. 1, a year earlier than the Administration's proposal. He also urged a substantial increase in the low income-tax allowance.

"Tell you what I'm gonna do . . . ."

WEEKEND WRAPUP

(Continued from page 1)

was up during the years 1960 to 1965—then we had two mini-recessions, and productivity dropped. Why? White collar workers are the last to be laid off, they are overhead, they don't produce anything that goes into the gross national product, so productivity drops under those circumstances.

HOW ABOUT WORKER SAFETY as a productivity factor? If the Nixon Administration wants to get America moving again, why not make working conditions safer and healthier? Why not enforce the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970? Why not hire more safety inspectors to reduce the noise and ventilate the plants? The National Safety Council estimates we lose $20 billion from unsafe and unhealthy workplace environments. A real measure would double that figure. And if working conditions were better, the productivity would soar. Yet the nation's smarty pants are going to rev up the U. S. economy by giving more to the people that already have too much. Meanwhile, millions upon millions of American workers will have their paychecks frozen and nothing will be done to police the working conditions where noise, chemicals, and dust shorten their lives and impair their health contrary to the law of the land. It's the biggest law and order issue waiting for politicians to pick up. The only person in public life who faintly understands this is Adam Walinsky, who ran for New York Attorney-General and was formerly a speechwriter for the late Sen. Robert Kennedy. Walinsky built his whole campaign around occupational safety and health. He has the state labor inspectors so nervous today they jump when a union man sounds the alarm. A state inspector roared into the front gate of the GM Rochester Products plant to respond to a worker's complaint, flashed his badge and when he got within 20 feet of a machine belching dangerous levels of a certain chemical, he shut down the machine—or red-tagged it.

THE PRESS AND NADER—There is no better copy in town than Ralph Nader, whose exposes do legwork for many a reporter in Washington. So it was only returning a favor for Mr. Nader when the White House press corps peppered Nixon's press secretary with questions loaded with heavy sarcasm over the question of Mr. Nader's non-invitation to the consumer briefing on Phase 2. "Ron, does the White House know of any other group which has been as effective as Mr. Nader's?" is how the questioning went. "Yes," came the reply. "What groups are they?" the reporter persisted. "I won't go through the list. It is posted," the grim-faced Ron Ziegler stumbled on. It was a devastating exchange, and, of course, only raised Mr. Nader's credibility as a consumer spokeman to an alltime high. Meanwhile the real battle in Washington revolved around a pitched battle for a consumer protection agency that had real teeth, in which Mr. Nader was leading the legislative charge. Washington has a multiplicity of laws which get passed and then become empty shells They have been called no-law laws. They have fancy titles. But no money and no guts. Another consumer law which has no power to dig in and get the facts would be an incredible farce.

FAT IN HAMBURGER—One way the get-rich-fast bunch intends to bypass the price freeze is to slowly lower quality in the goods you pay for. Next time you're in the supermarket take a good look at the hamburger. See if there isn't more fat in it, even though the price-tag may be the same.

CHINA CONUNDRUM—The Nixon trip to China is something the American people, in fact the whole world, welcomes. But there are some lingering doubts about its purpose. "The suspicion that he is going to China just for the ride is growing," says Mary McGrory. "Nothing could be nicer than to be in Peking while his enemies are trudging through the early primaries. It is better to be lectured about imperialism in Chinese than to hear the diatribes of his rivals in English." We hope that Mr. Nixon, the past master of communist-baiting, accomplishes something for world peace. Opening the door to China is a vital step, made urgent by the total disintegration of monolithic communism. But the American people, who dream as much for lasting peace as any, will lapse into despondency if it's only a show and nothing else.

ATTICA AGAIN—We are all searching our souls these days as we examine what little facts we can grasp about the Attica prison revolt. A new breed of black militant is behind bars in many states. They are often the victims of poverty and slums, and while their crimes are brutal their heritage is brutal, too. The little money this country spends on crime prevention and basic research into the cause of crime is paltry. Too much goes for bigger sirens and red lights for prowl cars, and not enough for halfway houses and better prison conditions.

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT
printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department
Leonard Woodcock, *Chairman*
William H. Dodds, *Director*
Franklin Wallick, *Managing Editor*
United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW
UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

Nixon's perverse sense of priorities

NEWSPAPER

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE
PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

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ATLANTA GA 30303

378-0791

Becky Becker

Called

Wanted address

of Solidarity

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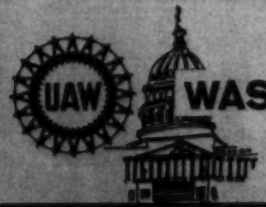

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

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LABOR PROGRAM WR
SOTHN REG COUNCIL ##
5 FORSYTH ST N W
ATLANTA GA 30303

Some Suggestions on How to Proceed

First read the leaflet "Some Simple Facts about the Fair Labor Standards Act," which explains the background of the Act; the minimum wage regulations in general; and the way to report possible violations. This leaflet is written for laymen, not lawyers or economists, and can easily be understood by everyone in your chapter.

Then go through the rest of the material in the kit, using the table of contents as a guide. Some of the material offers further explanations and information for you, some can be used in your campaign.

Then at a meeting of your chapter have two or three people who have studied the kit explain the law and a possible campaign to the entire membership.

Here are some things individual chapter members can do to help publicize the law.

Be certain that everybody in your family or among your friends who is an employer understands how the law affects him. Look in the list of publications and send for leaflets explaining the law in relations to specific industries.

Look for the red-and-white poster, of which there is a sample in this kit, in all places of employment that you enter as a customer. Covered establishments are supposed to display it. If it is not displayed and you think it ought to be, speak to the employer.

Carry copies of the poster to your church, club, fraternal organization to publicize the law. Additional copies are available from your nearest office of the Wages and Hours Division.

Ask individual wage earners that you know about wages and hours in their places of employment, and tell them about the law's new regulations.

File — ~~URWA~~ United Rubber Walter

URW

GEORGE BURDON, President

PETER BOMMARITO, Vice President

I. GOLD, Secretary-Treasurer

UNITED RUBBER, CORK, LINOLEUM AND PLASTIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFL-CIO, CLC 87 SOUTH HIGH STREET AKRON, OHIO 44308

FR 6-6181
6-6182
6-6183
6-6184

April 18, 1966

Mr. Emory Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

This letter is to confirm the conversation we had in Detroit about you coming to Black Mountain, North Carolina, to help us out by teaching the Problems of the South.

Although we cannot pay your transportation, we can pay for the room and board of yourself and your family.

We can use you either for the entire week in our class on issues or for several days depending on your schedule.

The official title of our school is URW District 8 Summer School, Blue Ridge Assembly, Black Mountain, North Carolina, June 26 through July 1, 1966.

With hopes that you will be able to make it.

Fraternally,

Bill

William L. Abbott
Education Director

WLA:jjb
opeiu 339

File

PROGRAM

URW DISTRICT 8 SUMMER SCHOOL
BLUE RIDGE ASSEMBLY
BLACK MOUNTAIN, N. C.
JUNE 26 - JULY 1, 1966

8:00 a.m.	Breakfast.
9:00 - 10:~~30~~ 15 a.m.	Southern and National Issues - Emory Via, William Abbott.
10:~~30~~ 15 - 10:~~45~~ 50 a.m.	Coffee break.
10:45 - 12:~~15~~ 00 p.m.	Labor and Collective Bargaining - Keith Prouty.
12:~~30~~ 15 p.m.	Lunch.
1:~~30~~ 15 - 3:~~30~~ 15 p.m.	Local Union Problems - John House, William Abbott.
6:00 p.m.	Dinner.

SPECIAL EVENTS

Sunday - 7:00 p.m. - Orientation and Social.

Monday - 7:00 p.m. - The War on Poverty, Muriel Prouty.

Tuesday - Ball Game and Picnic.

Wednesday - Trip to Cherokee.

Thursday - 7:00 p.m. - Bull Session, Asheville Hall.

opeiu 339

URW

GEORGE BURDON, President

PETER BOMMARITO, Vice President

I. GOLD, Secretary-Treasurer

UNITED RUBBER, CORK, LINOLEUM AND PLASTIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFL-CIO, CLC 87 SOUTH HIGH STREET AKRON, OHIO 44308

FR 6-6181
6-6182
6-6183
6-6184

July 26, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Brother Via:

The enclosed check is to reimburse you for expenses ~~incurred in connection~~ with our summer school at Black Mountain, North Carolina. I hope the delay in getting it to you has not inconvenienced you.

Thank you again for your very great contribution to the success of the school. I heard nothing but high praise for both the content and the presentation of your portion of the program from other members of the staff and from participants in your workshop.

We are looking forward with high hopes of having you again next year.

With kind personal regards and best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

John

John D. House
Assistant Education Director

URW conference

JDH:jjb
opeiu 339
Enclosure

50.00 ck
7-29-66 rh

URWA

June 20, 1967

Mr. John House
Acting Education Director
United Rubber Workers of America
87 South High Street
Akron, Ohio 44308

Dear John:

Since I have not heard from you further, I am assuming that the institute in North Carolina has been canceled as you indicated in our phone conversation when you were in Monterey.

I have begun to make my plans accordingly. Sorry that I will not be seeing you and the group this time around. Trust the rest of your summer program goes well.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/csb

July 22, 1969

Mr. John House
Education Director
United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and
Plastic Workers of America
AFL-CIO
87 South High Street
Akron, Ohio 44308

Dear John:

Just a note to give you my expenses incurred because of my participation in the recent URWA, District 8, Summer School at the Blue Ride Assembly.

Briefly, the expenses are:

Transportation, 480 miles by auto @ .10¢ per mile	$ 48.00
Meals	11.50
Phone, gratuities, fees, etc.	9.25
Total	$ 68.75

I believe we earlier agreed on a $100 honorarium. Both the expenses and the honorarium may be made payable to the Southern Regional Council.

I greatly enjoyed the opportunity to work with one of your summer schools again. I felt that it

went quite well. I will very muchmiss these occasions for working with you after your retirment, but I would add my own appreciation to those of the summer school students and faculty for your dedication and staadfastness in serving the union and especially in recent years for tending its educational functions.

I trust that you know that if you are ever in the Atlanta area we would greatly welcome seeing you and we would like to be of service if you have any needs we can fill. Similarty I hope that the union will continue to feel free to call upon both the Southern Regional Council and myself for any assistance we can offer.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

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8-18-69
KM

URW

PETER BOMMARITO, President

KENNETH OLDHAM, Vice President

I. GOLD, Secretary-Treasurer

UNITED RUBBER, CORK, LINOLEUM AND PLASTIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFL-CIO,CLC 87 SOUTH HIGH STREET AKRON, OHIO 44308

Area Code 216
376-6181
376-6182
376-6183
376-6184

August 11, 1969

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Mere words are inadequate to express our sincere thanks and appreciation for the excellent job you did for us as instructor at our District 8 Summer School or the pleasure all of us derived from our association with you and your lovely wife and fine son.

I also appreciate deeply the kind words contained in your recent letter. I shall always treasure the memories of the various occasions when I have been privileged to be associated with you.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes for your continued good health and happiness, I am

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

John D. House

John D. House
Education Director

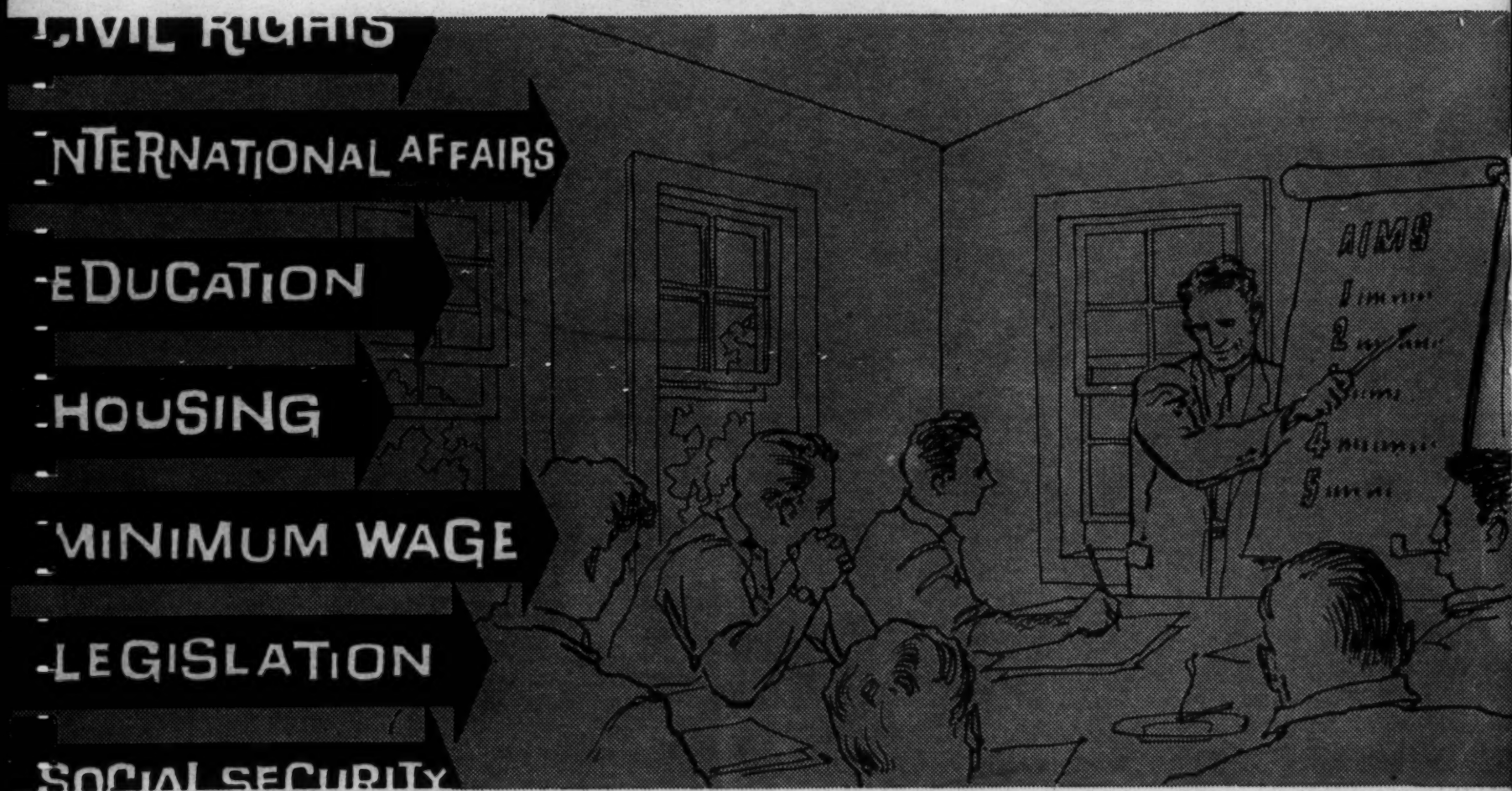
JDH:jjb
opeiu 339
Enclosure
cc: Int'l. Executive Officers

V/A

URW LEADERSHIP TRAINING INSTITUTE

Sponsored by

UNITED RUBBER, CORK, LINOLEUM AND PLASTIC WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO



DISTRICT 5—MAY 31-JUNE 3, 1966
EL ENCANTO HOTEL, Santa Barbara, California

DISTRICT 4—JUNE 12-17, 1966
JFK CENTER, Ottawa, Illinois

DISTRICT 8—JUNE 26-JULY 1, 1966
BLUE RIDGE ASSEMBLY, Black Mountain, North Carolina

DISTRICT 1—JULY 17-22, 1966
BOWLING GREEN STATE UNIVERSITY, Bowling Green, Ohio

DISTRICT 2—AUGUST 3-7, 1966
UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND, Kingston, Rhode Island

DISTRICT 7—AUGUST 8-12, 1966
UNITY HOUSE, Pennsylvania

Manual prepared by

AFL-CIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

815 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations
704 South Sixth Street, Champaign, Illinois

October 1959

You may be interested in this experiment in "liberal education" which Bernie Karsh and Joe Gusfield developed for "4th year" Steelworkers this past summer. The program seemed to go well.

We had about twelve students per week for each of two weeks. The local union officers and committeemen spent all of their class time dealing with the subject matter in the notebook--they took no other daytime courses or workshops. Thus, they spent a total of about thirty hours during the week on this material. Morning sessions were spent discussing the documents in the notebook while afternoons were given over to discussion of the content and implications of Huxley's BRAVE NEW WORLD.

The "discussion questions," some of which were prepared in advance of the program and others of which were raised during the sessions, were not included in the notebook provided the students. They are included here, however, to give you some idea of how we sought to relate the reading materials to the theme of the program--"Freedom and Authority in Modern Society."

Not all of the documents provided in the notebook were discussed. We deliberately included more materials than we expected to use in order to provide some flexibility. For example, documents 1 and 2 (Session 3) were discussed much more fully than documents 1, 2, and 3, Session 4. Document 4 (Lewis and the UMWA) was discussed for approximately four hours over two days.

Needless to say, it was not the intention of the program or the instructors to solve problems but rather to provoke discussion of serious issues. Not all of the students in the class were able to assimilate the reading materials and the ideas which they suggested. But it appeared that those who had difficulty reading, particularly Huxley's book, found sufficient stimulation in the class sessions to participate in the discussions of the ideas which the readings suggested. A few of the students were clearly bothered by the questioning of many accepted values.

We do not consider either the materials selected or the discussion questions as "fixed" and therefore ready to be put to work by other instructors or with other groups. Indeed, we will continue to experiment with the materials, their order of presentation and the questions for discussion.

One last point. These materials are <u>not</u> for publication. <u>No</u> copyright clearances have been obtained for <u>any</u> of the "documents."

Phillips L. Garman
Coordinator of Extension

LABOR SUMMER SCHOOL

1959

CHAMPAIGN - URBANA, ILLINOIS

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

DIVISION OF UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

Steelworkers Summer School
University of Illinois
July 19-24, 1959

4th Year

Time	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
7:45		Breakfast -- Illini Union Cafeteria -- Basement				
8:30-10:00		Freedom and Authority -- Bernie Karsh & Joe Gusfield -- Room 217				
--		Coffee Break --				
10:20-12:00		The Individual and Society -- Bernie Karsh and Joe Gusfield -- Room 217				
12:00		Lunch -- Illini	Union Cafeteria -- Basement			Banquet -- Room 314
1:00		Group Photo Altgeld Hall				
1:15		Study Period -- The Brave New World	Room 217			
3:00	Registration	Recreation -- Huff Gym -- Gene Doroschuk (across from Residence Halls)				
6:00		Dinner -- Illini Union Cafeteria		-- Basement		
7:00	Orientation Illini Union Faculty Lounge	Who's a Union Man?--Archie Green Faculty Lounge	Legislative Education--Hoffmann & Alesia Faculty Lounge	Labor in World Affairs--Meyer Bernstein Faculty Lounge	Retirement Planning--Walter Franke Faculty Lounge	

Foreword

This is the 13th Annual Steelworkers Summer School at the University of Illinois, sponsored by your international union and Districts 31, 32, and 34. It is made up of specific programs of courses for first, second, third, and fourth year students in the mornings.

The first year program deals with The Steelworker--His Union and His Job; second year, The Steelworker--His Community and His Job; third year, The Challenge of Leadership, with emphasis on Principles and Techniques of Communications; and the fourth year, an experiment in Liberal Education with emphasis on Freedom and Authority and The Individual and Society.

In the afternoons you will choose from five workshops and stick to one for the week. For locals sending more than one member, it is desirable to split up for these sessions in order to enlarge your group's participation in the program.

This notebook has been prepared for assistance to you now and later. In the front are a map of the campus and information on meetings, housing, meals, and recreation.

While you're here, stop in at the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations. It is on the second floor at 704 South Sixth Street, just south of Green Street one block west of the Union Building, No. 69 on your map. We will be glad to show you around the offices, including the Institute library, where you can look at our collection of labor papers, steward's handbooks, books on labor-management relations, and other material. Ask for our List of Publications so you can choose several of our booklets to take home with you.

WELCOME TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS. We hope that your stay here will be educational and enjoyable.

Learning and Labor

The Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations was established at the University of Illinois in 1946 to "inquire faithfully, honestly, and impartially into labor-management problems of all types, and secure the facts which will lay the foundation for future progress in the whole field of labor relations."

The Institute seeks to serve all people of the state by promoting general understanding of our social and economic problems, as well as by providing specific services to groups directly concerned with labor and industrial relations.

Implementing this aim, the Institute program includes advanced student training, research, extension and information services.

This Summer School is part of the extension program, which also includes classes, conferences, and other educational projects carried on all over the state during the year.

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FREEDOM AND AUTHORITY

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THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

Discussion Questions

Session 1

FREEDOM AND AUTHORITY IN MODERN SOCIETY

I. The Declaration of Independence: Document 1.

A. Background of this document.
B. What are "self-evident" truths? What is meant by "self-evident"?
C. Are all men created equal? Are they equally tall, equally fair, equally strong? In what ways do you think they are equal?
D. What are "unalienable rights"? Are there any limits, in practice, to your right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? Are these limits just? What about your right to work?
E. How do the writers of the Declaration justify the act of rebellion? Why do they feel it necessary to do so?
F. If government rests on the consent of the governed, why should you obey laws that you don't agree with (e.g., prohibition, income tax, gambling)?

II. Abraham Lincoln: Document 2.

A. What events was Lincoln referring to? Who is the sheep? Who is the wolf?
B. What is the wolf's argument? Was he right?
C. What is Lincoln's point about the word "liberty"? Can there be liberty without some authority?

III. General Discussion.

A. What things are you free to do? What things are you not free to do?
B. Abalone steak is a seafood found only on the Pacific Coast. Are you free to eat abalone steak?
C. Are you free to work anywhere you see fit? Anytime?
D. What limits should be maintained on freedom?

1. The "spite fence" case: Mr. "A" gets into a fight with his neighbor, "B". "A" decides to build a fence, three stories high, in such a fashion that it cuts off the sunlight to "B's" house. "A" built the fence on his own property which resulted in "B's" complaining. Should "A" have been permitted to build his "spite fence"? How free should people be to use their own property as they see fit?
2. Many people go to quack doctors and are harming themselves by so doing. Should they be free to do so or should quack medicine be prohibited? What about the use of marijuana, liquor, cigarettes or heroin? Should people be free to harm themselves?
3. The Mormons used to practice polygamy which they justified from the Bible. They were punished for this practice and it was prohibited. How do you feel about this?

E. Can you make a general statement about the extent and limits of freedom in modern society?
F. Why value freedom at all?

Discussion Questions

Session 2

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

I. Adam Smith: Document 1.

A. What does Smith think is the effect of an occupation on the ways in which people think? Do you agree--is there any connection between the occupation a man has and the way he thinks about things? How about people who work in factories--do you think their view of the world about them has any connection with the kind of work they do as compared, for example, with a doctor or lawyer or professor?

B. Smith thinks that laborers make poor soldiers. Why did he think so? What do people need to be good soldiers and how do you best prepare them?

(NOTE: This is part of general discussion of the costs of the division of labor. Smith here asserts that specialization is necessary if the economy is to progress. However, in this section, he examines the harmful effects of the division of labor, one of which is the mental effects.)

C. You must remember that the worker usually worked 12-14 hours a day, seven days a week, in Smith's time. We have much more leisure now. Even so, what do you think is the effect of factory work on what a man wants to do after work?

II. Adam Smith: Document 2.

A. Is Smith in agreement with the Declaration of Independence? Would Smith agree that all men are created equal? How can you reconcile this with his view that people in different occupations are very different in their taste and habits and desires?

B. How much can you account for differences between people by differences in their biological inheritance? Take the problem of polygamy we discussed yesterday. Why do you think some people practice it and other find it foolish, immoral, expensive or exhausting?

C. What is the difference between the "individual" and the "society"?

III. Park and Burgess: Document 3.

A. What do these authors mean by the word "human"? In what ways are men different from animals? In what ways are they the same? Do Park and Burgess think that the traits of human beings would develop in complete isolation from other persons? Suppose a child were raised without any human contact whatsoever. What characteristics do you think he would have?

B. What is self-consciousness? Why does it seem to be a human trait?

C. What do these authors mean by "convention"? What actions of yours are conventional? What are not (e.g., breathing vs. speech)?

D. Considering Brave New World, how do you explain the differences between the Newworlders' and our own customs, beliefs and morals?

1. The conditioning process--but aren't we also conditioned?

Discussion Questions

Session 3

THE ORGANIZATIONS--ITS ANATOMY AND EFFECTS

I. Michels, "The Iron Law of Oligarchy": Document 1.

A. What is Michels saying here? What point is he trying to make?

1. Any group that wants to get something done has to have some kind of organization.
2. The moment you have an organization, you have to have some kind or leadership--the organization can't be run by all the members.
3. When you have leaders, you also have rank and file members and this leads to differences between them. Leaders develop certain skills which members don't have and thereby accumulate certain powers.
4. Leaders get rights to do some things that others don't have. For example, the power to make appointments; the right to super-seniority.
5. Since many of the members are relatively apathetic in the first place, they let the leaders do the work and this increases the skills and power of the leaders which they want to hang onto.
6. The leaders then come to enjoy their position and to use their position in the organization to further their own personal aims--some of which are not necessarily the organization's.
7. All of this is unavoidable in a democratic organization, and yet represents the most serious threat with which democracy is faced.

B. What do you think of this analysis? Is there anything in the experience you've had either as a union member or member of some other organization that leads you to agree? To disagree?

C. Almost all union leaders complain that nobody comes to meetings and that very few want to be active. What do you think is the cause of this?

D. Some of you were members of the union before the 1940's. Were things in your union different than they are now? In what way? How do you explain the changes?

E. Is it possible to maintain your freedom and still be part of a large, powerful organization? Does the fact of your membership in your union put any limits on your freedom as a worker or employee?

F. Can you imagine a union functioning without officers? If some people have more authority to decide questions affecting the lives of others, doesn't this limit the freedom of the others?

G. How can an organization be representative and still be large and powerful? What does Michels say about this?

H. Suppose that by some miracle, everybody in the union was just as active as everybody else. Do you think this would make your union stronger? Weaker?

I. What gives the Steelworkers' Union the strength it has in the current strike?

II. Whyte, "The Organization Man": Document 2.

A. What is Whyte's basic point here?
B. What does Whyte mean when he says that to deny that there is a conflict between the individual and the society is to be "soft-minded"?
C. Do you agree with Whyte's basic point that organization itself is not to blame but that the trouble is that we have come to admire it too much?
D. How does Whyte's position on this question of organization compare with Michels'? What position do you take?
E. What ways can you think of to have both a strong organization and effective participation?

Discussion Questions

Session 4

DEMOCRACY AND EFFICIENCY

I. The case of the coal miners: Document 4.

A. What is the issue here as Lewis poses it?
B. Would you pose the issue the same way?
C. Are elected officers necessarily better than appointed ones? Have you ever seen good men not elected and bad ones elected?
D. Is there necessarily a conflict between trying to maximize democracy in an organization and trying to get things done in the most efficient manner?
E. How do you think the coal miners themselves react to Lewis' argument?
F. If you had the choice between building the most democratic union possible and the most efficient union which gets the most for its members, which would you take?

II. John S. Mill: Document 1.

A. What is Mill's argument here? Would he agree with Lewis?
B. Do you think that factions make members more interested in the union?

(NOTE: Discuss other selections under this heading as time permits.)

Discussion Questions

Session 5

FREEDOM AND AUTHORITY AGAIN

I. George Baer: Document 1.

A. Have you ever run into this point of view?
B. What do you think of it?

C. Why do you think the rights of the working man won't be protected by the "boss"?
D. What about the argument that is made nowadays in some places that the rights of the working man (union member) aren't protected by the "Union bosses" either?

II. Mr. Dooley: Document 2.

A. What's funny about this?
B. Is the worker free to quit if he doesn't like his job?
C. Wouldn't a union and union members be entirely free without strikes, rules, contracts, scales, by-laws, etc.?

III. Brave New World.

A. Suppose an angel visited earth and offered us the use of a powerful new invention which would bring great pleasure, enable us to move from place to place in one-tenth the present time, and with much less expenditure of energy, that would create hundreds of thousands of new jobs and even some new industries, but that in return we would have to kill or main about 5,000 people a year to get the use of the invention. Should we do it? (the automobile)

IV. The Problem Again.

Without society and organization, the attainment of our desires and goals would be difficult, if not impossible. With organization, individual freedom is curtailed. How can these be reconciled?

Instructor's discussion outline
for use of Aldous Huxley's

BRAVE NEW WORLD

A. The Brave New World (An imagined world of stability and material comforts.):

1. Order and authority have replaced liberty.
2. Comfort has replaced challenge.

B. A social satire:

1. A "take-off" on modern society.
2. An exaggeration as a device to make us consider the impact of our own present way of doing things and to make us consider one man's idea of where we are going.

C. Huxley - some background on the man.

D. Structure of the novel:

1. Description of the society.
2. The "disaffected" persons: Bernard Marx and Helmholtz Watson.
3. The trip to New Mexico:
   Lenina - an example of the pneumatic bliss of the Brave New World
   Linda - "mother"
   John Savage - the representative of the "old" world
4. The conflict between the New World (Lenina, Mustapha Mond) and the old world (John Savage).

E. Questions for discussion:

1. How possible is this world?
2. Would you like to live in it?
3. What do you like about it? What don't you like about it?
4. Are the people happy? Is this an argument for it?
5. What is the argument between Mustapha Mond and John Savage? Who is right?
6. What do you see in modern America which suggests some kind of Brave New World?

(NOTE: You can omit the following parts of the book (paperback edition) if you are pressed for enough reading time:

pp. 38-42; 63-71; 82-102; 116-119; 120-125; 164-177.

Instructor's discussion questions
Based on Brave New World,

Chapters 1-3

A. Would you like to live in B.N.W.? Why? Why not?

B. What seems startling about it? What seems most different from our world?

1. Technology? - artificial reproduction; thought conditioning; "feelies"; soma tablets.
2. Values? - class differences; lack of family; of religion; promiscuity; free use of drugs.

C. How are the technological devices used? For what purposes are they used?

1. The motto of the opening paragraph - "Community, Identity, Stability."
   Community - everyone belongs to everyone else.
   Identity - the reproductive processes produce similar people.
   Stability - a very elementary class consciousness; no class conflict.

D. Why do the Newworlders object to the following:

1. Family life? (because emotions are disturbing?)
2. Freedom from use of drugs? (because people would stay unhappy if they couldn't use drugs and in the BNW nobody is unhappy?)
3. Chastity or fidelity? (because our system of courtship and marriage and our ideas about sex and love promote jealousy?)

E. In Lenina Crowne and Bernard Marx we are introduced to two characters. What ideas do you think they represent? What models or symbols of BNW life do they represent?

1. Lenina - the adjusted girl (and Henry Foster - the adjusted man).
2. Marx - the unadjusted: he likes to be alone; he doesn't like to play "obstacle golf," for example.

F. Can you imagine any fights about anything in B.N.W.? Or any frustrations by anybody about anything? Isn't it a perfect society? If not, what's missing?

G. The conditioning process:

1. Related behavior to the social needs of the society; e.g., consumption of transportation and hatred of flowers.
2. People like to do what they "have to do."
3. People are biologically fitted to their jobs; e.g., embryos destined to be steelworkers are conditioned to love heat from their beginnings in a test tube.

H. Is this such an impossible world? Are we moving toward it? What does Huxley seem to think? (Example: why does Huxley keep referring to Our Ford? To A.F. 632? Why is Ford the God of B.N.W.?)

NOTE: This last question is a good point to begin the discussion of satire and the method to be used in reading the book.

Instructor's discussion questions
Based on Brave New World,

Chapters 4-10

A. Are the Newworlders free? Free from pain, frustration, etc., but are they really free? (Refer to discussion between Marx and Lenina, Chapter 6.)

B. Why is Bernard Marx seen as so strange? What is his "crime"?

C. What is strange about Linda? About John Savage? What do they do for the plot that Huxley is developing? Why have them in the story?

D. What problem appears to have developed by now?
Lenina and Bernard
John Savage

E. Bernard Marx and Helmholtz Watson: the crime of being unorthodox.

1. Why does unorthodoxy threaten stability?
2. Do you know any eccentric people? What should be done with them?

F. Conditioning: what is it in the B.N.W.?

1. Is the B.N.W. type of conditioning really so far-fetched?
2. What kinds of "conditioning" are we exposed to in modern U.S.?

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Session 1

FREEDOM AND AUTHORITY IN MODERN SOCIETY

Document 1.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Document 2.

Abraham Lincoln (1864):

"The world has never had a good definition of the word 'liberty,' and the American people just now are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word, we do not all mean the same thing. With some, the word 'liberty' may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labor; while with others, the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name,--liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names,--liberty and tyranny.

"The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly, the wolf and the sheep are not agreed upon the definition of the word 'liberty'; and precisely the same difference prevails today, among us human creatures, even in the North, and all professing to love liberty. Hence we behold the process by

which thousands are daily passing from under the yoke of bondage hailed by some as the advance of liberty and bewailed by others as the destruction of all liberty."--From an address at a Fair in Baltimore, April 18, 1864. Printed in Hastings and Thompson, Selections from the Works of Abraham Lincoln, pp. 209-10.

Session 2

THE INDIVIDUAL IN MODERN SOCIETY

Document 1.

Adam Smith:

"In the progress of the division of labor, the employment of the far greater part of those who live by labor, that is, of the great body of the people, comes to be confined to a few very simple operations, frequently to one or two. But the understandings of the greater part of men are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments. The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations, of which the effects too are, perhaps, always the same, or very nearly the same, has no occasion to exert his understanding, or to exercise his invention in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loses, therefore, the habit of such exertion, and generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his mind renders him, not only incapable of relishing or bearing a part in any rational conversation, but of conceiving any generous, noble, or tender sentiment, and consequently of forming any just judgment concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life. Of the great and extensive interests of his country he is altogether incapable of judging; and unless very particular pains have been taken to render him otherwise, he is equally incapable of defending his country in war. The uniformity of his stationary life naturally corrupts the courage of his mind, and makes him regard with abhorence the irregular, uncertain, and adventurous life of a soldier. It corrupts even the activity of his body, and renders him incapable of exerting his strength with vigor and perseverance, in any other employment than that to which he has been bred. His dexterity at his own particular trade seems, in this manner, to be acquired at the expence of his intellectual, social, and martial virtues. But in every improved and civilized society this is the state into which the laboring poor, that is the great body of the people, must necessarily fall, unless government takes some pains to prevent it."--Wealth of Nations, Book V, chap. i, sec. 3, art. 2d.

Document 2.

"The difference of natural talents in different men is, in reality, much less than we are aware of; and the very different genius which appears to distinguish men of different professions, when grown to maturity, is not upon many occasions so much the cause as the effect of the division of labour. The difference between the most dissimilar characters, between a philosopher and a common porter, for example, seems to arise not so much from nature as from habit, custom and education. When they came into the world, and for the first six or eight years of their existence, they were perhaps very much alike, and neither their parents nor playfellows could perceive any remarkable

difference. About that age, or soon after, they came to be employed in different occupations. This difference of talents comes then to be taken notice of, and widens by degrees, till at last the vanity of the philosopher is willing to acknowledge scarce any resemblance. But without the disposition to truck, barter and exchange, every man must have procured to himself every necessary and conveniency of life which he wanted. All must have had the same duties to perform, and the same work to do, and there could have been no such difference of employment as could alone give occasion to any great difference of talent. . . . As it is the power of exchanging that gives occasion to the division of labour, so the extent of this division must always be limited by the extent of that power, or, in other words, by the extent of the market. . . . There are some sorts of industry, even of the lowest kind, which can be carried on nowhere but in a great town."--Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, pp. 28-29.

Document 3.

"Man is not born human. It is only slowly and laboriously, in fruitful contact, co-operation, and conflict with his fellows, that he attains the distinctive qualities of human nature."--R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, p. 79.

"One thing which seems to distinguish man from the brute is self-consciousness. . . . Human beings, so far as we have yet been able to learn, are the only creatures who habitually pass judgment upon their own actions, or who think of them as right or wrong. . . . There is, in all distinctively human activities, a conventional, one might almost say a contractual, element which is absent in action of other animals."--R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, pp. 190-91.

Session 3

THE ORGANIZATIONS -- ITS ANATOMY AND EFFECTS

Document 1.

THE "IRON LAW" OF OLIGARCHY

A summary and interpretation of Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy by Robert Michels (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949). First published in English in 1915. Quoted material used by permission of The Free Press.

"Who says organization says oligarchy." With these words the German political sociologist, Robert Michels (1876-1936), summed up his famous "iron law of oligarchy." Although his "law" is stated in unqualified form, Michels' analysis showed not that organization alone leads to oligarchy (the control by a few), but rather that certain kinds of organization have that tendency, and then only when certain additional processes are at work. The study was based mainly on the history of socialist and trade-union organizations in Europe before the first World War.

His influential book attempts to trace a connection between the basic necessities of organization and the evolution of self-perpetuating oligarchies. Following Michels' argument, we shall first consider the general need for organization and then the special circumstances that make for the drift to oligarchy.

The Need for Organization

1. Democratic action, like any action that strives for definite ends, requires organization. In any group, especially in one where disciplined action is required, there is a division of labor. This simple, fairly obvious statement is the starting point of the argument.

2. Organized, concerted action requires the delegation of special tasks, responsibilities, and powers to a few leaders. This is a special phase of the division of labor. No organization of any size or duration can exist without leaders. Someone has to organize meetings or determine the consensus of opinion, represent the group and its decisions to other organizations or the public, and make the countless small and large decisions that are necessary to carry out its aims.

The degree of organization and the importance of leadership vary with the size of the group, the permanence of its aims, and the complexity of the organization. In a small undifferentiated group leadership may be but weakly developed; leaders arise spontaneously and serve temporarily, unofficially, and without many rewards. The leaders remain members of the group, sharing its interests and influenced by the same social conditions as the members. Since the group is small, all or most members may participate in decisions and actions. The delegated authority is limited and temporary and may be exercised by any member.

The mere fact of organization, that is, the division of labor generally and delegation of tasks and powers to leaders, is not in itself undemocratic. The conditions that give rise to oligarchy have not yet been stated. Michels develops his thesis in the additional processes that can be expected once this division of labor has been established.

Conditions Making for Oligarchy

1. The delegation of tasks and powers to leaders results in a concentration of skills and informal prerogatives in their hands. Not all members can perform the tasks of leadership in complex organizations. The jobs become specialized and require experience, knowledge, and individual aptitude.

a. Administrative skills are required to keep the organization functioning and to get things done. Relations with the outside world, such as diplomacy, collective bargaining, or public relations, require technical skills that the leaders alone possess. Their skills set them apart from the rank and file, and social differentiation begins. This specialization makes the members dependent on the leaders in office, because they are the ones who can keep things going and get things done that further the aims of the group. The dependence of the rank and file --a central theme in Michels' work--makes the leaders indispensable and hence gives them increased power.

b. Leadership carries prerogatives. When he chooses the organization's staff, the leader can select men whose first loyalty is to him. Thus personal machines are built. Leaders also control the channels of information within an organization, and their control gives them special access to and influence over the opinions of the members. These prerogatives and similar opportunities that characterize the social position of leadership tend to make leaders independent of the rank and file, and the power inherent in the concentration of skills is consolidated.

2. The position of leaders is strengthened by the members' political indifference and by their sense of obligation to those who guide them and do the main work. The ordinary member does not have the inclination or time to participate in the demanding, complex tasks of an organization, and he is glad to have the work done by someone else. Moreover, he recognizes his own incompetence compared with the skills of his leaders. The rank and file then submit willingly rather than reluctantly to the widening power of the officials.

3. The concentration of skills and prerogatives in the leaders' hands and the willing submission of the rank and file create opportunities for the self-perpetuation of the leaders. It is not surprising that they take advantage of this and try to stay in office. Michels holds that leaders try to keep their power because it is inherent in human nature to seek power and retain it. "The desire to dominate, for good or for evil, is universal." (Michels, p. 206) This is a dubious and unnecessary assumption, and perhaps Michels' weakest point.

He gives other more acceptable reasons for the self-perpetuation of leaders. Certainly leaders have a desire for personal security, and the prerogatives of leadership give them a social status distinct from the ordinary members. They wish to retain their status and prerogatives, including the accustomed way of living and type of employment. The union official resists returning to the shop. Leaders may also believe sincerely that they are serving the best interests of the organization and that a threat to them is a threat to the group as a whole.

4. Self-perpetuation of leaders tends toward subversion of the aims of the organization. If leaders are independent of rank and file control, there is a temptation to use the organizational machinery and power to further personal aims, a condition which results from the absence of effective democratic control. There is a divergence of interest between the leaders and the led, and leaders follow policies that may not serve the aims for which the group was organized.

Because he was studying social reform movements, Michels was especially interested in the subversion that comes from the conservatism of oligarchic leadership; the objective of stability and security for the organization (and for the leaders) is put above all other action aims. Action is slow and cautious, risks are minimized, powerful enemies are placated, and aims are modified to assure stability. There was a strong tendency among the trade-unions of Europe to move from revolutionary to more conservative aims once they had achieved extensive membership, financial security, and discipline. Organization was necessary for the achievement of the original goals, and it introduced new interests that modified group aims.

5. Oligarchy is inherent in democracy and cannot be eliminated. Michels holds that the social differentiation between leaders and led is universal. This does not mean that tyranny abounds everywhere but that there is a predisposition to oligarchy which requires definite social checks. "Nothing but a serene and frank examination of the oligarchical dangers of democracy will enable us to minimize these dangers, even though they can never be entirely avoided." (Michels, p. 408)

To minimize the dangers, it is necessary to capitalize on a counter-tendency of democracy to stimulate and strengthen the individual's aptitude for criticism and control. "This predisposition towards free inquiry, in which we cannot fail to recognize one of the most precious factors of civilization, will gradually increase in proportion as the economic status of the masses undergoes improvement and becomes more stable, and in proportion as they are admitted more effectively to the advantages of civilization. A wider education involves an increasing capacity for exercising control. Can we not observe every day that among the well-to-do the authority of the leaders over the led, extensive though it be, is never so unrestricted as in the case of the leaders of the poor?...It is, consequently, the great task of social education to raise the intellectual level of the masses, so that they may be enabled, within the limits of what is possible, to counteract the oligarchical tendencies of the working-class movement." (Michels, pp. 406 f.)

Document 2.

The fault is not in organization, in short; it is in our worship of it. It is in our vain quest for a utopian equilibrium, which would be horrible if it ever did come to pass; it is in the soft-minded denial that there is a conflict between the individual and society. There must always be, and it is the price of being an individual that he must face these conflicts. He cannot evade them, and in seeking an ethic that offers a spurious peace of mind, thus does he tyrannize himself.

There are only a few times in organization life when he can wrench his destiny into his own hands--and if he does not fight then, he will make a surrender that will later mock him. But when is that time? Will he know the time when he sees it? By what standards is he to judge? He does feel an obligation to the group; he does sense moral constraints on his free will. If he goes against the group, is he being courageous--or just stubborn? Helpful--or selfish? Is he, as he so often wonders, right after all? It is in the resolution of a multitude of such dilemmas, I submit, that the real issue of individualism lies today.--William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man, pp. 14-15.

Session 4

DEMOCRACY VERSUS EFFICIENCY

Document 1.

FOR DISCUSSION:

"In many cases, though individuals may not do a particular thing so well, on the average, as the officers of government, it is nevertheless desirable that it should be done by them rather than by the government, as a means to their own mental education."--J. S. Mill, Essay on Liberty.

"The worth of a state in the long run is the worth of the individuals composing it; and a state which postpones the interests of their mental expansion and elevation to a little more of administrative skill. . . . a state which dwarfs its men in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes--will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished."--J.S. Mill, Essay on Liberty.

Document 2.

Hermann Goering:

"In the old parliament, Authority and Responsibility were in reverse order. Responsibility went from top to bottom, and Authority went from bottom to top. That was a sin against natural law. . . . Here, however, the old principle holds good: Authority goes from top to bottom, but responsibility always always from bottom to top. Each is responsible to him who is called to stand next above him. The Leader carries final Responsibility. What the Leader wants will be done. His will is law for us."--September 15, 1935.

Jose Ortega y Gasset:

"Democracy and liberalism are two answers to two completely different questions. Democracy answers this question--'Who ought to exercise the public power?' The answer it gives is--the exercise of public power belongs to the citizens as a body. . . .

"Liberalism, on the other hand, answers this other question--'Regardless of who exercises the public power, what should its limits be?' The answer it gives is--'Whether the public power is exercised by an autocrat or by the people, it cannot be absolute; the individual has rights which are over and above any interference by the State.' This, then, tends to limit the intervention of the public power.

"It is possible to be very liberal, and not at all democratic, or very democratic and not at all liberal."--Invertebrate Spain.

Document 3.

"If the lesser mind could measure the greater as a foot rule can measure a pyramid, there would be finality in universal suffrage. As it is, the political problem remains unsolved."--G. B. Shaw.

"I do not quite understand the democratic theory that by multiplying ignorant opinions indefinitely you produce wisdom." --B. Webb.

Document 4.

At successive UMWA conventions proposals for restoring autonomy, supported by a sizable number of locals, have nevertheless been defeated by substantial majorities. In the various debates on the issue Lewis has taken a prominent part, opposing the restoration of autonomy on the ground that efficiency would thereby be lost. In a typical speech, at the 1936 convention, Lewis denied that district self-government was a question of principle:

> I trust that the Convention, in considering this matter (autonomy) will consider it for what it is really worth and what it means to the Organization. It is not a fundamental principle that the Convention is discussing. It is a question of business expediency and administrative policy as affecting certain geographical areas of the Organization. It is a question of whether you desire your Organization to be the most effective instrumentality within the realm of possibility for a labor organization or whether you prefer to sacrifice the efficiency of your organization in some respects for a little more academic freedom in the selection of some local representatives in a number of districts. These are the issues which are involved.

Lewis has also argued that elected officers are not necessarily good and that the International Executive Board is better qualified than the members to determine what is good for them. Thus, during debate at the 1948 convention Lewis defended his power to appoint officers:

> The Organization is a business administration and I doubt that it is advisable to spend our time in the self-examination of mere details. . . If any of our officers don't do the right thing, you know what I do with them, don't you? Some of you ought to know it, because there are a lot of former officers digging coal now that used to be in office, and just because they didn't do the right thing they are not in office now. . .

He has constantly asserted that the union has achieved its current strength and effective bargaining position under the policy of provisionalism.--Bernard Karsh and Jack London, "The Coal Miners, A Study of Union Control," Quarterly Journal of Economics, p. 419.

Session 5

FREEDOM AND AUTHORITY -- THE PROBLEM RECAST

Document 1.

George Baer--President of the Philadelphia & Reading RR to Stockholder who wrote about 1902 Anthracite strike.

"Dear Mr. Clark: I have your letter of the 16th. I do not know who you are. I see that you are a religious man; but you are evidently biased in favor of the right of working men to control a business in which he has no other interest than to secure fair wages. I beg of you not to be discouraged. The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for - not by labor agitators but by the Christian gentlemen to whom God has given control of the property rights of the country. Pray ernestly that the right may triumph, always remembering that the Lord God omnipotent still reigns and that this reign is one of law and order, not violence and crime."

Document 2.

Mr. Dooley on the Open Shop

F. P. Dunne (1867-1936) was the famous American humorist who as "Mr. Dooley" wrote keen criticism and satire of life in the United States.

"'What's all this that's in the papers about the open shop?' asked Mr. Hennessey.

"'Why, don't ye know?' said Mr. Dooley. 'Really, I'm surprized at yer ignorance, Hinnissey. What is th' open shop? Sure, 'tis where they kape the doors open to accommodate th' constant stream av' min comin' in t' take jobs cheaper than th' min what has th' jobs. 'Tis like this, Hinnissey: Suppose wan av these freeborn citizens is workin' in an open shop f'r th' princely wage av wan large iron dollar a day av tin hour. Along comes anither son-av-gun and he sez t' th' boss, "Oi think Oi could handle th' job nicely f'r ninety cints." "Sure," sez th' boss, and th' wan dollar man gets out into th' crool woruld t' exercise hiz inalienable roights as a freeborn American citizen an' scab on some other poor devil. An' so it goes on, Hinnissey. An' who gits th' benefit? Thrue, it saves th' boss money, but he don't care no more f'r money thin he does his right eye.

"'It's all principle wid him. He hates t' see men robbed av their indipindence. They must have their indipindence regardless av anything else.'

"'But,' said Mr. Hennessey, 'these open-shop min ye menshun say they are f'r unions if properly conducted.'

"'Shure,' said Mr. Dooley, 'if properly conducted. An' there we are: an' how would they have them conducted? No strikes, no rules, no contracts, no scales, hardly iny wages, an' dam' few mimbers.'"

United Steelworkers of America
Fourth Year Program

AUTOMATION AND EMPLOYMENT

School for Workers
University of Wisconsin

July, 1964

UNIT I. EMPLOYMENT AND THE LABOR FORCE

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a. Characteristics of the labor force

1. Distribution, by industry (Table 1)

2. Relative growth rates, 1940-1960 (Table 2)

   --By industry

   --By occupational classifications

3. Factors influencing shifting employment patterns; impact upon the unions

b. Labor Force projections:

1. Unemployment, 1929-1963 (Table 3)

2. Characteristics of unemployed workers, 1964

3. Factors which have helped prevent large-scale unemployment: Social security, unemployment compensation, pension plans, supplementary unemployment benefits, welfare payments, other forms of compensatory spending (plus government spending in general)

4. Problems associated with labor force projections:

   --rapid populations growth, plus lower attrition rates and increased longevity

   --increasing productivity; a rate of increase faster than most observers had predicted or anticipated

   --a technological revolution (discussion of this will come later)

   --a decline in the number of unskilled jobs which can be filled adequately by less skilled, less educated workers

   --a gap between technical advances and educational achievement (further contributing to the job problem)

   --minority group problems, many of which are closely related to problems raised above

Employment and the labor force (continued)

c. Suggested techniques for dealing with problems associated with changing character of the job market:

1. Better education, across-the-board

2. Manpower re-training, on a whole-hearted and rational basis

3. Removal of impediments to mobility (e.g., vested pension plans, methods to protect seniority rights, etc.)

4. Better counseling services for persons who have not yet entered the labor market

5. An improved employment service

6. Monetary allowances to make re-training and re-location possible; removal of the financial burden associated with job changes (extended unemployment compensation, severance pay, re-location allowances, etc.), so that dislocated workers will not have to bear the entire social cost of job changes and mobility

7. An effective program against job discrimination based on age, color, sex, race, creed, religion, etc., so that the groups now experiencing the greatest amount of difficulty finding employment can compete on a equal footing with groups that have not suffered from discrimination.

UNIT II. AUTOMATION: ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

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a. The meaning of automation:

1. Selected definitions

2. Examples, (industrial applications; data processing; computer technology)

3. The distinction between "automation," and other forms of technological advances

b. The impact of automation - realized and potential:

Upon employment

--Observed changes in labor force (white collar versus blue collar; increased number of technicians, scientific and related kinds of workers)

--Creation of new jobs, (example: data processor), elimination of old (file clerks and railroad firemen)

--Elimination of many repetitive kinds of jobs, which lend themselves easily and rationally to automation (e.g., the kinds of jobs which might have been available to untrained and/or less skilled persons)

Upon production

--Significant increase in labor/plant productivity; lower unit labor costs; higher quality control standards

c. The significance of rapid technological advances (automation)

1. Higher productivity can - and should - be translated into much higher living standards for most persons, e.g., those who retain their jobs, or who secure the jobs associated with the new technology

2. In many ways, we can look forward to an era of abundance, the likes of which the world has never known

3. The spread of automation should be eagerly anticipated, if we can solve the economic and social problems associated with job displacement. But this will not be easy, because of many ingrained misconceptions, stereotyped thinking patterns, folklores, etc.

Significance of automation (continued)

4. While many economic problems, such as the existence of mass poverty in a society characterized by affluence, remain to be solved, we stand ready to overcome the problems of scarcity which has plagued mankind for centuries.

5. Having said this, can we assume that everyone will share the instructor's enthusiasm for automation?

   What about those persons who are most affected by the insecurity associated with job changes and dislocation?

   Is this the point at which social and political attitudes and values must change?

6. If only those at the bottom of the economic ladder are expected to suffer the undesirable consequences of automation, while those in more favored circumstances are the only gainers - we will increase the disparities between rich and poor which have made us all aware of the critical problems associated with poverty.

7. Herein lies the crisis: of social engineering, and social planing:

   In the long run, the problems of dislocation associated with automation may be solved; but the "long run" may constitute an unendurable span of time for those cut off from the mainstream of economic life.

UNIT III. THE INEVITABILITY OF AUTOMATION

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1. Why automation?

   a) Every producer or enterprise wants to produce as economically and efficiently as possible, to earn the largest possible margin of profit; to attract new capital; to expand the size of the enterprise, and make it as attractive as possible to stockholders, employees, managers, etc.

   b) In order to achieve maximum effiency, the producer must find the most rational and efficient combination of labor, land, capital equipment, entrepreneurial skills - the factors of production.

   c) Where labor is relatively expensive, the producer will try to subsitute machinery for labor, in the most efficient and profitable combination; where the business is sound (e.g., profitable), and where it is possible to divert retained earnings to plant modernization, the company will do so.

   d) The company wants to remain competitive; with other products, with other manufacturers, and, in some cases, with foreign manufactures.

   e) This is natural, and is the basis for the perpetuation of an enterprise kind of economy, based on private initiative.

   f) As long as the system (and the process of technological innovation) does not result in mass dislocation, or exploitation of workers' health or their economic standards (as happened in the 19th and early 20th century), the role of government is to maintain the essential elements of a free economic system; the job of the union is to protect the interests of its members, viz-a-viz the other factors of production referred to above.

2. What role does government play?

   a) Assuming that the conditions described above are met (e.g., child and women are not exploited, and competitive conditions exist)

   b) Then government has a responsibility to act when stated goals of economic development and full employment are not met by the private sector of the economy.

UNIT IV. WHAT DETERMINES THE LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT?

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a. Within the individual firm:

1. The demand for the company's product(s); e.g., how much can it sell?

2. The demand for the products manufactured by the industry of which the firm is a part, and the individual firm's competitive position (e.g., General Motors in relationship to the automobile industry; Republic Steel in relationship to the basic steel industry, etc.)

3. The ratio of labor to machinery, relative to the price and supply of each of these factors; the "skill mix"; the nature of the industry with respect to the use of labor (the petroleum industry is "capital intensive"; it uses a large amount of capital relative to its use of labor; the garment industry is "labor intensive," and it uses a large amount of labor relative to its use of capital

b. Within the total economy:

1. The level of total (aggregate) demand: spending by government, business and consumers

Government	Business	Consumers
general govt. operations	New plants	Physical goods (housing, automobiles, food, clothing, etc.)
Defense	New machinery	
Welfare	Plant expansion	Services (recreation, medical and dental care, auto, home and appliance repair, etc.)
Veterans		
Agriculture		
Debt service		

The sum total of the spending listed above equals gross national product; employment levels correspond roughly to the rate at which the Gross National product expands

What determines the level of employment (continued)

2. Factors which influence level of spending:

Government	Business	Consumers
need for government services	demand for its products	level of income (more money income usually means more spending)
level of income (related to business and personal income)	its profit position (will it pay to borrow money?)	psychology (what does the future hold); expectations regarding future income level
political decisions and considerations	psychology (e.g., expectations as to the future)	attractiveness of new products
	Condition of plant and equipment	

The sum total of these factors, many of which hinge upon the pessimism or optimism of those who make decisions to spend, or not to spend, determines the overall level of economic activity within the total economy

c. Means by which government can influence levels of spending:

1. Monetary policy. Government can make it EASIER or HARDER to borrow money (re-discount rates, federal reserve requirements as to the amount of money member banks must keep on reserve, margin requirements for buying stocks, buying or selling bonds on the open market).

The factors listed above affect the level of interest rates; the interest rate influences decisions to borrow - and hence, to create money. The amount of money in circulation is related to DEBT, since most of our money supply is created by the banks. Our money supply is made up of the following elements:

HAND MONEY, or currency. This is the money issued by and guaranteed by the federal government. It consists of coins, federal reserve notes, silver certificates, etc. This money is backed by the government, and by precious metals such as gold and silver (now totals about $32 billion).

DEMAND DEPOSITS, which is money in banks, largely created by the banks (now totals about $153 billion). Shown on page 8 is a simple example of how money is "created" by the banks:

What determines the level of employment (continued)

BANK A opens its doors for business. It has capital, but no deposits. Its first customer, John Smith, deposits $100. Now the bank has money to lend, and proceeds to do so. In all likelihood, it will lend out most of the money it has on hand. At the end of its first day in business, Bank A's balance sheet might look like this:

Balance Sheet, Bank A

ASSETS		LIABILITIES	
Cash	$20	Deposits	$100
Loans	80		
	$100		$100

BANK B opens its doors for business on the following day. Its first customer, George N. Debt, deposits $80, which represents a loan from Bank A. Bank B now has $80 in cash; it can lend all of this amount, except what it must keep on reserve (above 20%). As the process repeats itself throughout the banking system, an initial deposit of $100 in cash eventually becomes a far greater amount of money in circulation (roughly 5 times as much).

Thus, the total amount of money in circulation depends upon

*The rate at which money changes hands (velocity)

*Government policy with regard to interest rates ("tight" money versus "easy" credit)

*The willingness of borrowers to go into debt (which in turn is a function of psychology, confidence, expectations, the profitability of operations, etc.)

2. Fiscal policy. Through spending and taxing policies, the federal government can directly affect levels of employment:

--When government taxes more than it spends, surplus, it reduces the amount of money in circulation, holds down employment, etc.

--When government spends more than it receives in the form of taxes (deficit), it must borrow to make up the difference. It borrows from the banks, and creates money.

--If government does not spend (or tax), we would assume no need for compensatory fiscal policy. This raises the question of whether we can have full employment in the absence of government spending.

What determines the level of employment (continued)

Older economists (and the present generation of fiscal conservatives) assumed that full employment was inevitable; in fact, classical economists did not even deal with the question of business cycles in any great detail. But we experienced periodic business crises and unemployment; and in the 1930's, the Great Depression produced unemployment equal to 16 million, out of a work force of 49 million.

In large measure, the experience of the 1930's led to the development of the "new" economics, of which John Maynard Keynes was the chief exponent. Basically, his ideas, which to some extent have been translated into public policy in most western nations, are as follows:

i. As a society grows richer, and as individuals consumed less of their total incomes, the gap between income and consumption had to be filled by investment (in new plant, equipment, etc.) in order to maintain a given level of employment.

ii. There could be equilibrium levels of income, consumption and investment which fall below full employment. Keynes advocated compensatory fiscal (spending) policy in such instances, to compensate for the difference between privvate consumption and investment, and the amount of spending needed to produce full employment.

iii. Keynes' ideas were tried, to a limited extent, during the depression of the 1930's. But the second World War came along before the effects of the limited period of compensatory spending could be assessed. In brief, Keynesian policy would call for the following policies:

When inflation threatens: Spend less, tax more (to take money out of circulation)

During periods of underemployment: Spend more, tax less (to create more money, spending, and hence - jobs).

The recent tax cut is an embodiment of these ideas; and so far at least, the Keynesian prescription seems to have produced the desired effect. But the implementation of the policy encountered a great deal of opposition and many opinions which ran counter to the philosophy behind the tax cut: For example,

i. Debt, per se, is bad

ii. Deficit spending is particularly bad, and will lead us to fiscal oblivion

iii. Our children will inherit a huge, burdensome debt

iv. We will spend ourselves into national bankruptcy

What determines the level of employment (continued)

The evidence to date does not seem to indicate that any of these propositions is correct, but they are firmly engrained in our economic folklore. And they have impeded effective government action in the economic arena.

Monetary and fiscal policies are the basic weapons which government can employ if it wishes to influence levels of spending, production and employment. In the next section of the course, we shall explore alternative prescriptions for dealing with the problem of automation and unemployment.

UNIT V. EMPLOYMENT AND PUBLIC POLICY

So far, we have dealt with two basic concepts: (1) The meaning of automation, and the implications for employment and production, and (2) the economic role of government. What we really don't know is whether present levels of economic activity could be sustained in the absence of government policy, and in the absence of high levels of government spending (at the local, state and federal level), since government has played a major role in economic affairs since the mid-1930's. Superimposed upon the economic problems we have experienced regarding growth and full employment is the "new technology," commonly known as automation. Now we have to grapple with some of the major policy issues which we might prefer to ignore. Basically, the question is: can we sustain a full employment economy during a period in which major technological changes have produced employment dislocations?

Some of these issues are outlined below:

a. IF an insufficient number of jobs are created in the private sector of the economy, what alternative is there other than remedial fiscal and monetary policy?

b. The labor movement has strongly supported the idea of shorter hours of work. Except for a few isolated instances, there have been relatively few advances on this front. In the past, productivity gains have been translated into fewer hours of work; but there seems to be considerable reluctance, some of it romantic, to reduce hours below 40 per week

c. We must then consider the fate of the "marginal worker," e.g., the person who is thrown out of a job because of automation, plant shutdown, etc., or who cannot find work because of inadequate training, skills, etc. Does society have an obligation to provide employment opportunities for all? What are the alternatives which we can pursue as a matter of policy in the area of employment?

1. The market forces approach. Remove all government controls and impediments, and let the natural forces of the market place restore full employment.

2. Provide a minimum subsistence allowance for persons who cannot find employment, and accept the inevitability of the welfare approach to solving this aspect of the employment problem.

3. Do nothing at all, in the hope that the elimination of subsidy payments will shock the unemployed into action to solve their own problems.

4. Devote a substantial amount of money and effort towards meaningful re-training programs, which will equip workers with skills necessary to compete in a changing labor market.

5. Create jobs in the public sector, if it appears that the private sector is not growing rapidly enough to provide jobs for those seeking employment.

d. With respect to point c(5) above, we have to ask ourselves two basic questions: First can government create jobs intelligently, without waste, and in an efficient manner? Secondly, are there important jobs to be done, which can be accomplished via public employment?

The answer to the first question is not easy. But certainly, with respect to the second question, the answer is a resounding yes. A few examples, which we will discuss in detail, are listed below:

1. The support and improvement of our educational system. With few exceptions, there isn't a school district in the country which wouldn't welcome financial support, more and better teachers, money to expand physical plant and equipment and to purchase better teaching aids. This is particularly true of urban communities, which bear the brunt of teaching children who present the greatest learning problems.

2. The development of modern transportation facilities. This includes highway construction and modernization, the development of urban transit systems, the upgrading of rail and airport facilities, etc., to improve the overall system by which we transport people and products.

3. Water resource development. For many areas of the country, including Wisconsin, this is rapidly becoming a problem of critical importance. If we are unwilling to devote more of our resources to the preservation and improvement of our water resources, adequate water for drinking, irriagation, recreation, industry, etc. will be available only to a fortunate minority of our population.

4. Recreational facilities. Increasing leisure time and money income are placing increasing stresses upon public recreational facilities, particularly in what once was our wilderness areas.

5. Rebuilding our cities. We could spend all of our available resources on this task alone, in order to preserve and enhance the urban areas of our nation, where most of our population lives and works. Almost every city in the country faces critical problems relating to the deterioration of the central city, and increasing pressures of population upon public facilities.

6. Public health. We need more research facilities, more and better hospitals, outpatient treatment centers, mental institutions, medical and nursing schools, etc. We have only begun to reap the benefits of expanding scientific knowledge in the area of public health, and the potential benefits in this frontier of knowledge.

7. Better services at the local level. These include better schools, sanitation, police and fire protection, museums, libraries, theatres, art galleries, parks, etc. Because most cities lack the financial resources to expand these facilities on their own, they will have to rely upon the principle of shared taxes, since a large part of the power to tax has been pre-empted by the federal government.

8. Advanced education. We need to expand our college plant, to provide facilities to everyone who can profit from advanced education. This includes facilities for adult education, to equip workers with the skills needed to compete in the modern labor market, and to understand the society of which they are a part.

Conclusion. We stand on the threshold of an era of abundance. The fulfillment of the promise depends largely on the kind of men who are elected to public office. If they have vision, courage and intelligence, automation should be welcome and applauded. If legislators are hamstrung by the cliches of the 19th century, we face many serious problems. There is reason for optimism. As education expands, it will become harder for "know nothings" to get elected. But the first hurdle will be our ability to think along new lines. This will not be particularly easy to achieve.

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14. Glazier, William, "Automation and Joblessness," Atlantic Monthly, August, 1962, pp. 43-47.

15. Kirstein, George, "Labor's Ebbing Strength," The Nation, September 1, 1962, pp. 86-89.

Table 1. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED CIVILIAN WORKERS
By Occupational Groups and Selected Occupations

1960

All employed persons	64,639,247
Persons with occupations reported	61,455,572
WHITE COLLAR WORKERS	26,587,839
Professional, technical and kindred workers	7,232,410
Engineers	853,738
Natural scientists	149,330
Medical and other health workers	1,305,901
Teachers	1,521,590
Other professional, technical and kindred workers	3,401,851
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	5,504,543
Clerical and kindred workers	9,306,896
Sales Workers	4,638,985
MANUAL WORKERS	23,746,463
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	8,741,292
Foremen	1,096,658
Construction craftsmen	2,404,323
Mechanics and repairmen	2,197,193
Metal craftsmen, except mechanics	1,099,835
Other craftsmen	1,943,283
Operatives and kindred workers	11,897,636
Laborers, except farm and mine	3,107,535
SERVICE WORKERS	7,170,784
AGRICULTURAL WORKERS	3,950,491
OCCUPATIONS NOT REPORTED	3,183,675

Source:- U.S. Department of Labor, Monthly Labor Review, November, 1962, p. 1211

Table 2. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED CIVILIAN WORKERS
By Occupational Groups and Selected Occupations

1950 and 1960

Occupational group	1950	1960	% change, 1950-1960
All employed persons	56,435,273	64,639,247	14.5%
Persons with occupations reported	55,692,340	61,455,572	10.3
WHITE COLLAR WORKERS	20,819,314	26,587,839	27.7
Professional, technical and kindred workers	4,921,272	7,232,410	47.0
Engineers	519,680	853,738	64.3
Natural scientists	116,918	149,330	27.7
Medical and other health workers	1,007,515	1,305,901	29.6
Teachers	1,402,809	1,521,590	45.9
Other professional, technical and kindred workers	2,234,350	3,401,851	52.3
Managers, official and proprietors	5,036,808	5,504,543	7.4
Clerical and kindred workers	6,954,440	9,306,896	33.8
Sales Workers	3,906,794	4,638,985	18.7
MANUAL WORKERS	22,437,059	23,746,463	5.8
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	7,820,634	8,741,292	11.8
Foremen	777,266	1,096,658	41.1
Construction craftsmen	2,354,906	2,404,323	2.1
Mechanics and repairmen	1,708,812	2,197,193	28.6
Metal craftsmen, except mechanics	1,095,683	1,099,835	0.4
Other craftsmen	1,883,967	1,943,283	3.1
Operatives and kindred workers	11,180,315	11,897,636	6.4
Laborers, except farm and mine	3,436,110	3,107,535	-9.6
SERVICE WORKERS	5,708,178	7,170,784	25.6
AGRICULTURAL WORKERS	6,727,789	3,950,491	-41.3
OCCUPATIONS NOT REPORTED	742,933	3,183,675	661.0

Source: U.S. Department of Labor
Monthly Labor Review,
November, 1962, p. 1211

Table 3.

EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT AND GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT
1929 to 1963

Year	Gross National Product (billions of dollars)	Employment	Unemployment No.	Unemployment Percent
1929	$104,436	46,700,000	2,000,000	4.2%
1932	72,502	37,900,000	12,700,000	24.0
1940	100,618	47,520,000	8,120,000	14.6
1945	213,558	52,820,000	1,040,000	1.9
1950	284,599	59,748,000	3,351,000	5.3
1955	397,469	62,944,000	2,904,000	4.4
1960	502,600	66,681,000	3,931,000	5.6
1961	518,200	66,796,000	4,806,000	6.7
1962	554,900	67,999,000	4,012,000	5.6
1963	585,100	68,809,000	4,007,000	5.6

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States

U.S. Department of Labor, Monthly Labor Review

May 30, 1966

Mr. Fred Hoehler
Director of Education
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222

Dear Fred:

On a recent trip to Florida I had an opportunity to talk with Estes Riffe, the Steelworkers Assistant Director in that district, about education programs. He and others in the district seem to be quite interested in the possibility of developing a more active labor education program in that area. He told me that Bill Edwards was at that time attending a one-month Institute under your auspices.

This is just a reminder that I would be most happy to co-operate on any of your programs in Florida or elsewhere in the southeast. Although my special interests at this time relate to new perspectives on the South, racial relations, and civil rights, I have found it useful to work with unions on a number of basic union education programs. Before too long I will be sending you a more detailed description of the mainstream of my program here.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

NEWS from the USWA

United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO-CLC

Pat Burke, International Representative in charge of District 36-G
4302 Henderson Blvd., Tampa, Florida 33609—Phone 253-3311

Voice of 36-G

May, 1966

Next month our Union celebrates its 30th birthday and it is quite fitting that we have scheduled for next month the first of a series of Educational Conferences to better acquaint our members with their Union. This scheduling of such conferences is in line with the Convention mandate and the action of the International Executive Board whereby it was decided to appoint Educational Coordinators for each District to teach the Local Union Officers, Grievance Committeemen, and all Members who wish to participate, not only the history of the Labor Movement but also the duties of officers, parliamentary procedure, correct handling of grievances, and all other pertinent data that goes to make a successful organization. As you already know, Bill Edwards of our Staff has been designated Educational Coordinator for this District. He has scheduled the first Conference for June 11th and 12th. It will be held in the Aloha Room of the Hawaiian Village Motel, Dale Mabry Avenue, (Route 92, South) Tampa, Florida. Participants in this Conference will be from the areas around Tampa, Central Florida, and Jacksonville. Rates at the Hawaiian Village will be $10.00 single and $14.00 double. Reservations should be made directly with the Motel, mentioning the Steelworkers' Conference. Luncheon will be served to the group at an approximate price of $2.50. The expenses of the delegates to the Conference will, of course, be borne by the Local Unions.

A Conference for the members in South Florida will be held in the Miami area at a date to be designated later.

The second Conference will be held on June 18th and 19th at Loyola University, St. Charles Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. This Conference will be for our members in the Louisiana, Mississippi, and Mobile, Alabama areas. Luncheon will be served to the Delegates in the University Cafeteria, and overnight accomodations for those who need same can best be secured by contacting the New Orleans Office of the Steelworkers. The address is 3308 Tulane Avenue, New Orleans, La., and the telephone number is 822-3380.

I strongly advise that you have as much participation in these Conferences as your Local Union can afford. The problems of automation, combination of jobs, harder bargaining techniques, and the increasingly strong resistance of employers to unionization make it imperative that our Local Union Officers and Committeemen be on their toes at all times in order to do an adequate job for those people who have elected them for that specific purpose.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Your Union has helped to spearhead a movement among the Migrant Workers in Florida which is bound to have a far-reaching and beneficial effect, not only on Labor in Florida, but throughout the Nation. We have been meeting with and assisting in signing up the crew leaders in the migrant labor field, and have been achieving a most remarkable degree of success among these people who have been ill-housed, ill-fed, and exploited in many ways that are brutally shameful in a Country that sponsors aid to the exploited of other countries, Peace Corps, Poverty Programs, and many other facets of the "Great Society" which are needed just as desparately at home as abroad.. The efforts of our people in the "vegetable basket" of South and Central Florida have borne exceptional results, and we are now in the process of turning these people over to the International Laborers' Union of North America. This Union has been assigned the jurisdiction over migrant workers and will finish the job which we helped to start. It has been my feeling for some time that the only way we can raise the standard of living in the Southern States is to do something about those people who not only work for

more -

For background info about the USWA, see reverse side of this sheet

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

(over)

Background Information

United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO-CLC

4302 Henderson Blvd., Tampa, Florida 33609

Pat Burke, International Representative in charge of District 36-G

STRUCTURE:

The USWA has more than 1,000,000 members in over 3,000 affiliated local unions throughout the United States, Puerto Rico and Canada. It has three top International Officers, a national director of Canada and 29 district directors who comprise a 33-man International Executive Board elected by referendum every four years. This group determines policy between conventions. The supreme legislative body is the biennial International Constitutional Convention held in September of even numbered years.

Membership in local unions is open to all without discrimination. Local union officers, elected by the members, serve for three years.

JURISDICTION:

Generally, union membership is employed in the basic steel and allied ferrous and non-ferrous metals producing and fabricating industries. This includes production and maintenance workers as well as clerical, technical and plant protection employees in ore mining, quarrying, smelting & refining, Great Lakes shipping, rail transport, cement, refractory brick & tile making, primary metal production, foundries, coating & plating operations, the manufacture of structural steel, forgings, extrusions, rolled sheets, pipes, tubes, molds, wires, nails, screws, nuts, bolts, ordnance materials, barrels, cans and other containers, etc.

The union also represents workers in a wide range of other manufacturing industries such as engines, valves, fittings, heating & plumbing equipment, compressors, home appliances, plastics, musical instruments, sporting goods, toys, hardware, machinery, transportation equipment, cutlery, etc.

LABOR CONTRACTS:

Approximately 3,000 contracts are currently in force with about 2,000 employers. Most contracts cover only one plant or one operating unit of the employer, although in some cases several operations may be covered by one basic contract.

In addition to wage rate structures and grievance machinery, contracts negotiated by the USWA have featured liberal pension plans, sick and accident insurance coverage, vacations, Supplementary Unemployment Benefits, three-month paid holidays every five years, and many other fringe benefits. Prior to formation of the union, the basic steel labor rate was 47c an hour; fringe benefits were non-existent.

USWA collective bargaining policy is established by a 163-man International Wage Policy Committee comprised of the 33-man Executive Board and 130 elected members who must be actively employed in industry.

Although most agreements expire close to the termination date of those in basic steel, the USWA is engaged in contract bargaining the year around.

OFFICERS:

I. W. Abel, president. Began first four-year term June 1, 1965. Born August 11, 1908 in Magnolia, O. Began labor career as mill hand in Canton, O., at the American Sheet and Tin Mill Works, now a division of the U. S. Steel Corp. Appointed staff representative of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), predecessor of the USWA, in 1937 by Philip Murray, founder of SWOC and later USWA president. Appointed Director of District 27, Canton area, in February 1942, and elected District 27 director at 1st Constitutional convention of USWA in same year. Elected international secretary-treasurer in 1952 and served in that post until elected president.

Walter J. Burke, secretary-treasurer. Installed in first four-year term on June 1, 1965. Born Sept. 14, 1911 in Antioch, Ill. After serving as assistant instructor of printing at Waukegan, Ill., Township high school, was employed as inspector in the Metal Finishing division of Sanitary Refrigeration Co. in Fond-du-lac, Wis., from 1932-37. Appointed to staff of SWOC in 1937 by Philip Murray. Elected secretary-treasurer of Wisconsin State Union Council (CIO) during service as staff representative. Became director of District 32 (Milwaukee, Wis. area) in 1948. Re-elected as District 32 director until elected international secretary-treasurer.

Joseph P. Molony, vice president. Installed in first four-year term on June 1, 1965. Born on Nov. 6, 1906 in Ireland. One of original founders of SWOC. Worked on the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroad and ore docks at Republic Steel's Buffalo, N. Y., plant. Appointed as SWOC organizer in 1937 by Philip Murray. Spearheaded drive to organize seamen on Great Lakes ore boats. Elected director of USWA District 4 (New York state) at union's 1st Constitutional convention in 1942 and re-elected without opposition to head the district until 1965 when elected international vice president.

HISTORY OF UNION:

The USWA originally grew out of the mass production organizing efforts initiated in 1935 by United Mine Workers' President John L. Lewis and a group of other AFL leaders. They formed the Committee for Industrial Organizations, later the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

Under an agreement with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, Sheet & Tin Workers (organized in 1874), Philip Murray established the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) and launched a massive organizing drive throughout the industry in June, 1936 with the assistance of the CIO. The organizing drive was almost an immediate success, surviving many desperate efforts of giant steel companies to thwart unionization of their industry.

Within six years, membership growth and collective bargaining progress led to the formation of an autonomous international union at a constitutional convention held in Cleveland, O. At that time, SWOC was disbanded and the union became the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, on May 19, 1942.

The founding president, Philip Murray, died in November, 1952. He was succeeded by David J. McDonald, originally the secretary-treasurer of the organization.

Upon the merger of the CIO with the AFL in 1955, the USWA became an AFL-CIO affiliate. In Canada, the union is affiliated with the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC).

I. W. Abel became the third president of the USWA by challenging McDonald's leadership in a referendum election held Feb. 9, 1965.

Note these checked names and locations

DIRECTORS

William Mahoney, National Director of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, Canada
Dist. 1—Roy H. Stevens, Worcester, Massachusetts
Dist. 2—James C. Nicholson, Sydney, N. S., Canada
Dist. 4—Matthew Armstrong, Buffalo, New York
Dist. 5—Jean Gerin-Lajoie, Montreal, Que., Canada
Dist. 6—Lawrence F. Sefton, Toronto, Ont., Canada
Dist. 7—Hugh P. Carcella, Philadelphia, Pa.
Dist. 8—Albert Atallah, Baltimore, Maryland
Dist. 9—William Moran, Bethlehem, Pa.
Dist. 13—Eugene Maurice, Donora, Pa.
Dist. 15—Paul M. Hilbert, McKeesport, Pa.
Dist. 16—Paul Normile, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Dist. 19—William J. Hart, Tarentum, Pa.
Dist. 20—Kay Kluz, Ambridge, Pa.
Dist. 21—William Nicholson, Sharon, Pa.
Dist. 23—Paul Rusen, Wheeling, W. Va.
Dist. 25—James P. Gallagher, Cincinnati, Ohio
Dist. 26—James P. Griffin, Youngstown, Ohio
Dist. 27—John S. Johns, Canton, Ohio
Dist. 28—Paul E. Schremp, Cleveland, Ohio
Dist. 29—Charles Younglove, Detroit, Michigan
Dist. 30—Harry O. Dougherty, Indianapolis, Ind.
Dist. 31—Joseph Germano, East Chicago, Indiana
Dist. 32—Bertram McNamara, Milwaukee, Wis.
Dist. 33—Glenn Peterson, Duluth, Minn.
Dist. 34—Lloyd McBride, St. Louis, Mo.
Dist. 35—M. C. Weston, Atlanta, Georgia
Dist. 36—Howard Strevel, Birmingham, Ala.
Dist. 36-G—Pat Burke, Tampa, Fla.
Dist. 37—James E. Ward, Houston, Texas
Dist. 38—Charles J. Smith, Los Angeles, Calif.

sub-standard wages, but who are even excluded from the minimum wage Law and from all other benefits which a paternal government has given in many cases where the need was great, but has completely neglected to provide in areas where the need is greatest. This situation has been more prevalent in the Southern States than elsewhere, but the most glaring and pitiful examples of starvation wages, want, and exploitation are in the fields of migrant farm labor and this field reaches into all States of the Nation as the cycles for planting and harvesting occur.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

Happenings in the District are about as usual with some good and some bad news. Organization is still a paramount issue because we must continue to build our Union for the day we stop doing so is the day that we begin to slowly die. However we are also putting a great deal of emphasis on service for this is also a vital ingredient in the life of a Union, and it is my feeling that our members are entitled to the best of everything that we are able to supply.

As an example of service we had scheduled a Grievance for final arbitration at the Birds Eye Plant in Winter Haven, Florida. The Company maintained that work by the employees in various groves during the cold snap (building smudge fires) was done for the grove owners, which would mean a lower rate of pay. In the final settlement of this Grievance twenty-two (22) employees received back pay for this work including time and one-half pay where applicable.

At the Continental Can Plant in Tampa two grievances were taken to Arbitration. One seven (7) day suspension was expunged from the employee's record and he was made whole for the time lost from work. One discharge penalty was expunged from the employee's record and changed to a thirty day suspension with back pay for time lost after the end of the suspension period.

Negotiations have been completed at the Kaiser Aluminum Norco Works with the employees coming under the basic Kaiser Agreement. Wage increases on an interim rate settlement pending completion of a CWS program ranged from 33¢ per hour to 44½¢ per hour, retroactive to September 2nd, 1965. Retroactive checks ran from $650.00 to $800.00. Committeemen from the plant were Don Brady and Barry Bleakley. The Norco Unit has been amalgamated with Local Union 5702 at Gramercy, La.

Incidentally the boys from Local 5702 really practice Political Action as well as support the International Union in contributions to PAC. Pete Roussel, the Chairman of the Grievance Committee of Local 5702 has been elected as an Alderman for the City of Lutcher, Louisiana.

A fine contract has been signed by Industrial Siderurgica covering the employees who are members of Local Union 6006. The contract for three years gave the employees an unprecedented gain of 33¢ per hour in wages and fringe benefits. Also in Puerto Rico, elections have been won at the plants of Exotic Leather and the Braid Corporation, with a contract being signed at Exotic Leather as well as a new contract being signed at Armco International.

Contracts have also been signed at the plants of Owens-Illinois in Orlando, Florida; and Southern Spring Bed Company in Tampa, Florida.

Negotiations are still under way at the plants of Adams Packing at Auburndale, Florida and the Container Corporation in Orlando, Florida.

A Petition for an Election has been filed for the employees of the Florida Wire & Cable Company of Jacksonville, Florida. The election will be held on Friday, June 3rd, 1966.

Litigation is still going on at the plants of Moore Dry Kiln and Southern Valve, both of Jacksonville, Florida.

more -

Sorry to report that elections have been lost at the plants of Marine Bulk Handling in Mobile, Alabama and Sunbeam Electronics, Inc. in Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

I am also sorry to report that the Mississippi Steel Company and the G & O Manufacturing Company, both of Jackson, Mississippi are still on strike. The courageous employees are fighting all of the prejudice that exists in Mississippi and they certainly deserve any help that your Local Union can give. Their fight is your fight and their final victory will be a victory for the entire Union. They need help - badly.

****

If you have any Local Union Officers who are not receiving the News Letter please let us know and his name and correct address will be placed on the list. Also IF YOU HAVE ANY NEWS THAT YOU THINK WOULD BE OF INTEREST TO THE DISTRICT, PLEASE SEND IT IN TO THE DISTRICT OFFICE IN TAMPA. We shall be most happy to relay any newsworthy items that are reported to us. Try to have letters in by the 10th.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

In the last two Newsletters I have asked for opinions and comment on the establishment of a Strike Fund for the District. The answers have been varied with about a three to one majority favoring the idea but with greatly diversified ideas of how it should be established. The Canadian contingent of the United Steelworkers of America has come up with the most practical and effective idea at a two day Canadian Policy Conference in Winnipeg a week or two ago. Some three hundred Delegates vetoed the proposed idea of either a District or an all Canadian Strike Fund. Instead the Delegates took a page from the action of the UAW a few years ago and voted overwhelmingly for an International Strike Fund to back up contract bargaining wherever it was needed. The Canadian Conference proposed a dollar ($1.00) a month levy on all Steelworkers, with the entire amount to be earmarked for Strike Relief. The Conference also set up a delegation to try to sell the idea to the American Members at the Convention in Atlantic City next September. Frankly I think that this idea will be the answer to securing more and better contracts, and, I would appreciate having those of you who feel the same way, submit Resolutions to the Atlantic City Convention recommending that such a Strike Fund be set up. It will help secure contracts from individual small companies who resist unions the most and will prevent a constant drain on our treasury.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

REMEMBER THAT WE ARE HOPING FOR A REAL TURNOUT AT OUR EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCES. SO THAT PROPER ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE MADE I SUGGEST AGAIN THAT YOU NOTIFY BILL EDWARDS AS TO THE NUMBER FROM YOUR LOCAL UNION WHO WILL ATTEND. THOSE WHO WILL ATTEND IN TAMPA CAN WRITE HIM AT THE TAMPA OFFICE AND THOSE WHO WILL BE IN NEW ORLEANS MAY WRITE HIM THERE.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

PB/c

USA, AFL-CIO

Joan —

Note name

on reverse of 1st

sheet —

also locals, places,

& names & points

where marked in the

newsletter

W. J. BURKE
Secretary-Treasurer

I. W. ABEL
President

J. P. MOLONY
Vice-President

File - USWA Tampa program

United Steelworkers of America

AFL-CIO-CLC
GULF STATES ORGANIZING AREA — DISTRICT 36-G

4302 HENDERSON BLVD. P. O. BOX 18144
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33609

PHONE 253-3311

PAT BURKE
International Representative
In Charge

June 3, 1966

Mr. Edward F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Your letter of May 30th has been turned over to me because of Bill Edwards' absence in Pittsburgh and I have been handling the details of our Conference to be held in Tampa on June 11th and 12th.

Since the agenda for the Conference is somewhat elastic, may I suggest that if you care to do so, we would be glad to have you with us and will try to fit you in somewhere along the line of basic Union courses, steward training, etc. Since this is our first Conference of this type, we are leaving the matter of civil rights, etc., to a later Conference.

The Conference will be held at the Hawaiian Village Motel, North Dale Mabry Highway, Tampa, Florida. Reservations must be made direct and if you mention the Steelworkers' Conference you will receive a special rate. We are leaving the matter of your attendance strictly up to you, but want you to know that if you care to appear, you will be most welcome.

Bill Edwards made reserv

Brother Estes Riffe asks me to send you his special regards.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES L. COWL
Legislative Representative

CLC:jhg

cc: Mr. Estes V. Riffe

Name & address & port air

May 30, 1966

Mr. Bill Edwards
United Steelworkers of America
District 36-G
4302 Henderson Boulevard
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Edwards:

On a recent Florida trip I talked about labor education programs with Estes Riffe at the time you were attending a month-long staff institute in Pittsburgh. Estes was most enthusiastic about the possibilities of union education work in Florida and the rest of the district and especially in regards to the kind of leadership you will be able to give such efforts.

My own program here at the Southern Regional Council is essentially a labor education undertaking. We are especially concerned with a wide range of problems reflecting a changing South. This means that we give special attention to problems related to racial understanding, civil rights, and the role of unions in the various changes that are under way. On occasion I teach the more basic union courses such as steward training and local union administration with union groups in the southeast. Fred Hoehler in your national office would be able to give you some information on my background and experience.

Estes mentioned a possible program on June 11-12. I would be happy to assist in any way with that program or with subsequent ones which you may develop within the district. Please let me know if I can be of assistance.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

June 7, 1966

Mr. Charles L. Cowl
United Steelworkers of America
District 36-G
4302 Henderson Boulevard
Tampa, Florida 33609

Dear Mr. Cowl:

I have your letter of June 3rd regarding the conference in Tampa. Since I first wrote Bill Edwards regarding the the conference he and Fred Hoehler have been in touch with each other and with me. They have asked that I be on hand to assist with the teaching.

Thanks very much for writing me and extending the invitation. I look forward to meeting you when I am in Tampa.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

June 17, 1966

Miss Margaret Ann Gilbert
President, Local 6485
Route 2, Box 135A
Apopka, Florida

Dear Miss Gilbert:

Enclosed is the copy of "HOW TO RUN A UNION MEETING" which you requested. You may find the suggestions beginning on page 62 of special interest. I hope the booklet will be of use to you. You will notice that if you want more copies they can be ordered from the AFL-CIO Pamphlet Division.

It was good meeting you at the education conference in Tampa. I hope thins will go well in your local. Please let me know, or Bill Edwards, if our program here can be of any assistance to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc.

June 17, 1966

Mr. James P. Russo
3421 Gray Street
Tampa, Florida 33609

Dear Mr. Russo:

Enclosed is the copy of "HOW TO RUN A UNION MEETING" which you requested. It was good getting to meet you at the education conference in Florida.

Please let me know, or Bill Edwards, if my program here can ever be of service to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc.

June 17, 1966

Mr. Isaac Peretz
Route 2, Box 241
Riverview, Florida 33569

Dear Mr. Peretz:

Enclosed is the copy of "HOW TO RUN A UNION MEETING" which you requested. It was good getting to meet you at the education conference in Florida.

Please let me know, or Bill Edwards, if my program here can ever be of service to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc.

June 17, 1966

Mr. Homer Wilson
306 Luna Road
Auburndale, Florida

Dear Mr. Wilson:

Enclosed is the copy of "HOW TO RUN A UNION MEETING" which you requested. It was good getting to meet you at the education conference in Florida.

Please let me know, or Bill Edwards, if my program here can ever be of service to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc.

June 17, 1966

Mr. Willie Payne
United Steel Workers of America
District 36-G
4302 Henderson Blvd.
Tampa, Florida

Dear Willie:

It was good to see you again in Tampa at the education conference. I have sent, under separate cover, 3 copies of "HOW TO RUN A UNION MEETING". You asked for five but there were so many requests that my supply began to run short.

You will note from the inside cover of the pamphlet that further copies can be ordered from the AFL-CIO's pamphlet division.

Please let me know if my program here can be of service to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV/km

W. J. BURKE
SECRETARY-TREASURER

I. W. ABEL
PRESIDENT

J. P. MOLONY
VICE-PRESIDENT

United Steelworkers of America

AFL-CIO—CLC
GULF STATES ORGANIZING AREA — DISTRICT 36-G
316 TULANE BUILDING 3308 TULANE AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70119

PAT BURKE
INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE
IN CHARGE

AREA CODE 504
PHONE 822-3380

June 20, 1966

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

All of us who attended the recent educational programs in Tampa and in New Orleans were greatly impressed with your ability to teach the subjects selected. Equally important, we were delighted with your profound understanding of our educational problems both at the local level and in the southern area generally.

We look forward to seeing you again and trust your schedule will never be too rigorous that we cannot again call upon you to help us in future development of the program.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

W.T. Edwards
Representative

cc; Pat Burke
Fred Hoehler

W. J. BURKE
Secretary-Treasurer

I. W. ABEL
President

J. P. MOLONY
Vice-President

United Steelworkers of America

AFL-CIO-CLC
GULF STATES ORGANIZING AREA — DISTRICT 36-G

4302 HENDERSON BLVD. P. O. BOX 18144
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33609

PAT BURKE
International Representative
In Charge

PHONE
253-3311

June 22, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I am in receipt of your letter dated June 17 and would like to take this opportunity to thank you for the booklets mentioned. I will be in touch with you if there is further need of the services of your office.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

Willie Payne

Willie Payne

June 22, 1966

Mr. Vernon Carbo
1709 Manus Heights
Marrero, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Carbo:

Enclosed is a copy of the booklet "How to Run a Union Meeting". I hope you will find it useful. You may find some of the suggestions for other pamphlets and films in the back of the book of special interest.

It was good to have had you in the sessions at the recent Steelworkers education conference in New Orleans. Please let me know if my program can ever be of assistance to you or the local union.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

June 23, 1966

Mr. W. T. Edwards
District 36-G
United Steelworkers of America
316 Tulane Building
3308 Tulane Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70119

Dear Bill:

Thanks for your kind letter of June 20. I think you ran two good conferences and I was happy to have some part in them.

It is always encouraging to see a district in the South get serious about its educational program. I look forward to good things coming out of it.

Let me know if in future planning of programs or teaching I can be of assistance.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

United Steelworkers of America

1500 COMMONWEALTH BUILDING
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15222

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

PHONE: 471-5254
CABLE ADDRESS: USWA

November 14, 1966

Mr. Emery Via
Director of Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

change to Alcoa motel
Alcoa -

Dear Emery:

A reservation has been made for you for Friday and Saturday, November 18 and 19, at the ~~Esquire Inn~~, directly across the road from the Knoxville, Tennessee, airport.

If your travel schedule permits, we would like to have dinner together at the Inn and then have a short discussion of the program.

Transportation to and from Local Union 309 will be provided by the sub-district office staff.

We will adjourn promptly at 1:00 p.m. on Sunday, so you may make your return travel accommodations accordingly.

A copy of the discussion material which each delegate will receive is enclosed. You may, of course, use other discussion materials to supplement these.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

John

John M. Powderly

JMP:mgm

Enclosure

USWA

EXPENSES FOR EMORY F. VIA IN CONNECTION WITH COMMITTEEMAN'S TRAINING INSTITUTE - NOVEMBER 19 - 20, 1966, ALCOA, TENNESSEE

AIR TRAVEL - Atlanta-Knoxville and return		$29.51
TAXICABS AND LIMOUSINES		13.75
MOTEL		12.48
MEALS		7.30
OTHER EXPENSES		1.15
HONORARIUM		100.00
TOTAL	$	164.19

Not State Union Concern

SIGNED_____
Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

DATE_____

December 12, 1966

Mr. M. C. Weston, Jr.
Director
District 35
United Steel Workers of America
1776 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Mr. Weston:

At the request of John Powderly in the Department of Education of the National Office, I am sending you the enclosed statement of expenses.

These expenses were incurred by my participation in a steward's training institute in Alcoa, Tennessee on November 19-20.

I am not certain that you were expecting such a statement from me, but it is my understanding from Powderly that it should come through you for audit purposes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc.

Dead UNIONS Un. Steelwkrs 1966

United Steelworkers of America

1500 COMMONWEALTH BUILDING
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15222

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

PHONE: 471-5254
CABLE ADDRESS: USWA

November 23, 1966

Mr. Emery Via
Director of Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council
No. 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emery:

I suggest that you send your expense statement to M. C. Weston, Jr., Director, District 35, USA, 1776 Peachtree Street, N.W., Suite 334, Atlanta, Georgia, 30309.

This is simply for audit purposes and should cause no undue delay.

Again, thanks for sacrificing a weekend to instruct our committeemen.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

John M. Powderly
mgm

John M. Powderly

JMP:mgm

FORM 424—COL.

USWA ?

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA

1500 COMMONWEALTH BUILDING
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA 15222

DATE March 1, 1967

TO: Mr. Leonard Webb

FROM: Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.

SUBJECT:

A recent telephone conversation with Director Weston indicates that, because of the forthcoming local union elections, it has been exceedingly difficult to recruit the proper individuals for the Teacher Training Institute.

He stated that he is most desirous of having this program be a successful one and suggests that we postpone the Institute until late August or early September.

While I want to get this new program started as soon as possible, I realize that its potential success will depend on the calibre of persons who participate in this initial effort. We will, therefore, postpone the Institute and will let you know the new date in due course.

In the meantime, in accordance with our plans, we will send out the materials which are being prepared. We must, I feel, be ready to move with courses early in the Fall, particularly for the new officers and grievancemen.

April 13, 1967

Mr. Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.
Director
Department of Education
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15222

Dear Fred:

Thanks for your letter of April 3 and I look forward to receiving the materials on the Teacher Training Institute.

My plans call for me to leave Atlanta August 1st.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

United Steelworkers of America

1500 COMMONWEALTH BUILDING
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15222

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

PHONE: 471-5254
CABLE ADDRESS: USWA

April 3, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Within a short time we will send you a copy of the Program of the Teacher Training Institute. We do want to take up some of the items which you suggest in your letter of March 8 and I will spell this out in the letter accompanying the program.

You mentioned that you hope that you will be available. Do you know now whether you will be spending the next year in Atlanta or will you be returning to Wisconsin?

Sincerely and fraternally,

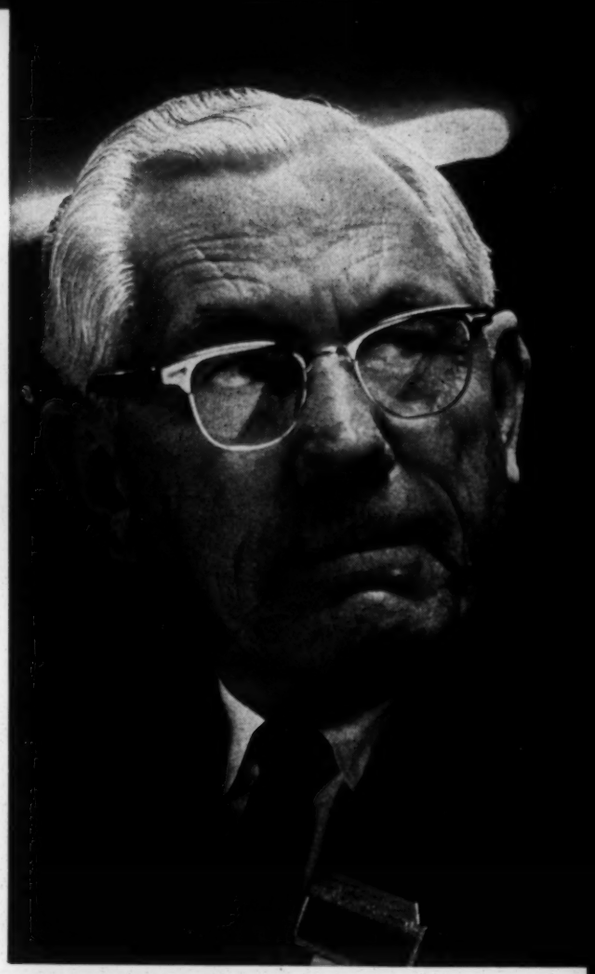
Fred K. Hoehler

Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.
Director

FKH:mgm

Rank-and-file ferment threatens steel peace

USW rebels charge President Abel devotes too much time to national causes. They would focus on membership complaints, authorize local strikes, reexamine AFL-CIO ties



I. W. Abel, who led a revolt at USW in 1965, faces one himself in 1969.

Since he ousted David J. McDonald as president of the United Steelworkers in a 1965 election, I. W. Abel has leaped into national prominence. He has reunited the leaders of USW's warring factions, negotiated two strike-free steel settlements, and assumed top AFL-CIO roles. Yet Abel faces a tough battle for reelection.

This time, unlike Abel's own revolt of "middle-management" union officers four years ago, the challenge is coming from the ranks—and it could be a potent one. Last week, Emil Narick, a lean, 52-year-old staff lawyer who heads a rank-and-file group, declared that he had won more than enough local union nominations to run against Abel in USW's Feb. 11 union-wide referendum.

Although Narick is definitely an underdog, his impressive nomination support in large basic-steel locals was a considerable blow to Abel's stature as the labor leader who "returned" his union to the rank-and-file. And it signaled to the troubled steel industry that along with import and profit problems it faces widespread unrest in the mills.

Bigger slate. The size and nature of the protest vote will be revealed next week in the official tally of nominations voted over the last month by 3,600 USW locals. Abel will win the nominations race—significant only as a barometer—by a very large margin. However, the count may put other candidates on the ballot for USW's three top offices.

A third presidential candidate, rank-and-filer William Litch, of Youngstown Local 1462, may make the ballot with a required 125 nominations. His fellow Rank-and-File Team (RAFT) candidate, Morros (Mo) Brummitt, of Aliquippa, Pa., could qualify to run against Secretary-Treasurer Walter J. Burke. But RAFT's vice-presidential candidate, Frank Felix, of Gary, Ind., has only a remote chance of opposing incumbent Joseph P. Molony on Feb. 11.

The prospect of an election fight can only be depressing for Abel, a white-haired, one-time foundryman whose belief in "fundamental trade unionism" and unostentatious team play has helped him become one of labor's ablest diplomats. At 60, he is often rumored as successor to AFL-CIO's president, George Meany.

Omens. Last week, as Narick continued to win large basic steel nominations in the Pittsburgh area by lopsided counts, Abel viewed his declining popularity "with real surprise, and a tinge of bitterness," says an associate. "He thinks he's worked pretty hard for the rank-and-file and doesn't deserve this slap in the face."

The mounting rebelliousness, in addition to dulling Abel's once bright image, also reflects a number of possible ill omens for the entire labor movement and steel industry:

- A growing rank-and-file isolationism; workers are demanding that their unions abandon labor's traditional liberal activism in national causes and attend to the rank-and-file's problems in the plants.
- An influx of young workers, reared on television and middleclass goals, many of them immune to old-timers' attempts to revive the union spirit of the 1930s.
- Long-smoldering discontent in basic steel over the effects of automation on jobs, earnings, and work practices, coupled with dissatisfaction with the 1968 steel contract.

As a result of these and other pressures, the Steelworkers now has been caught up in a furious political whirl. In addition to the top officers, at least 10 and possibly 14 of the union's 24 district directors will face election opposition. For a union that never had more than a few district races before 1964 this could presage future disruptive political jockeying.

"The days of Phil Murray and the empty ballot sheet are gone forever," says a USW staff man in California. "Abel's revolt in 1965 opened up the whole political process, and from here on in, all officers are going to have opposition."

Horse race. Narick, Litch, and other protest candidates are profiting from this heightened political climate, produced in part by USW's policy of electing all officers by referendum.

"With our referendum voting," says a former top McDonald aide, "any election opposition means a horse race. I seriously doubt whether Walter Reuther could have survived in this climate."

This is why Abel knows he will have to campaign hard to beat Narick. While Narick may only get a few hundred nominations (compared with Abel's count of 1,310 to 904 for McDonald in 1965), many of these are important ones.

Mill leverage. In the Pittsburgh area, where a dozen major steel mills dominate the river valleys, Narick made a clean sweep of the large locals. He was also nominated at large mills in Warren and Lorain, Ohio, Baltimore, Wheeling, W. Va., Alabama, and California.

However, Narick will be weak in Canada, which provided Abel's 10,142-vote margin of victory over McDonald in 1965. He apparently lacks strength also in the Midwest, and

particularly in the Chicago-Gary district, whose director, Joseph Germano, is a co-chairman of the Abel-Burke-Molony campaign. Narick also is weak—and Abel strong—in USW's nonferrous division, particularly among former Mine, Mill & Smelter Worker locals now in USW.

Then, too, nominating votes have only limited significance. Usually, fewer than 5% of a local membership turns out for the voting, and these are generally the local's activists. At the 9,000-member Homestead, Pa., local, for example, only 368 voted—but 354 picked Narick.

"Abel is in real trouble in the mills," says a field staff representative in the Pittsburgh area. "These people are angry and upset over the last steel contract."

Vacation demand. Workers in basic steel mills comprise 40% of USW's 1.2-million members. Steel rank-and-filers scoff at Abel's claim that the 1968 settlement was "the best ever negotiated in this or any other industry." They condemn him for not winning reinstatement of a cost-of-living escalator clause, for deferring all benefit and pay gains—except an immediate 20¢ pay hike—until the second and third years, and for extending the vacation scheduling period from a May to November basis to year-round.

"Our people are now being scheduled for vacations in January and February, and they're grumbling," says a rank-and-filer at U. S. Steel Local 1408 in McKeesport, Pa. "A guy will have to have 30 years' service before he'll qualify to take a summer vacation with his kids."

For workers who are increasingly demanding the prerogatives of middle-class life, restrictions on summer vacations symbolize one of the strongest sources of discontent in the mills. Most of steel's current work force, hired since World War II, are better educated and more demanding than their fathers from the old country. They complain that USW leaders neglect their in-plant problems.

Look inward. Abel campaigned against McDonald in 1965 on this very issue, claiming that McDonald's fondness for a free-swinging social life and hobnobbing with business executives made him an "absentee president." Now Abel is getting the same treatment.

A harder worker than McDonald, Abel follows a rigorous schedule. But as a profound believer in the old CIO tradition that a labor leader must immerse himself in political and civic affairs, Abel has spent much time away from his desk on AFL-CIO business, political campaigns, and as a member of public bodies such as the Civil Disorders Commission.

USW rebel Emil Narick (center) stressed local problems in campaigning.

For this he is roundly attacked by Narick. A USW president should have virtually no public life and should confine his outside activities to lobbying for labor legislation, says Narick. He proposes to "reexamine" USW's affiliation with AFL-CIO and "to consider other alignments" possibly beneficial to USW members.

RAFT's William Litch takes an even more isolationist position. "The international officers," he says, "should spend all their time solving rank-and-file problems. They should not serve on local, state, or national outside committees. The AFL-CIO is a waste of time and money."

Automation impact. Litch, 46, a former disciple of Donald Rarick, the rank-and-file leader who almost deposed McDonald in a 1957 contest, inherited his mantle when Rarick died in September. A millwright with 28 years at Youngstown Sheet & Tube, he was demoted to oiler in a force cutback last August at a cost of 88¢ an hour in his paycheck. It is this kind of problem, he says, that Abel and his colleagues should solve.

His problem is an example of one of the most volatile issues in the mills. All steelmakers are installing new automated and computer-controlled equipment, and jobs are dwindling at a rapid rate. The new processes, ironically, often pay less money than the old. Moreover, automation increases the chaos already spawned by hundreds of non-uniform incentive pay plans. USW and the industry are now working to soften the impact of these problems in joint study committees, but rank-and-filers view such studies with a jaundiced eye.

As militants on local plant problems, both Narick and Litch would reintroduce local strikes in the steel industry—a move that Abel has carefully avoided. They would also let rank-and-filers ratify or reject contract settlements, a more "democratic" procedure, they contend, than the current vote by industry conferences of local presidents.

Enigmatic. Although Narick has campaigned tirelessly over the past month, chatting with rank-and-filers for hours on end, occasionally downing a shot and a beer in a workers' bar, he remains something of an enigma to most steelworkers. He is obviously not completely at ease as a politician, and he admits having been a "political neutral" during his 10 years with the Steelworkers. He did not support either Abel or McDonald in 1965.

He admits also that he has never been involved in high union policy-making or big industry bargaining. Says a puzzled staff man in USW's Pittsburgh headquarters: "Emil has always been a competent lawyer, but no one ever thought of inviting him to any sort of conferences where ideas were discussed."

There is some vagueness, too, as to what made him decide to run against Abel. Narick says his decision came because he believes that Abel is "wedded to a philosophy of the past." However, there are indications that some field staff representatives encouraged him to run, at least partly because his opposition would give them a bargaining point in pay talks with the Abel administration. They recently won a salary increase. **End**

EV

Narick's Unofficial Total Put at 41% in Challenge To Head Steelworkers

Wall St. Journal

USW Lawyer's Bid to Beat Abel For Union's Presidency Drew Unexpectedly Strong Showing

2/17/69

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

PITTSBURGH—Emil E. Narick, the relatively unknown United Steelworkers staff lawyer who challenged I. W. Abel for the presidency of the giant union, appears to have polled an unexpectedly strong 41% of the vote in last week's election.

A Wall Street Journal survey of unofficial returns from 20 of the union's 24 geographical districts in the U.S. and Canada shows Mr. Abel with 195,668 votes to Mr. Narick's 138,194, with returns practically complete at most of the reporting districts.

Official results aren't likely to be known for several weeks, until the union's international tellers meet to certify results from each of the 1,250,000-member union's approximately 3,600 locals. The tellers will begin their count Friday. They also must rule on challenges likely to be filed at several locals.

Neither Mr. Abel nor Mr. Narick have commented publicly on the vote in the election Tuesday. Mr. Abel is in Bal Harbour, Fla., for an AFL-CIO meeting; Mr. Narick, at his home in Pittsburgh, says only that his supporters are making their own count of the vote. Abel aides stopped reporting their own unofficial tallies on Wednesday, when Mr. Abel had a two-to-one lead.

Setback for Abel Seen

The election has been interpreted as a setback for Mr. Abel, who had hoped to hold Mr. Narick's showing to 15% of the vote. But in addition to the challenger's strong showing, voters apparently rejected several of the union's powerful district directors, whom Mr. Abel had supported and who had supported him.

Mr. Narick showed his greatest strength in the Pittsburgh area, where he is best known. In District 15, which includes most of the Monongahela Valley, the center of Pittsburgh steelmaking operations, Mr. Narick pulled 20,500 votes to Mr. Abel's 8,500. In District 20, also in the Pittsburgh area, Mr. Narick drew 24,538 votes to Mr. Abel's 13,655. The challenger also appears to have won in large basic-steelmaking districts such as Cleveland and Youngstown, Ohio.

Mr. Narick ran on the platform that Mr. Abel didn't do enough for his members in last year's basic steel contract negotiations. Though Mr. Abel won a 6% wage and fringe benefit increase in the three-year pact, members claimed it wasn't enough. Many objected to the lack of a cost-of-living escalator in the contract, and others felt it slighted their needs on specific issues such as incentive pay, the contracting out of maintenance work and layoff and retirement provisions.

Trend at Some Locals

In fact, some observers saw a trend to Mr. Narick in basic steel locals, as opposed to locals at fabricating plants or those in nonferrous industries such as aluminum and mining. Said one staff representative in a district where Narick drew a substantial margin,

rous industries such as aluminum and mining. Said one staff representative in a district where Narick drew a substantial margin, "When our fabricating locals came in, we had Abel running two-to-one ahead. It wasn't until the large basic steel vote came in that we found a change in the trend."

Among district directors who apparently lost their bids for reelection is James P. Griffin, director of District 26 in Youngstown since 1947 and cochairman of Mr. Abel's campaign. Mr. Griffin said at a press conference Saturday that he trails Frank Leseganich, president of Local 1462 in Youngstown, by about 1,000 votes. Mr. Griffin said, however, that he wouldn't concede until official tallies are made.

Other apparent losers are Paul E. Schremp, director of District 28 in Cleveland, who reportedly trails challenger Joseph Kender, president of Local 2265 in Cleveland, and Lester Thornton, District 38 director in Los Angeles, who unofficially was reported to have 17,606 votes to subdirector Joseph Angelo's 20,460.

Negro Candidate Trails

Anthony F. Barbieri, an Abel-backed candidate for director of District 4 in Buffalo. N.Y., is reported to have lost, as is Leander Simms, the first Negro to run for a district director post in the union; he sought to head District 8 in Baltimore. Mr. Abel had supported Mr. Simms and had appeared in Baltimore recently to recommend Mr. Simms' election. The apparent defeat of Mr. Simms by Edward Plato means that the union's 33-man executive board will remain all white, something Mr. Abel had hoped to change.

Mr. Plato was reported to have 7,609 votes to Mr. Simms' 5,650. Albert Atallah, the incumbent director, didn't run for reelection.

Paul M. Hilbert, incumbent director of District 15, McKeesport, Pa., said he trailed challenger Joseph Odorcich, a staff representative, by 400 votes. The outcome of this election will have to await settlement of a dispute over charges of ballot switching at Local 1397 in Homestead. Pa. Union sources have charged that about 1,000 uncounted ballots were stolen from the union hall during counting. The Department of Labor, at the request of Local 1397 president John McManigal, is investigating the charges.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File — ACLU

April 20, 1967

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 27th

The membership meeting at the Atlanta Press Club was successful and productive. Over a hundred members attended to take part in the workshops, meet the new officers, hear of the Georgia ACLU's activities and, sadly, bid farewell to Florence Robin, retiring Executive Director.

Mrs. Robin gave a run down on the progress our chapter has made in the past two years. She contrasted the hopes and expectations she held when she assumed the directorship, and the realities of where we now are. She noted that Capital Punishment still exists, the loyalty oath has been diluted but still remains, prayers are still held in many public schools, a teacher tenure law is still nonexistant and that there is a Public Defender now in Fulton County but in the rest of the state, very little progress has been made in providing counsel for the indegent.

She reported that membership when she was first employed was one hundred eighty two in Georgia and we now have over eight hundred members and we have two new chapters -- Macon and Athens.

She mentioned that the "unplanned" cases, the Julian Bond case, the Georgia Elections case, the Alcoholics, the Prostitutes and the Homosexuals cases, because of the publicity they received, had a tremendous effect, educating the public and informing them of the real nature of civil liberties.

She felt the ACLU of Georgia could take particular pride in the "Know Your Rights" pamphlet. Its impact was not only in the "undereducated" but also in the Police Departments which have used it. (We are still supplying other ACLU chapters, college sociology classes and similar groups with copies.)

President Al Kehrer covered future goals for the organization; starting and helping new chapters in the state; continued membership growth and particularly, the need to involve individual members in our programs. To this end, we are enclosing two forms. One that will give us a profile, that will tell us your areas of interest, your talents, your thinking, opinions and suggestions. The second form is for a listing of your friends

or of anyone that you feel might be good prospects for ACLU membership. The envelope enclosed is for the return of this information.

REPORT FROM THE WORKSHOPS

The members present divided into workshops covering the following: Death Penalty, Civil Liberties Education, Children Behind Bars and Rights of Welfare Recipients. Recommendations were made for ACLU action and two of the workshops formed the initial committees to that end. Again, on your profile form, your comments on these subjects will be appreciated.

DEATH PENALTY: 1) The ACLU of Georgia should oppose capital punishment and should work actively for its abolition.

2) A referendum, as proposed by the Governor, should be supported.

3) The ACLU should work actively with other groups in the state who are concerned with abolition; we should NOT take the public lead in supporting abolition because of the detrimental effect which ACLU involvement might have in various parts of the state.

4) Help should be solicited from the clergy of the state.

5) ACLU members should watch "Letters to the Editor", and answer letters which favor the retention of capital punishment.

6) A leaflet on capital punishment in other states should be considered.

7) The ACLU Newsletter should give members facts and history of capital punishment and its abolition in other states.

8) Petitions should be ruled out as being effective.

9) The ACLU should take any capital punishment cases which come to its attention, and a special fund should be established to pay the cost of such cases.

10) "Georgians for the Abolition of Capital Punishment" should be reactivated.

11) An Ad Hoc Committee on the Death Penalty, comprised of members of the workshops, was formed, with Mike Mahoney as Chairman.

CIVIL LIBERTIES EDUCATION: 1) A Speakers Bureau should be formed to be available to speak to interested groups. ACLU members should be used in this way.

2) Attempts to get a civil liberties education program into the school should be made. Social studies teachers should be contacted.

3) A booth might be operated at state conventions of various civic groups.

4) "Educational material" should be incorporated in news releases about cases in which the ACLU is involved.

5) More use should be made of filmstrips which are available from National ACLU.

6) T.V. and Radio should be utilized to put on educational programs.

7) Thought should be given of how to overcome the "red" image which the ACLU had in many quarters; approaches to the "conservative" community should be attempted.

CHILDREN BEHIND BARS: 1) A questionnaire should be sent to statewide members of the ACLU to gain information on the practices of juvenile courts and the handling of juvenile cases throughout the state.

2) An attempt should be made to learn how far Georgia is from meeting the standards of the Gault decision.

3) A pamphlet should be produced containing the results of this survey.

4) An Ad Hoc Committee, comprising members of the workshop, was formed. Mr. N. B. Versluys is the Chairman.

DUE PROCESS: 1) A survey of police procedures in the 5 county metropolitan area should be made.

2) Information on vagrancy arrests and bonding procedures should be accumulated.

3) Thought should be given to regarding homosexuality as a disease, just as alcoholism is now coming to be viewed.

4) A statewide public defender system should be established.

RIGHTS OF WELFARE RECIPIENTS: 1) A pamphlet for welfare recipients, advising them of their rights, (similar to "Know Your Rights") should be produced, to educate not only the recipient, but also the social worker and administrators.

2) A study should be made to determine whether Georgia laws and administrative procedures are consistent with the requirements of federal laws and procedures.

3) The scope of such a study should be limited to those areas which are covered in the National ACLU handbook.

4) It was recommended that a committee be formed, with Mike DeVito as Chairman.

A WARNING FROM NATIONAL ACLU: The Right and Importance of Dissent

The American Civil Liberties Union warns that freedom of expression is in danger because of the rising tension over the Vietnam War, declaring that "unless the right and importance of dissent are reaffirmed and defended, the nation could slip back into a new era of McCarthyism with its dangers to a free society -- fear, conformity and sterility."

The Union's appraisal was prompted by recent statements of public officials and prominent citizens seeking to curb or silence dissidence from government policy in Vietnam, and by a random survey of 43 ACLU affiliates across the nation revealing local pressures on dissenters.

While noting that dissent has not been smothered, " the time to worry, and to act, is not after dissent has been choked off, but when the evidence of repression come on the horizon. As the war escalates and citizens continue to demand more bombing -- or the end of bombing, or negotation or outright withdrawal of American troops -- clear and discernible pressures are rising for restraints and punishment of those who oppose the war."

The ACLU emphasized that its concern dealt exclusively with the right of dissent, taking "no organizational position on the war itself".

THE ALCOHOLICS CASE -- DRUNK OR SICK

The case now goes before the Fulton Superior Court and should come up sometime midsummer. Municipal court Judge R.E. Jones found the plaintiff guilty of public drunkeness and loafing but suspended punishment in both convictions and granted certiorari for an appeal. The ACLU was pleased that the way had been paved for the higher court to settle the issue: can a chronic alcoholic, a sick man according to a section in the Georgia Code, be legally arrested and sentenced on a drunk charge.

The following are the names of friends or acquaintances who should be asked to join the American Civil Liberties Union:'

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

_____ You may use my name when you circularize them.

_____ I would prefer it if you did not use my name.

PROFILE

Name _____

Address _____

Occupation _____ Telephone # _____

Particular area of interest (Death Penalty, Children Behind Bars, Due Process, Rights of Welfare Recipients and Civil Liberties Education, others)

Talent (writing, research, membership recruitment, folding, stuffing, etc.)

Can or cannot volunteer time _____.

Approximately how much if yes _____.

Opinions, comments and suggestions (on anything)

IAM EDUCATION
BULLETIN
Education Department, Machinists Building, 1300 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036

Ala

67-4 September, 1967

A FAIR PICTURE OF UNIONS IN OUR SCHOOLS?

High schools are one of the most important institutions in our society because they mold the opinions of all the young people in our communities. What ideas about unions do our schools transmit to the students? That is a question which concerns all our local lodges.

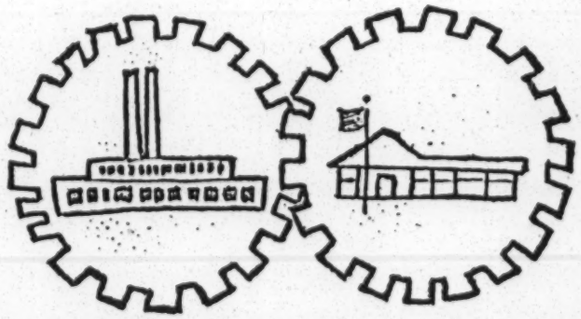
WHAT IS OUR RELATIONSHIP TO THE SCHOOLS?

From time to time, in communities where unions are strong, high school principals may ask our lodges to provide speakers on labor subjects, or to present their labor viewpoint in a social studies class or history class -- in other words, to act as a resource for the students. This, however, is the exception rather than the rule. We cannot expect it to happen automatically.

As representatives of the labor movement we have a responsibility to the community, and to all the young people who are being educated. It is up to us to lay the groundwork for establishing relations with all the secondary schools in our areas. Many schools have not yet accepted the fact that unions form an integral part of the community. How do we get them to do so? Before we consider ways in which this might be done, let's get to the heart of the matter --

HOW IS UNIONISM TAUGHT IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS?

Our own children learn about unions from their parents. When we sign a new contract, they hear at the dinner table about gains in wages, pensions, or insurance. When we have to go on strike, they learn why this drastic step is necessary and why the strike is a vital weapon as well as a democratic right. Our children may even tell us about a teacher who gave a biased presentation of unions in his class, or they may show us a misrepresentation which they have come across in one of their text books. The printed page does not always jibe with what they have heard at home.



But how about the large majority of school children whose parents do not belong to unions, or may be prejudiced against unions? What impression of the trade union movement do these students get in their classes? How is the history of the trade union movement and its current affairs treated in most of our schools?

According to Lee Scoggins in his recent book "Labor and Learning", based upon a study of 70 text books used in the 11th and 12th grades in Los Angeles, "by and large students receive an inadequate, often distorted and sometimes biased picture

of the role of labor unions". If this happens in Los Angeles, it is likely to occur in most areas of the country.

As union members concerned with education, is it our responsibility to look into the teaching of labor history and unionism in our own schools? If we run across instances of bias or misrepresentation of facts, is there anything we might do to encourage a more objective presentation?

Let's consider the most effective way of handling this question of presenting unionism in our schools. To launch a formal inquiry might antagonize the school principal and the teachers and would defeat our purpose. What other approaches can we make?

HOW CAN WE BEST ACQUAINT TEACHERS AND STUDENTS WITH THE FACTS ABOUT UNIONS?

Here are some steps which your Local Lodge Education Committee might take:

1. First, establish good relationships with all the public and private schools in your community. We suggest that you make appointments with the principals of these schools. Send no more than two (2) committee members. Offer the services of your lodge as a source of information about organized labor and labor history. Here are some proposals you might make:

   - Tell the principal that should a speaker be desired to present the labor point of view on a panel or in American history or social studies classes, you are at his service.

   - Through the principal, invite both teachers and students to visit your Local Lodge office or District headquarters. Arrange it so that your president or business representative will be on hand to explain and answer questions.

   - The chances are that very few students have any idea of what goes into the making of many articles in their every day life which are produced by members of the IAM, such as airplanes, printing machines, musical instruments, computers, motion picture machines and refrigerators.

   - Suggest to the principal that your union would be glad to explain to the students what is required of machinists, tool and die makers, millwrights and other skills. If your Lodge can make the necessary arrangements, offer to take a group of students through one of our IAM plants to look at the various operations.

     The most important thing would be to let the students meet the shop steward in the plant and talk to him for a few minutes. This will give them a picture of an IAM shop that will make a far more lasting impression than any talk in class or at a school assembly.

2. When your committee members visit the principal, be sure that they leave with him a couple of pamphlets about the IAM and its programs. (A list of pamphlets and books is included in this bulletin.) Offer to put the school library on the mailing list for THE MACHINIST newspaper.

3. Offer to bring a film such as "The Inheritance" or "This Union Cause" to show to the students in assembly. They will learn more from the impact of a film than from simply being "told". Be sure to hold a question-and-answer period afterward.

4. For one of your education programs at a lodge meeting, invite an American history teacher or a social studies teacher to talk on how the subject of labor relations is presented in his class. Remember that he has in his class employers' and business executives' children, and professional and white collar children, as well as working class children who do not necessarily come from union families.

   - If there is a local union of the American Federation of Teachers in your community, its officers may be able to suggest the names of teachers to invite. During the question period, the matter of how labor history and unionism are handled in class can be discussed.

   - If the teachers are not members of the American Federation of Teachers, or perhaps are even anti-labor, it would be a good idea to warn the lodge members ahead of time not to shoot a fusilade of questions at the speakers. It is more important to encourage an impartial point of view, particularly if the teachers are not sympathetic to labor, than to put them on the spot. To antagonize them would turn them against unions instead of laying a foundation for understanding.

5. The members of the Education Committee may want to study labor history and current affairs to acquaint themselves with the subject in case they are called upon to speak.

   - If it seems advisable, you might ask the teachers to lend you some of the textbooks they use in class.

     Should the study group find any inaccuracies in the high school textbooks, the Education Committee might then discuss the most effective way of appealing to their sense of fairness and making the facts available to the teachers who use the textbooks.

6. Most of us who have children in school belong to the PTA. This is an opportunity to meet other parents as well as teachers.

   - Education Committee members should make a point of attending PTA meetings, especially at the beginning of the school year where the organization sets up its agenda for the year. The role of unions in fighting for a public school system might be suggested as a topic.

   - Swing or night shift workers might get their wives to pinch-hit for them. If the wives work too, recruit PTA members at the Lodge meeting.

In short:

1. Visit the principals of all the secondary schools in your community.

2. Offer -- union resource persons for classes,
   -- visits to Local or District headquarters,
   -- THE MACHINIST for the school libraries,
   -- a tour of an IAM plant if feasible.

3. Arrange to show a labor film at the schools.

4. Invite teachers of social studies or American history to talk to your members at a special education program. Ask the assistance of the American Federation of Teachers in your locality.

5. Set up a group to study labor history and union affairs. This, or another group, may want to examine school textbooks for misrepresentation of the role of unions.

6. Work within the PTA to educate parents and teachers about unions.

UNION REPRESENTATION ON THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

Unions are practically the only organized group that stand for the broad interests of the community. For this reason it is of the utmost importance therefore to elect members to the Board of Education who have a fair viewpoint on all social questions including labor, and who believe in obtaining good, well-rounded teachers.

Members of the Board of Education, if they are fair, should be willing to draw up an adequate budget to allow the highest possible salaries for teachers, and to stand ready to defend their budget convincingly before the city or county fathers.

Your Local Lodge Education Committee should work with the Lodge Legislative and MNPL Committees and cooperate with the local AFL-CIO or provincial central body, to elect responsible, broadminded members to the Board of Education.

- Of course, this is a long-term project. It should be started long before the election to permit time for interviewing, screening and bringing candidates before the lodge or central body to express their views.

- If organized labor in your community should decide to support a candidate for the Board of Education, it would be essential to coordinate plans for the political campaign with the unions involved, and also to rally additional support from other interested sectors of the community.

- To help secure the necessary votes to elect your candidate to the Board of Education, your committee should conduct a well-planned educational canvass of every member of the Lodge. Person to person discussion of the issues involved, including the teaching of unionism in our high schools, would be more effective than just a handbill distribution.

BUT USE YOUR STEWARDS FIRST. LET THEM SPREAD THE WORD.

Reference List

FOR LODGE EDUCATION COMMITTEES

The Bias In High School Textbooks. Reprint January, 1967. American Federationist, AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. Available from IAM Education Dept.

Keys To Facts And Understanding. AFL-CIO. List of pamphlets.

What Are Our High School Students Being Taught About Organized Labor. Robert L. Kanter. Write to Labor Education Center, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.

Teaching Industrial Relations In High Schools by Robert Doherty. Labor and Industrial Relations Division, Cornell University, Utica, New York.

Labor In America. H. Faulkner and Mark Starr, Oxford Book Co., New York 3, N. Y. $1.60 paperback.

Education And Income. Patricia C. Sexton. Single copies, in short supply, obtainable from IAM Education Dept.

History Of Canadian Labour. C. A Scotten, Canadian Labour Congress, Ottawa 4, Canada.

Brief History Of The American Labor Movement. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Dept. of Labor. Single copies available from IAM Education Dept.

FOR THE SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

Why Labor Unions Today - IAM

Facts For Self-Respecting People - IAM

Profile - IAM

What Comes After High School - IAM

The IAM Scholarship Program.

The Machinist - IAM

American Federationist - AFL-CIO $2 a year.

Agenda - Indus. Union Dept. AFL-CIO $3.50 a year.

FOR TEACHERS

The Place of Labor in American Society by Charles W. Miller, Member of American Federation of Teachers, Gary, Indiana. This is a background resource for teachers, with bibliography and lists of film strips and recordings. Write to IAM Education Dept.

The Labor Movement In The United States. Dept. of Public Instruction, Harrisburg, Pa. This includes a list of high school textbooks containing chapters dealing with labor and a short list of source materials. Write to the Pennsylvania State AFL-CIO, Front and Pine Streets, Harrisburg, Pa.

IAM EDUCATION DEPARTMENT ACTIVITIES

During the summer of 1967 the Education Department has conducted eighteen Machinists' Leadership Schools in the United States and Canada. This was a record number of schools. There was also a record attendance of over 800 officers, stewards, committeemen and members of our IAM Lodges. We thank the Lodges and Districts for sending students to the schools, and the students for devoting a concentrated week to learning and discussion.

Twelve of the 5-day programs were basic schools, six were advanced schools. One of the basic schools was planned for the sole benefit of French-speaking Canadians and conducted entirely in French. The program at the basic schools was much the same as in previous years. The advanced schools dealt with collective bargaining, communication, leadership, current union problems and politics.

The IAM Education staff was the same as last year. In addition to the Territorial Representatives assigned to education, several Grand Lodge Representatives who had never before done so participated as instructors. Three additional universities sponsored our IAM program for the first time.

As the fall and winter seasons approach, the Education Department stands ready to assist Lodge Education Committees in planning their programs. We will be glad to suggest written materials for these programs, and to help in every way possible.

Please call on us.

Ah

"Poverty and Prosperity: The Challenge of Affluence"

The School for Workers
University Extension

USWA Summer Institute Fourth Year Program
July 14 - 18, 1968

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8:00 - 10:00 am	Introduction and Orientation Emory Via	Problems and Prospects in Public Welfare Joseph Heffernan	Mental Health: Problems of the Poor James Kennedy	Civil Disorders Emory Via	The Union Role Emory Via
10:00 - 10:30	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee	Coffee
10:30 - 12:00	Security in Society Emory Via	Heffernan, continued	Guaranteed Income Emory Via	Urban Problems Emory Via	Summary and Conclusion Emory Via
12:00 - 1:00	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
1:00 - 1:45	Assemblies	(see institute program)	(no assembly)		
2:00 - 4:00	Problems Caused by Affluence Richard Hamilton	Consumer Problems of the Poor Lynne Shifflett	1:00 - 3:00 Student Discontent: The Attack on Established Institutions Adam Schesh	Leisure Time in the American Future	
			PICNIC		
Evening Programs	(see Institute Program)				

Class sessions will be held in Cole Basement

LPA VS. J.W. f.y.i. Unions — ALA

Please return to EV

Labor

Tough new team gets on the road

Alliance for Labor Action finally starts rolling as Teamsters and UAW join forces to push social and organizing goals

Like a couple of blue-collar workers having a brew in the toughest bar in town, the United Auto Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters looked each other over this week, decided to trust each other, and declared themselves ready to take on any outside challengers. But, they said they were not spoiling for a fight.

The mood of togetherness was created in a two-day meeting in Washington in which the two giant unions formally founded their long-planned Alliance for Labor Action.

As partners, the 2-million-member Teamsters and the 1.4-million-member Auto Workers seem an improbable match, and some officials who were meeting each other for the first time were wary. But the meeting wound up with leaders on both sides convinced they had forged a new union team that would "revitalize the labor movement."

Synergy. The benefits of togetherness were immediately apparent. For the UAW, which clearly will provide the main thrust, the alliance gives UAW President Walter Reuther a powerful base from which to push the causes he espoused within the AFL-CIO, programs he claims were ignored by the federation. For the Teamsters, who have been outcasts in the labor movement since their expulsion from the AFL-CIO in 1956, the ALA offers new opportunities to belong. Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons will have an equal voice with UAW President Reuther in the alliance, and Teamster members will help provide the organizing muscle to back Reuther's ideological thrust.

Traditionally, the Teamsters and UAW have been as far apart philosophically as their leaders are in personality. But when the quiet, businesslike Fitzsimmons and the aggressive, evangelistic Reuther heralded the opening of their new alliance, they sounded like long-time fellow unionists whose coming together was a natural outgrowth of their mutual labor struggles.

Indeed, after a rather awkward opening—Teamster officials arrived 45 minutes late—the conference resembled an old-time labor federation convention as the 489 delegates (242 Teamsters, 247 Auto Workers) passed a series of resolutions running the gamut of labor and social programs—and clear through domestic and international issues. In a carefully planned program, Fitzsimmons, Reuther, and other IBT and UAW leaders alternated at the microphone, urging support for the resolutions.

Togetherness is keynote as UAW's evangelistic Walter Reuther sets fighting aims for ALA. Frank Fitzsimmons (seated) has pledged full support of his Teamsters.

Plans and punch. To support their goals to organize "millions of unorganized workers," "revitalize collective bargaining," build "community unions," promote urban redevelopment, and accomplish a host of other ends, the two unions pledged a joint treasury of some $4.2-million annually, financed from 10¢-per-month-per-member payments.

But even as Fitzsimmons and Reuther emphasized that the alliance resulted from the labor movement's failure to tackle domestic and social issues, both insisted it was not intended to be a rival of the AFL-CIO. "The ALA," said Fitzsimmons, "is not a competitive labor federation. Indeed, it is the competition between labor organizations which we seek to place at rest."

Said Reuther: "We shall extend the hand of cooperation and support to any organization that is prepared to cooperate in the task of organizing the millions of unorganized, whether they be industrial workers or white-collar workers, whether they be workers in the South or migratory workers, or the working poor."

Challenge. But he added that "we do not accept the proposition that any organization has a divine right to sit upon its paper jurisdiction claims and block the organization of a million unorganized workers in America."

The ALA leaders made clear they are likely to differ with the AFL-CIO on a number of issues. Officials of both unions, for example, sharply denounced the Administration's plan to go ahead with even limited deployment of antiballistic missiles. Recently, the AFL-CIO executive council pledged support of whatever decision President Nixon made on the ABM.

If the combined thrust of heavy financial support and a weighty agenda is sufficient, the ALA is a going concern. It has rented office space in Washington, and the two unions have agreed to name co-chairmen and four special representatives each to an executive council. After a year of planning, the alliance appears ready to open its doors.

However, an intensive search has so far failed to produce a candidate for the post of ALA director. Nor has the alliance taken in any new members, though the welcome mat has been out some time.

Prospects? Significantly, officials of several AFL-CIO unions appeared at the meeting as "special guests," sitting in a roped-off section at the rear of the convention hall. These union observers included a team from the International Chemical Workers Union, headed by President Thomas E. Boyle, and a trio from the

United Glass & Ceramic Workers, with President Ralph Reiser. None of these officials indicated they were prepared to join ALA immediately, though the ICWU had voted at its last convention to align itself with the alliance.

Said one ICWU official: "There's absolutely no pressure on us here. We want to see what's happening." One obvious concern: AFL-CIO President George Meany's call for expulsion of any federation affiliate that joins the ALA.

Despite Meany's castigation of ALA as a "rival federation," the alliance showed drawing power in official circles. Labor Secretary George P. Shultz and Federal Mediation Director J. Curtis Counts were featured speakers. Counts, explaining his presence, said: "It may surprise you to know that one-fifth of all cases handled by our federal mediators involve the Teamsters and the United Auto Workers."

Action. But the meeting's principal business was its "statement of purposes and objectives and constitution." And the delegates approved the establishment of "a voluntary emergency defense fund with sufficient resources to provide meaningful assistance to workers under circumstances where management refuses to bargain in good faith in a deliberate effort to weaken, undermine, and destroy the union involved as an appropriate and effective bargaining agent."

The size of the defense fund was not decided, but the ALA delegates made their first contribution: $25,000 to the striking hospital workers in Charleston, S. C.

In dividing ALA responsibilities, Fitzsimmons takes on the organizing programs, Reuther the social action campaigns. Each official is to be aided by two representatives from the other union. UAW Vice-President Pat Greathouse, pointing to ALA organizing targets, cited such likely areas as chemicals, textiles, furniture, transportation, and chain stores.

At home. Despite the tardy opening and the initial wariness, particularly on the part of the Teamsters, the founding conference went off on schedule without incident. One Teamster leader noted privately: "Our fellows seem to be coming around."

And IBT Vice-President Murry W. (Dusty) Miller noted from the platform: "This is the first time the Teamsters have been asked to join hands with another labor union [pause] that had any money."

Internal strains may develop, however, when the ALA seeks to implement at least one of its announced goals: support of mass-produced factory housing "to meet America's housing crisis." The UAW already has a sizable investment in this field in its collective bargaining contracts with prefabricated housing factories in Detroit. The powerful AFL-CIO building trades unions oppose factory-built housing—and the Teamsters have close ties with these unions in many parts of the country.

AFL-CIO weathers the loss

Withdrawal of Auto Workers hasn't hurt federation as much as expected, but it has left some weaknesses

One year has passed since the AFL-CIO's biggest union and goad—the United Auto Workers—left the fold. Today, the federation is "feeling no pains and the irritation's gone," says an AFL-CIO spokesman.

Less clinically, the federation does show some weaknesses. The loss of membership and income has forced some cuts. Significantly, organizing efforts have been hurt. And the expulsion of UAW officials from state and local central bodies has caused a leadership gap.

The pullout. Walter Reuther led the Auto Workers from the federation in May, 1968, after a long dispute with AFL-CIO President George Meany reached a point of no return. UAW said "the federation has become isolated from the mainstream and too often acts like a comfortable, complacent custodian of the status quo."

Recently, AFL-CIO's executive council issued a 40,000-word reply to "clear the record." But with the federation's biennial convention set for Atlantic City early in October, the Meany vs. Reuther, AFL-CIO vs. UAW debate is far from over.

A 10% loss . . . Withdrawal of UAW from the 130-union federation cut its total membership and income by roughly 10%; AFL-CIO dropped from 14.5-million members in affiliated unions to 13.1-million without UAW. It lost about $100,000 a month in per capita income. Indirectly, it lost more: UAW cut off funds to the Industrial Union Dept., once a dynamic force for organizing and other action, now only a low-power, small-budget agency.

The loss of money hurt. But Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler, who retires June 30, insists that it has hurt less than many had expected.

Some programs have been curtailed, but part of these—such as AFL-CIO's $350,000 a year for the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—probably would have been curtailed anyway. Staff has been pared down, but in a number of instances this was done by not replacing UAW technicians who quit. A spokesman commented, "Nothing that's needed to be done has been canceled."

. . . but still hearty. A few days ago, Lane Kirkland, executive assistant to Meany and recently designated successor to Schnitzler, said that AFL-CIO is "very healthy" today. Without Reuther, he suggested, it's united to an extent that it wasn't a year ago. It has gained back some of the membership ground lost, mostly in the public employment and services fields: Its unions now claim 13.5-million members. And, according to Kirkland, the federation is "pushing ahead smoothly."

Weaknesses. But the withdrawal of UAW has left areas of weakness.

It isn't doing as much as it would like to supplant IUD activities in organizing aid. While autonomous unions are on their own in organizing, bargaining, and other activities, the federation does have a small staff of organizers who can be assigned to pep up lagging campaigns here and there.

Lack of funds and staff are only a part of the reason, however. Federation leaders say that a more important factor is the lack of organizing cooperation by individual unions, largely the result of jurisdictional and other rivalries. AFL-CIO says that more mergers would help.

Another and bigger weakness today is in the ranks of AFL-CIO subordinate state and local central bodies. For years, many of these drew on UAW locals for leadership and financial support. In many of these lower federations, UAW unionists were kept in office for months, by common consent. Most have now been forced out by orders from Meany's office in Washington. Leadership gaps have developed and activities have suffered in many places.

Political action may be hurt over the long run, but cooperation between AFL-CIO and UAW groups was almost completely unimpaired last November. Any weakening of the ties between AFL-CIO state and local central bodies and UAW could be reflected in elections and laws.

And AFL-CIO is about to be forced into what could be an unpopular increase in its per capita levy on unions. A dues increase will be proposed in October to finance the costs of year-round, every-year voter registration campaigns in all major states, and to pay for a "labor college" to be established by the federation in Washington next fall. While the dues raise will be pushed as necessary for the new programs, it probably wouldn't have been necessary if UAW was still paying per capita.

New faces. Two weeks ago, the federation took steps in one direction that Reuther had said it should go: An executive council subcommittee proposed that AFL-CIO increase its number of vice-presidents from 27 to 33 "to recognize new areas of real or potential growth . . . and to extend leadership opportunities to a wider segment of the labor movement."

No unions were suggested, but it's almost certain that public employee unions and those in technical and service areas will get most of the new seats: They have been growing the fastest and producing young and effective new leaders. **End**

Alliance for Labor Action

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Vol. 9, No. 22 June 2, 1969

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

Launch ALA to rejuvenate U. S. labor

America's largest unions join hands to organize the working poor, attack ABM, work for tax reform, build new programs to free the oppressed

Teamster General Vice President Fitzsimmons and UAW President Reuther join hands as ALA gets underway.

America's two biggest unions—embracing nearly 4 million workers—put together an alliance last week with a special accent.

The Alliance for Labor Action (ALA) combines the Teamsters and Auto Workers in a giant undertaking to organize millions of non-union workers and to combat poverty where it occurs.

As a byproduct of the ALA's founding conference a new anti-war coalition of unionists has also been built.

"We find the youth of the nation up in arms over an unpopular war in Vietnam," Teamster Vice President Frank Fitzsimmons told the ALA conference in a keynote message, **"up in arms over the billions of dollars this country spends annually to carry on this war in the Far East, when our own people are begging right here at home."**

Fitzsimmons emphasized, and UAW President Reuther echoed the same note, that the ALA was not another labor federation. A new approach aimed at the solution of today's unique problems is the ALA's "thing." Programs will be financed by per capita payment of 10 cents a month per member by the two organizations.

The two day session in Washington heard speeches by Labor Secretary George Shultz, Illinois U. S. Sena-

(Continued on Page 5)

A report in photos plus a digest of speeches and resolutions from the founding conference of the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA)

Photo coverage by Frank Alexander

National Security, ABM and Human Needs

"Throughout the last quarter of a century, the first twenty-five years of the nuclear age, nations of the world have persisted in the traditional search for national security through the accumulation of military power, as if the advent of nuclear weapons had not completely transformed the nature of warfare and the foundations of international diplomacy.

"Half the governments of the earth spend more on defense than on education. The average annual expenditure per soldier worldwide in 1966 was $7,800. Yet the average annual public expenditure for each of the estimated one billion school-age youth from age 5 to 19 was only about $100.

U.S. military budget can be cut from $5 billion to $20 billion without impairing U.S. security, says ALA.

"The world's public health budget—about $52 billion—was only one-third of the military budget. Economic assistance to poorer countries came to $8 billion, less than 0.5 percent of gross national product of the developed countries and equal to only 6 percent of their military spending.

"Most of the world's military spending is concentrated in the United States and the Soviet Union. With 13 percent of the world's population, they account for over two-thirds of the world's military budget.

"Now for the first time in almost a quarter of a century, this gross distortion of priorities is being critically examined and questioned in the United States, and in the Congress of the United States. An increasing number of the American people and their representatives are concerned not only by this distortion of priorities but by the dangers implicit in a further escalation of the arms race if an anti-ballistic missile system (ABM) is deployed as part of our nuclear arsenal.

"Call it Sentinel, call it Safeguard, call it a defensive weapon; move it from the suburbs of our large cities to our offensive missile sites. Changing its name and its location does not change the name of the game, which is military one-upmanship and the escalation of destructive power which is already overwhelming on both sides. By any other name, the balance of terror is still terror; and each time, as the balance of terror is upset, and as the arms race continues and escalates to a new plateau of destructiveness, and as preparation for war continues to take precedence over an organized search for peace, the odds creep up that the terrible weapons will one day go off, by accident, by irrational impulse, or by design. The only security in the game of nuclear chicken lies in a decision to end it by mutual agreement by the major powers to scale down their arsenals and to seek an accommodation of interests bringing a greater degree of stability into the world.

"We in the Alliance for Labor Action have no illusions about the evils of communism, either the Russian or the Chinest version. Neither, let it be stressed again, have we any illusions about what will happen to ourselves, our families, our unions and our country if we continue to tempt fate by continued escalation of the nuclear balance of terror.

"We call upon the President and the Congress to reexamine the projected Defense budget for fiscal 1970, in light of more realistic force requirements, in order to effect cuts now—variously estimated at from $5 billion to $20 billion—which can be made at once without impairing national security, in order that such savings can be used to meet critical home-front needs—in education, health care, housing, anti-pollution, traffic congestion, broad environmental problems and conservation of resources."

Hospital Workers' Strike, Charleston, South Carolina

"The ALA pledges its full support and solidarity behind the striking hospital workers in Charleston, South Carolina, in their struggle to win recognition and a living wage. As an expression of our support, the ALA Executive Committee has approved a contribution of $25,000 to be used directly to assist the workers in winning their strike and just demands.

HELP FOR STRIKERS is presented to Charleston, South Carolina, hospital strikers. ALA is designed to give practical help to oppressed workers unable to fight power and might of anti-union groups. A check for $25,000 to valiant union of working poor in Deep South is example of ALA's determination to move labor movement forward.

A FARFLUNG PROGRAM to make life better for all Americans is proclaimed by ALA banners shown here during two day proceedings.

Organizing the Unorganized and Collective Bargaining

". . . It is clearly the purpose of the ALA not to raid the membership of established unions; it is, rather, to bring to unorganized workers the benefits and advantages of unionism and collective bargaining in the spirit of solidarity which has distinguished the American labor movement in the most successful, the most heroic and the finest hours of its history.

". . . The urgency of this task necessitates that organizational activities be carried out based upon the sound policy that no union has exclusive jurisdictional claims that can veto the ability of a modern and responsible labor movement to extend the opportunities, the rights, benefits and protection of organization and collective bargaining.

". . . The most significant current developments affecting collective bargaining are the revolutionary pace with which technology alters the methods and means of production, transportation and distribution and the rapid growth in the number and size of multi-industry (conglomerate) corporations in the national economy.

"Industry's traditional lines of jurisdiction become increasingly blurred. A single conglomerate may be involved in diverse industrial and commercial endeavor ranging from packing meats to building locomotives; from preparing food to producing sporting goods; from manufacturing textile machinery to building spaceships; from producing paint to assembling complicated electronic gear for aerospace use; from airline operations to moving picture production. . . ."

Tax Reform

"The ALA will work for sweeping and drastic reform of federal, state and local tax systems to make them more equitable based upon the principle of ability to pay. The details of such reform cannot be spelled out in detail here. Studies already undertaken by tax experts have revealed that the following changes are essential as a beginning:

"1. An increase in personal exemptions to $1,800 for the taxpayer and $900 for each dependent up from the current exemption of $600.

"2. Future adjustment of exemption levels in accordance with changes in the cost of living.

"3. Liberalization of the standard deduction.

"4. Exemption from employee contributions to Social Security of amounts of earnings that are below the poverty level, contributions on these amounts to be made instead by the federal government out of its general revenues.

"5. Immediate plugging of all known tax loopholes, to insure that wealthy individuals and big corporations bear their fair share of the tax burden.

"6. Enactment of a minimum income tax provision, to assure that any income which did find its way through tax loopholes would nevertheless be subject to taxation.

"The ALA commits itself to join with others who are committed to basic tax reform in establishing a National Committee for Tax Justice and through such Committee help mobilize and direct the growing taxpayer revolt in America to the end that basic and long overdue tax reform is achieved on the basis of equity and the principle of ability to pay."

"I, for one, do not believe that the so-called generation gap is something which cannot be bridged. I believe that a constructive and meaningful dialogue can be established with the youngsters, if we only take the time to talk to them. Just standing back and shaking our heads when they storm a university or when they demonstrate is not enough.

"We, in the Teamsters, and in the UAW, I am certain, intend to establish communications with the youngsters, simply because they will be taking up positions of leadership in organized labor and in the country as some of the present leaders retire.

"We find the youth of the nation up in arms over an unpopular war in Vietnam, up in arms over the billions of dollars this country spends annually to carry on this war in the Far East, when our own people go begging right here at home.

"This war, the bane and the plague of both Democratic and Republican administrations, must be stopped, and must be stopped soon.

"If it is not, its consequences will tear the fabric of Americanism until there is serious doubt that the tear can be mended satisfactorily.

"We do not stand here today, like so many criticizing the administration for the war, but proposing no solutions. We don't have a solution, other than to urge the administration to make settlement of the war its number one priority. We take this position because until this war is stopped, all of our domestic problems and social ills will go unsolved.

"So, with all of these things in mind, over a year ago, many of us in the Teamsters began to ponder what could be done to give the labor movement new direction, and if new direction was found what could be done to put plans for correction into action.

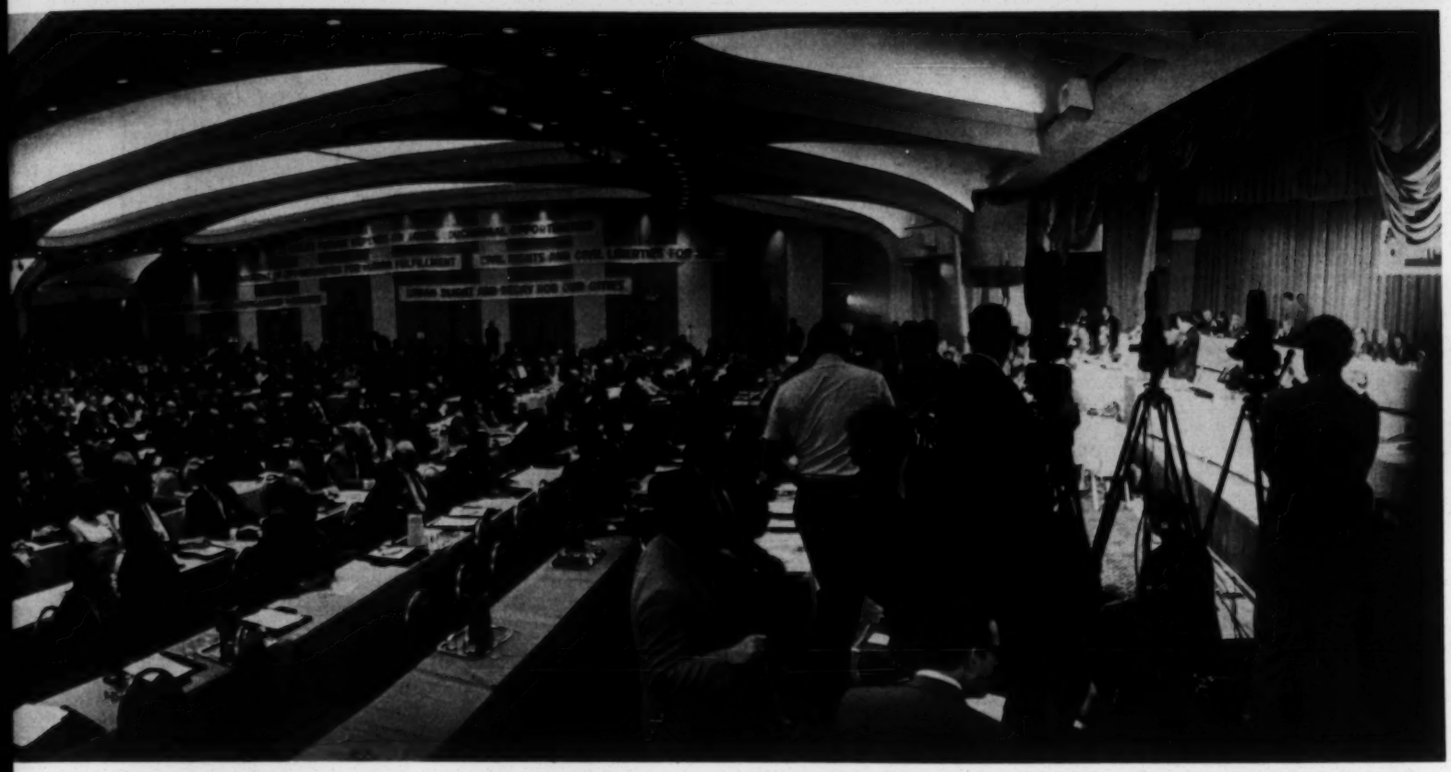
"We found that there was similar thinking in the leadership of the United Auto Workers, and after many talks with the leaders of that great union, we decided to sit down and pool our concerns and our ideas."

FRANK FITZSIMMONS
—Teamster General Vice President

"In order to face these new problems, to face these new challenges, we need to recognize it will take new ideas and new concepts and new social inventions, and the ALA will be groping for those new ideas and those new concepts as we help America find answers to its problems."

—WALTER P. REUTHER

PRESIDENT REUTHER addresses ALA, as Teamster and UAW leaders on platform listen to his prediction that more workers will be organized and America's unmet needs will be grappled with.



A PANORAMIC VIEW of the ALA founding conference.

(Continued from Page 1)

tor Charles Percy, South Dakota U. S. Senator George McGovern, and Conciliation Service Director J. Curtis Counts. Resolutions were debated and adopted on 1) National Security, ABM, and Human Needs; 2) Tax Reform; 3) Organizing the Unorganized and Collective Bargaining; 4) Community Unions; 5) Health Care and National Health Insurance; 6) America's Housing Crisis; and 7) Charleston, South Carolina, Hospital Workers Strike.

Much of the first day's speechmaking and resolutions was centered on the foolishness of the ABM (anti-ballistic missile). Both Teamster and UAW speakers alike denounced this huge expenditure on an untried weapons system which will rob the American people of security and pressing needs at home. Sen. Percy, a leading Republican critic of military spending, charged that the ABM was "money down the drain."

"We are going to rebuild the cities or they are going to burn," said Auto Workers President Walter Reuther in urging the junking of old codes and the use of industrial mass production techniques to build 26 million new housing units.—*from Associated Press account of ALA conference last week.*

A new thrust at organizing the poor into community unions was another first day feature. Roughly 20 million American workers are organized into unions out of a total employment of 80 million; thus only one out of four workers are unionized in the United States today.

The chairman of the Teamsters big Southern Conference, Murray "Dusty" Miller, supported the ALA resolution on organizing by stating: "This is the first time I've been invited to join hands with a union that has any money . . . The UAW has $83 million in its treasury; we can spend about $80 million of that down South."

"You Are Standing on My Air Hose"

This morning, as we gather for the First Conference of the Alliance for Labor Action, I am reminded of a story:

There was a poor chap, lying flat on his back in an oxygen tent on a hospital bed. Into the hospital room walked a priest, who moved up to the bed and looked down upon the poor fellow. As the priest stood there, the man in the oxygen tent made great efforts to communicate with the Father, but was able only to move his lips. The priest realized the poor condition of the man, and thought it might be time to administer last rites.

As the priest pondered the situation, the patient made a motion as if writing a note on the palm of his hand with his finger. The priest sensed that the man wanted to write a note, so he slipped a pad and pen to the man under the oxygen tent. With great difficulty, the patient scribbled a note, lurched and died. The priest reached under the oxygen tent and retrieved the note which said:

"You are standing on my air hose."

Well, in a sense, The Alliance for Labor Action was formed because something or someone is standing on the air hose from which America receives its vitality.

—*from Remarks by FRANK E. FITZSIMMONS, Teamster General Vice President*

UAW Vice President Pat Greathouse noted the gaps in organizing workers in chemicals, textiles, chain stores, distribution, transportation, white collar, agriculture, furniture, government and general office occupations. The ALA presented its first check of $25,000 to a spokesman for the striking hospital workers in Charleston, South Carolina.

There were strong hints that major undertakings will be made to organize the working poor. Reuther said, in discussing the need for a dynamic push forward on organizing: "We do not accept the proposition that any organization has a divine right to sit upon its paper jurisdictional claims and block the organization of millions of unorganized workers in America."

America's Housing Crisis

"America's housing crisis is staggering and it continues to worsen, for the forces of decay and demolition continue to outrun our efforts to rebuild and rehabilitate.

"At a minimum, we must meet the objectives of the 1968 Federal Housing Act, which calls for a ten-year national goal of 26 million new housing units, including at least 6 million units for low income families. In recent years, we have produced only about 50,000 subsidized housing units a year, or only one-twelfth of the annual volume projected in the 1968 Housing Act. The National Commission on Urban Problems recently stated that there are 11 million substandard or overcrowded housing units in the United States—and it called this a very conservative estimate.

"The shame of the nation is the state of our cities. Our center cities continue to decay. These cities more and more consist of spreading ghettoes that are enclosures of poverty and racial discrimination. These ghettoes breed permanent despair, and rip the fabric of our society.

"We must face up to the problem of antiquated and restrictive building codes which fragment the housing market and pyramid the cost of housing. A national system of performance standards to insure the highest standard and quality and to meet the needs of geographical conditions should be developed to cover all federally financed housing construction in order to facilitate the assembly of a mass market so that the economies of scale can be achieved in the construction of housing."

"We must apply to the housing industry our most advanced technological capability and managerial and productive know-how, our most creative product design capability, and the use of new materials. Only in this way can we reduce the cost of construction and increase the volume needed to make high quality, attractive housing available at a price that millions of low and moderate income families who desperately need housing they can afford."

"I, as one American, believe that a nation that has the technical and managerial capability of putting a man on the moon has the technical and productive managerial capability of building decent houses at a price that millions of families in America can afford, for those who desperately need housing."

—WALTER P. REUTHER

Community Unions

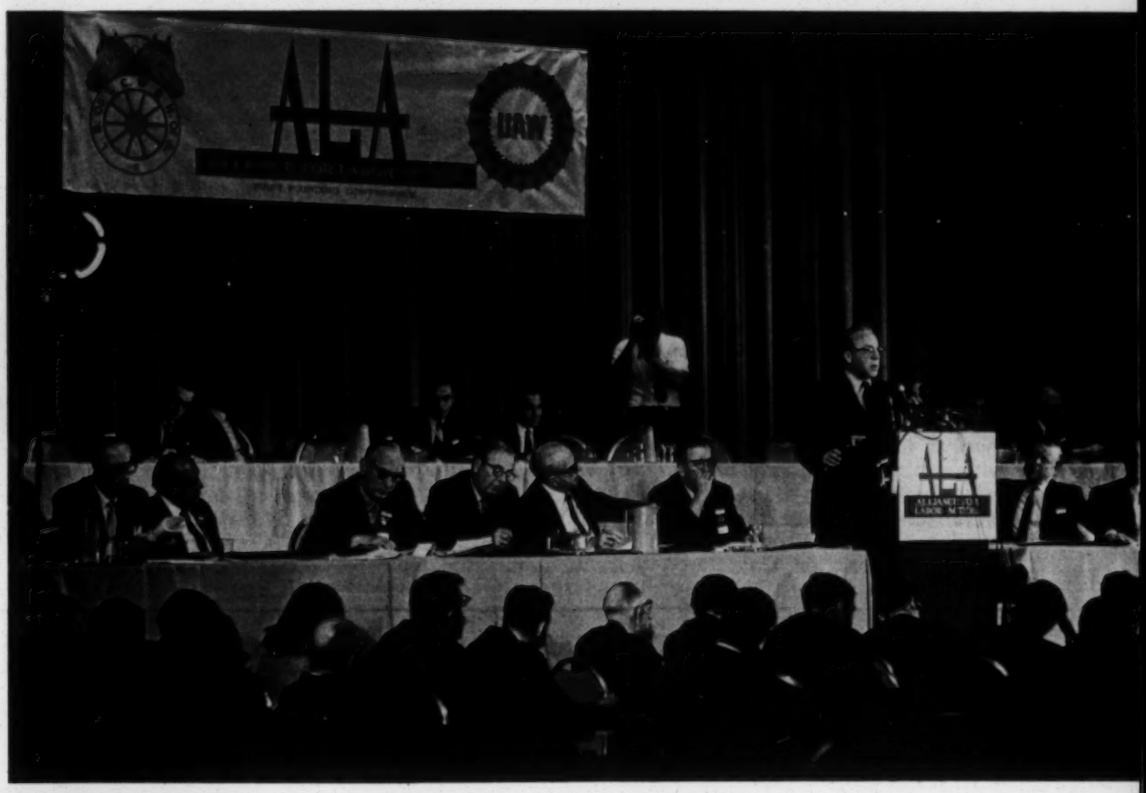
"The constituent unions of the ALA have developed much skill and know-how over the years in the organization of workers, in negotiations, and in dealing with both private and public agencies. Out of our experience, we became expert in self-help activities at the local or neighborhood level.

"In these structures, we as unions, and our members as concerned citizens, must become participating partners with the poor.

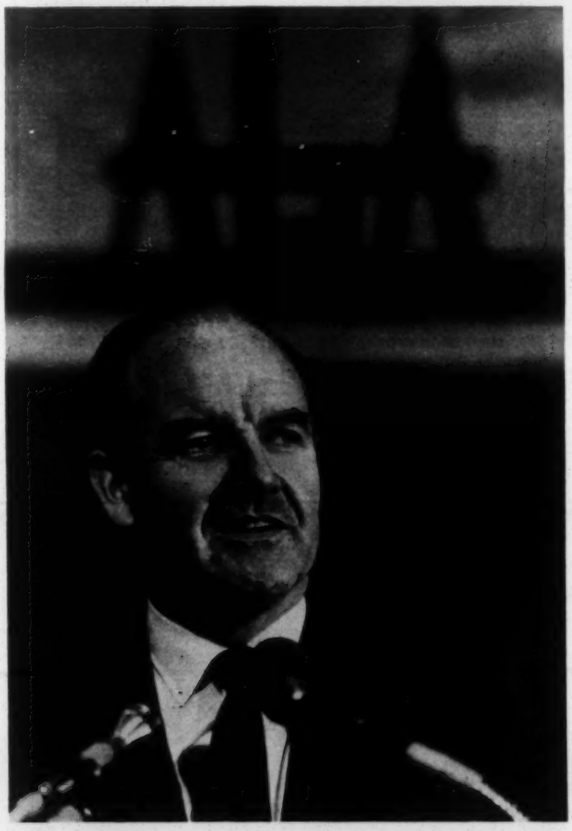
"It has become apparent in recent years that the skills that have made our unions strong are the very skills that are critically needed in urban and rural areas where millions of the unemployed or working poor are obliged to cope with the neighborhood and community problems requiring organized action. . .

"The ALA, in recognition of the urgency of dealing with the pressing problems of the poor and the disadvantaged, the unemployed, the underemployed and the working poor, pledges resources and its organizational skills and know-how working directly with the poor in their communities, helping them to build self-help organizations and to achieve the influence and leverage needed to move their problems to solution."

"We shall extend the hand of cooperation and support to any organization that is prepared to cooperate in the task of organizing the millions of unorganized, whether they be workers in the South or migratory workers or the working poor."—*WALTER P. REUTHER*



LABOR SECRETARY SCHULTZ was at the ALA conference with a message of cooperation from the U.S. Department of Labor. He defended his stand on farm workers and Job Corps closings, and was given a respectful if unconvinced hearing by delegates from the two largest labor organizations in the nation.



SEN. GEORGE McGOVERN, leading Senate critic of the war and hunger, told the ALA it was on the right track in pressing for a new direction in U.S. priorities. He praised Fitzsimmons and Reuther for their statements on the war, racism, and their willingness to work for a decent life for all Americans.

Health Care and National Health Insurance

"The right to good health care is increasingly being recognized in America as a fundamental human right, yet millions of Americans—and not only the poor and dependent groups but large numbers of middle income self-supporting families—do not have equal access to the high quality health services which our modern medical sciences can provide.

"The United States is already spending more on health care, estimated at $58 billion in 1969, and a larger percentage of Gross National Product, estimated at 6.5%, than any other industrialized nation in the world.

"Tens of thousands of babies are dying needlessly in America. Between the years 1953 and 1966 the United States dropped from 8th to 13th place in infant mortality. Our rate of 23.4 per 1000 live births compares with an average of 19.9 for economically advanced nations of Western Europe;

"The health of American men and women is not as good as in many other countries despite the fact that we spend so much on health care. More American males are dying in their productive years of 40 to 50 than in fifteen other major countries of the world.

"Only about one-third of consumer health expenditures are covered by private insurance and some 30 million Americans have no coverage at all. The costs of health care in the last ten years have soared twice as rapidly as the increases in the cost of living.

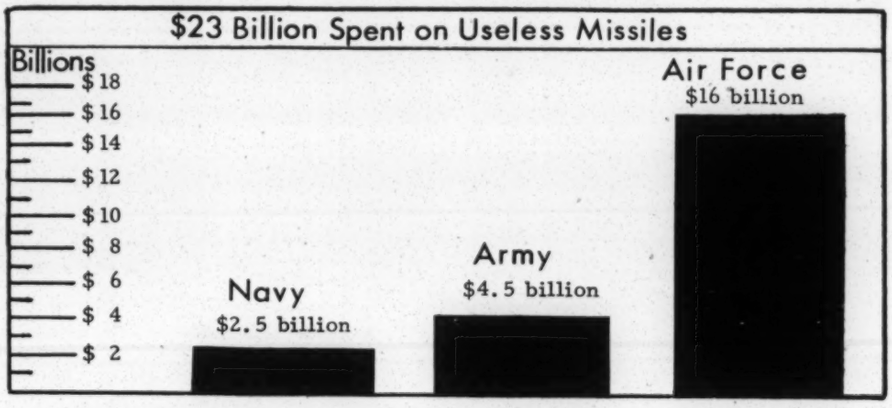
"Our wasteful, disorganized, inefficient complex of public and private programs provides little incentive to organize our health care 'delivery' system to make the most appropriate and effective use of our medical resources and to remove the present financial, geographic and social barriers to comprehensive and reliable health care services.

"The United States is the last remaining industrialized country in the world which does not have a national health insurance plan which would assure all its people at least minimum guarantee to access to needed medical care."

"The ALA pledges its fullest support and cooperation to the work of the California Council for Health Plan Alternatives and to the Committee for National Health Insurance."

WEEKEND WRAPUP

The new labor alliance of Teamsters and UAW is off and running. It promises new hope to 7 million "working poor" Americans who work at pay scales below the poverty level. Now watch ALA's organizing fur fly. Senate anti-ABMers (which includes most of labor's legislative friends in Congress) were cheered to have the two largest unions in America join them in a rousing denunciation of excessive military spending. . . . **Sen. Charles Percy** of Illinois, in addressing the ALAers, was emphatic in stating the federal government should guarantee a job for every person willing to work and not able to get a job from private employers. Percy got a big hand when he praised Sen. Paul Douglas, whom he defeated in 1966. Douglas once commented that the quality of his opposition was improving with each election, and today Percy talks like a midwest Jake Javits, which must bother a lot of rockribbed conservatives in Chicage Tribune-land. . . . **The tobacco lobby** is taking its licks from a House congressional committee. A new warning on cigarettes will read, unless the lobby can overturn things, "Warning: The Surgeon General has determined that cigarette smoking is dangerous to your health and may cause lung cancer or other diseases." Brock Adams thinks the warning doesn't go far enough and he's promising a floor fight to strengthen the warning. . . . **The tax reform bill** is beginning to shape up in the House Ways and Means Committee. There are still some tough hurdles, but the committee has agreed to tighten the loopholes on foundations, hobby farms, unlimited charitable contributions and unrelated business income of churches and social organizations. Chairman Wilbur Mills is promising action before Congress adjourns for a recess in August. Some of the real tax toughies like the 7 percent investment credit, tax exempt bonds, the depletion allowance, and capital gains are yet to come up for committee action. . . . **A war profits tax** bill was introduced last week in the Senate by George McGovern. Sponsors say this bill would bring the U.S. Treasury some $10 billion a year. After-tax corporate profits have risen 33 percent since the Vietnam war was escalated in 1965. The last quarter of 1968 brought corporate profits, after taxes, to a high of $51 billion for the year, compared to $33.1 billion for 1963. Defense contractors have enjoyed unparalleled growth in profits since the war was escalated. General Dynamics showed a 22 percent increase, General Electric profits were up 21.7 percent, United Aircraft up 56 percent and Boeing up 65 percent. . . . **Sen. William Proxmire,** chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, has issued a scathing indictment of military waste called "The Economics of Military Procurement" which will become the bible for congressmen seeking to put the clamps on topheavy defense spending. Says the report: *"Literally billions of dollars have been wasted on weapons systems that have had to be cancelled because they did not work. Other systems performed far below contract specification. For example, one study referred to in the hearings shows that of a sample of 13 major Air Force and Navy aircraft and missile programs initiated since 1955 at a total cost of $40 billion, less than 40 percent produced systems with an acceptable electronic performance. Two of the programs were cancelled after total program costs of $2 billion were paid. Two programs costing $10 billion were phased out after 3 years for low reliability."*



Current ABM proposals have been estimated to cost anywhere from $6 billion to $400 billion when fully developed. $23 billion has already been spent on 41 missile systems never deployed or abandoned in formative stages, representing over 6% of the national debt.

—from newsletter of Sen. Gaylord Nelson

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C., by UAW Community Action Programs Department

Walter P. Reuther, *Chairman*
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United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

UAW Washington Office, 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

THIS WEEK

The ALA is launched to organize millions of underpaid workers

NEWSPAPER

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Wall St Jnl 8-28-6a

New Labor Alliance To Make First Drive In the Atlanta Area

Joint Venture of Teamsters, UAW Eyes 50,000 Workers; Organizing Starts Next Week

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—The Alliance for Labor Action is on the move.

The joint venture of the Teamsters Union and the United Auto Workers, formally launched in late May, announced that it will open its first organizing drive after Labor Day in the metropolitan Atlanta area. Acting Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons said the drive will focus on 50,000 nonunion workers employed in six industrial parks that ring Atlanta.

The announcement of the organizing drive came less than a week after the AFL-CIO International Chemical Workers Union joined the ALA; it was the first union to do so. The Chemical Workers would like to remain in the AFL-CIO, which views the alliance as a rival federation and last year threatened to suspend or expel any affiliate that joined.

Thus far, however, the federation has been silent on the Chemical Workers' move. There's been "no response of any kind" from the federation, a Chemical Workers union official said yesterday.

Still, it appears unlikely that the AFL-CIO will continue to ignore the matter. If it doesn't discipline the Chemical Workers, other affiliates might feel free to join the Teamsters-Auto Workers combine with little or no risk.

Labor sources said the 50,000-member Glass and Ceramic Workers Union is considering joining the alliance, though a final decision might be postponed until it's clearer what will happen to the Chemical Workers' membership in the AFL-CIO.

The alliance, which was formed to "revitalize" the labor movement, is apparently being a bit choosy as to whom it allows in. Earlier this month, the ALA rejected a request for affiliation from the 12,000-member Federation of Telephone Workers of Pennsylvania, an independent union.

I. C. Glendenning, president of the Telephone Workers group, said he was told the application was turned down because the alliance is "taking only international unions."

The Atlanta organizing campaign will draw staff people from Teamsters and UAW locals already in the area. The Teamsters have about 12,000 members there and the Auto Workers 20,000.

Atlanta was chosen as the initial target, ALA men said, because it is the "most industrialized" area in the South. The alliance has "no exact timetable" for launching other organizing drives, sources said. But one indicated the alliance would probably "want to see some action down there" before expanding its organizing efforts.

Alliance for Labor Action

Meany-Reuther showdown, with unity the likely loser

The fight between AFL-CIO and the Alliance for Labor Action will reach the federation convention floor in early October, probably as a demand for the expulsion of the International Chemical Workers for affiliating with ALA last week. And however the convention action goes, AFL-CIO internal unity may be the loser.

The Alliance for Labor Action is the joint enterprise of the United Auto Workers and International Brotherhood of Teamsters, both outside AFL-CIO. It's headed by Walter Reuther and the Teamsters' Frank E. Fitzsimmons, both in ill favor with the federation's president, George Meany. The ALA isn't and doesn't aspire to be a second labor federation, its founders insist. But to Meany, ALA is a Reuther vehicle for competing with AFL-CIO

Warning. Last February, Meany told the AFL-CIO executive council, "On July 23, 1968, these two organizations [the Teamsters and UAW] formed a joint venture called the Alliance for Labor Action and urged unions, whether affiliated with the federation or not, to enlist under its banner. It is apparent that the purpose . . . is the formation of a dual organization, rival to AFL-CIO."

Meany proposed and won a policy statement that: "Membership in or support of this UAW-Teamsters combine does violence to the objectives and principles of the federation as stated in its constitution, runs counter to the reciprocal constitutional pledges of its affiliates, and constitutes support for or recognition of a suspended former affiliate and an expelled former affiliate. Such membership and support by an affiliate of the AFL-CIO therefore constitutes sufficient and valid ground for suspension or explusion under the constitution of the federation."

At the time, the International Chemical Workers had taken first steps toward affiliating with ALA, and a number of other unions were considering doing so. The executive council warning effectively dammed the trickle—or flow—of AFL-CIO unions into ALA, not as an alternative to the federation but as an additional affiliation.

Sympathetic but—Faced with the threat of suspension or expulsion, AFL-CIO unions, though sympathetic toward Reuther and ALA social aims, chose the status quo in AFL-CIO to an uncertain future in ALA—an alliance that many in the federation expect will end with an eventual Teamsters withdrawal from the combination of dissimilar unions.

The United Rubber Workers, one of the unions that once appeared likely to play footsie with Reuther and ALA, apparently no longer is in the mood for flirting. At its last convention, URW's members authorized officers to attend a founding convention of ALA as observers (they didn't go because, they said, the convention was held without sufficient notice to them) but at the same time the URW members voted "overwhelmingly" against joining ALA if affiliation would in any way jeopardize their standing with AFL-CIO.

A number of AFL-CIO unions had observers at ALA's founding convention July 17, as did some independents—including the United Electrical Workers, considered a natural for ALA. However, one of the major independent unions in the telephone industry, the International Brotherhood of Telephone Workers in New England, joined ALA in late July—and has since got embroiled with AFL-CIO rivals in a number of representation elections.

ICW action. The Chemical Workers slowed down its move toward ALA in part because the union's president, Walter L. Mitchell, died during the ICW convention:

George Meany sees ALA as a rival, and is getting ready for a convention floor fight.

He had been the foremost advocate of joining ALA. His successor, Thomas E. Boyle, wasn't adverse to the alliance but more cautious about it one year ago.

Last week, Boyle announced formally in Akron that the 110,000-member union had fulfilled its "deep commitment to join the ALA in the common effort to find new ways of responding to the enormous challenges facing the labor movement today."

He also expressed a more pragmatic reason for ICW's move: "We are vitally interested in organizing the chemical industry. . . . We have received strong assurances that chemical companies will receive important attention in ALA organizing activities."

Raids? This hasn't escaped attention of the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers and other unions in AFL-CIO that have jurisdictions touching on those of ICW. Under the circumstances, ICW's defiance of Meany and the executive council won't be taken lightly. The federation's blunt, cigar-smoking spokesman has said several times that he personally favors "discipline" for ICW, and that he interprets the AFL-CIO constitution to call for expulsion of the union.

Beyond that, he warned the ALA—the Teamsters and Auto Workers, and now the Chemical Workers—that "anybody that tries to raid us, we'll have to raid them back. We'll have to retaliate. There's an old labor axiom that 'the raider gets raided'."

If Meany recommends ICW's ouster, the convention almost certainly will vote expulsion by the required two-thirds majority. But not all unions will be happy about doing it. There is substantial dissatisfaction with the steadily increasing centralization of power in the federation. Some unions will see an expulsion move as another barrier in the way of autonomous action by AFL-CIO affiliates.

But an unpunished ICW would certainly mean others joining with the ALA ostensibly for social and political action reasons—something irreconcilable with Meany's and AFL-CIO's concepts of ALA as dual unionism. So, insiders say, there's really no choice.

Other defections? At this point, it isn't likely that others will follow ICW's lead, although it's no secret that a number of unions would like to have one foot in Meany's AFL-CIO and the other in the 3.7-million-member ALA, to have the best of two lives.

There may be one possibility, however, if a dispute between the AFL-CIO's plumbers and its laborers gets any hotter—and perhaps insoluble. The plumbers have asked the federation's Building & Construction Trades Dept. to expel the laborers for doing work claimed by the plumbers—picking up and carrying pipe on a building site. The laborers want the plumbers kicked out for the same reason. Department officials, though admittedly worried, hope to work out a compromise.

Two things increase the interest of the laborers in ALA: The Reuther-Fitzsimmons alliance is strongly advocating more prefabricated housing—and the laborers see a possibility of more jobs for them on construction sites if factory-built housing can be erected with minimum craft requirements. Also the ALA is making a direct and strong appeal to minorities, through plans for community unions of the poor, for organizing Negroes for political action, and for programs for minority economic and social gains.

While the laborers' top leaders are close to Meany and AFL-CIO, nearly 50% of the union's rank-and-file members are Negroes with a strong leaning toward ALA and Reuther. If the jurisdictional dispute gets out of hand, the leaders might have to go along with their electorate rather than labor "executive club" friends. **End**

Business Week August 30, 1969

9/15/69 Atlanta Journal

Hopes High Here In Union Drive

By HARRY MURPHY

Labor's drive to "organize the unorganized" in Atlanta with a 20-man team is headed toward success, says a union spokesman, and management, predictably, isn't overjoyed at the prospect.

"We've had a lot of response from our literature," said Jim Weaver, an international representative of the United Auto Workers Union (UAW) and head of the organizing efforts here for the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA).

"We don't even like to talk about organizing around here," said a spokesman for Rich's department store where union workers passed out literature at entrances.

"I TRUST THAT for the good of the workers and the community . . . I just don't understand them . . . I never have had dealings with men of that type," said the president of Auto-Soler, Inc., at the Great Southwest Industrial District visited by the organizers last week.

The ALA is an effort of UAW, the Teamsters Union and the International Chemical Workers Union to, in their words, "bring union organization to the millions of unorganized workers and to make the benefits of collective bargaining available to them."

The campaign in Atlanta, the initial effort in a nationwide drive, began Thursday with organizers visiting six industrial parks in the area, the union's first priority because of some 50,000 unorganized workers employed there.

Mathis said the unions' effort is not aimed at any particular company at present. "We'll take the companies where we get the best response and our panel will decide where to concentrate our efforts," he added.

"We're not out necessarily to organize the department stores, but if we get a good response from them we might go in," said the ALA spokesman.

He said all 20 of the organizers are local people, experienced in local organizing efforts, who were pulled from their jobs and put on the drive because they know the local labor situation "and what needs to be done."

"We got a very nice response from management and they took our literature," Mathis said. "Of course none of them have come to us asking us to organize their plants, but they want to keep up with what's going on, too."

THE CONCENTRATED effort here has led to speculation that ALA is putting most of its eggs in the Atlanta basket and that a successful drive here would be held up as an example to organizers elsewhere.

"I'll say this," Mathis said, "I'm confident of a successful drive here."

He said organizing efforts at each company will be assigned to one of the three unions in the ALA, unless others join the effort, and workers will be told to which union they have been assigned before a drive begins.

Frank Carter, president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, said the drive hasn't come to the attention of any chamber committees. "We have had a lot of things on our mind, but that hasn't been one of emphasis," he said.

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or policy game, or by some other name."

In another opinion Monday Bolton informed the State Department of Industry and Trade it cannot spend any state funds in connection with the 28th annual convention of the Southeastern Association of State Highway Officials.

COMPTROLLER RICHARD Millsaps of the I&T department had written Bolton saying his department had been requested to spend $2,800 to provide a caterer for a tea at the governor's mansion, transportation between the convention site and the mansion and a box of fruit cake and brief case for each conventioneer.

Bolton noted that a 1968 constitutional amendment allows the department to spend funds for meals and incidentals of "bona fide industrial prospects and other persons who attend any meeting at the request of the department to discuss the location or development of new business, industry or tourism within the state."

Then he added it did not appear the highway officials fit either of those categories. "Consequently," he concluded, "it is my opinion that none of the above expenses may be borne by the Department of Industry and Trade."

Hagan Seeks $1 Billion Water Fund

Atlanta Journal Washington Bureau
577 National Press Building

WASHINGTON—First District Rep. G. Elliott Hagan has announced his support of a bipartisan effort to secure $1 billion for federal water pollution control projects, several of which are in his district.

Congress originally authorized the $1 billion sum when it approved the Clean water Restoration Act, but the Nixon administration has requested only $214

Spanish War Vet Dies at Convention

SAN DIEGO (AP) — Francis M. Burns of Boston, who charged to

Hemphill Tours the South

The first signs begin to appear in South Carolina, near the Georgia line. Palmetto and palm trees, swamps and moss and cypress, a faint odor of salt water in the air. And after that, the ugly man-made signs that Florida is near. Pecans, pralines, shake & burger, liquor, EATS, live alligators, Horne's, Stuckey's, truckers welcome, rooms $5 a couple, Madame Zorra palmist, last chance to see Silver Springs. Motels sprawled in the sand, jammed with cars by sundown and abandoned by 1 o'clock in the morning. Chenille bedspreads, oranges, billboards, free ice water, clean rest rooms, gas wars, Confederate-flag bedspreads, see live monkeys, ride glass-bottom boats.

Item: There are 17 motels listed in the telephone book in Jesup, Ga., population about 6,000. It is an old game, the only game in town. "Three million cars a year come through this intersection," says a newspaperman in a small South Georgia town. Industry? Tourists will do. Flying south for the winter, buying gas and sandwiches and beer and Cokes and oil and sunglasses and pecans and bedspreads and lodging. The bigger your sign out front, the more you catch. Get the speed limit down so we can catch their eyes. Summer rates, winter rates. Checkout time 10 a.m. extra bed, $3. Drive safely and bring them back alive.

• *Wish You Were Her*

A truck stop in lower South Carolina, 10 o'clock on a dusty late-summer morning, three big Diesels parked in the gravel out front, three sweaty drivers sitting at the counter inside while a girl with a name like Myrtice empties the grounds from the stainless steel coffee urn. Postcards in a rack next to the door, a card that shows a henpecked little guy writing a note home: "Having a wonderful time, wish you were her." Sign behind the counter: "Just a cup of coffee to you, but a reputation to us." Another room with five pinball machines and a pool table. Showers and bunks in the back.

Hey, Myrtice, what happened to the other girl?
Ruth? Got married.
That right? Who to?
Fred. Guy that drives for Dixie-Ohio. More coffee?
Naw, hon, I gotta make time. You gonna wait for me?
Till hell freezes over, baby. You know that. See ya.
Yeah. Don't take any wooden—.
I'm a lady. Don't you know that?

And outside, on the road, the race is on. The campers and cars and trailers and buses and trucks are swirling the dust beside the road, everybody headed south for a load of grapefruit or two weeks of sun or a whole new life. Headed toward the sun, to Paradise, to downstate New York.

Weekend Mishaps Kill 16 in Georgia

By The Associated Press

Sixteen persons were killed in weekend accidents in Georgia, including a 24-year-old Columbus woman killed Sunday morning on the Manchester Expressway north of Columbus.

Susie Jackson was pinned under a car driven by 28-year-old Henry Lee Chambers after it went out of control, possibly from a tire blowout.

Mrs. Addie Mae Hadley died Sunday evening when she walked into the path of a freight train in the city limits of her hometown, the state patrol said.

Another Cairo resident, John Wesley Williams, 26, was killed Sunday as he attempted to pass a car on a bride and hit another car head on on Georgia 93 about three miles south of his hometown.

Eighty-year-old Mrs. Grace Richie of Pomona and Mrs. Annie Griffin, 76, of Sunny Side, died Sunday when their cars collided on Georgia 16 west of Griffin.

Francie Newton Tyson, 42, of Douglas, was killed Sunday when his car ran off Georgia 135 and overturned about 13 miles east of Nashville.

A MISHAP about two miles north of Dalton resulted in the

tree about four miles south of his hometown.

Another Savannah resident, Willie Mae Johnson, died Saturday when she was struck by a car on a street in her hometown.

A Wrightsville teen-ager, 15-year-old Otis Wayne Powell, was killed Saturday when his car went out of control on Georgia 57 and collided with a Johnson County patrol car.

Fourteen-year-old Alan Shaw lost his life Saturday when he was thrown from a car that struck a telephone pole on a road south of his hometown, Gainesville.

Hershel B. West, 27, of Douglasville, was killed Saturday. His car left Georgia 5 and overturned south of Douglasville.

A TENNESSEEAN, 78-year-old Herbert Wyatt, died Saturday in a two-car accident near Athens on Georgia 72. Wyatt was from Spring Hill.

Claude Benjamin Hayes and Henry Malloy Jr., both 21, and both Leary residents

ALA

The Reverend J. A. Wilborn, Pastor of
Union Baptist Church

and

The Reverend J. C. Ward, Pastor of
Hunter Hill First Baptist Church

as

CO-HOSTS

invite you to attend a luncheon as their guest to hear Mr. Wiley A. Branton explain the new Alliance for Labor Action which now has a special project in Atlanta.

12:30 P.M.

Tuesday, November 25, 1969

Atlanta American Motor Inn
160 Spring Street, N. W.

Brunswick Room

There will be no cost for the luncheon and there will be no solicitation of funds or endorsements.

NOTE: (R.S.V.P.) Please phone Miss Elrod at 874-8675 in Atlanta by Noon Thursday, November 21 and inform us as to whether or not you will be able to attend the luncheon.

ALA

UAW's Jim Schuetz

Organizing easier years ago, but ALA-Atlanta is on the move

Jim Schuetz won his organizing stars years ago when the issues were "more clear cut" and workers didn't offer too much resistance to unions.

"But things have changed considerably," he said the other day in ALA's Atlantic office." Employers are still as stubborn as ever, but they are a hell of a lot more sophisticated."

ALA is the Alliance or Labor Action and the speaker is an organizing coordinator for the United Auto Workers (UAW). He's spending several days a week in Atlanta trying to help get ALA's first area organizing drive off the ground.

Jim's been working with Bill Genoese of the Teamsters in a coordinated drive to bring Atlanta area unorganized workers into the Labor Movement.

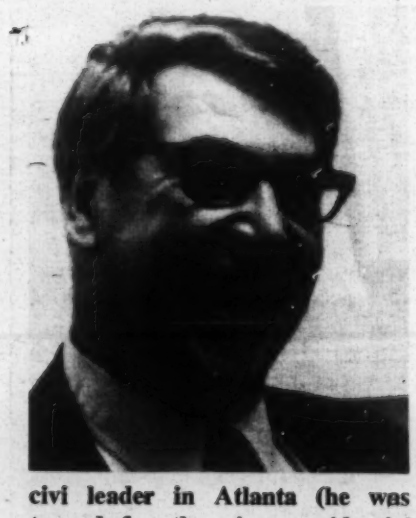
Early success has been excellent, says Schuetz who points out that 10 plants representing 14 workers have been organized since the project got underway last Labor Day.

"It's still too early to tell," he said in his understated way," but I think we are going to be successful in proving that our approach will get results."

Schuetz explains that ALA leaders chose Atlanta for three basic reasons: "UAW, Teamsters and the ICWU have a base of about 39,000 members in the area; the community is one of the most progressive in the South and there are still thousands of workers who need a union."

ALA's approach is to immerse itself completely in the community, Schuetz declares. "We've spent considerable time contacting religious, political and other community leaders to let them know we've set up an office and that we are interested in the total community, not just the organization of workers."

Genoese and Schuetz have been very active working with Atlanta's civil rights organizations. Julian Bond, famed black



civi leader in Atlanta (he was tapped for the vice presidential nomination at the Democratic Convention in 1968) played a vital role recently in organizing 800 workers at Dobbs House, the airport cafeteria. (See story above.) Most of the workers are black and Bond talked a lot about employer exploitation.

Church leaders have received a lot of attention, says Schuetz. "We've been delighted with their response and I think they are in full accord with ALA's goals for Atlanta workers."

Contacts in plants have been developed as a result of the cooperation of these leaders who are convinced that the Alliance wants to continue to play an aggressive, progressive role in the total community, according to Schuetz.

"It hasn't been easy, says Jim, who thinks employers don't give you as much help these days.

"Years ago they'd make some overt dumb move that would prove to workers they needed a union."

"It's changed for the most part," he says, "although once and a while we still find an employer who presents us with an overwhelming issue."

"Unions have to work harder to convince potential members. We must provide reasons for organization and we must, if we are to be successful, encourage community leaders to help us make our case."

Schuetz firmly believes the ALA is doing the kinds of things it takes to organize workers today. "We'll be in business for a long time because we think we've developed modern approach to worker's problems. Time will tell.' I think the early results are an important indication we're on the right track."

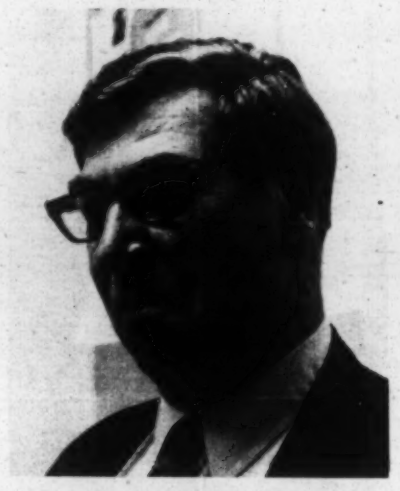
Schuetz, 51, is a low-keyed veteran of the UAWR staff who grew up in Tonawanda, N.Y., but shows traces of a Midwest accent as the result of living in Ohio and Michigan since 1954.

He's a member of Vice President Pat Greathouse's organizing staff and formerly served as assistant director of the union's skilled trades department.

In 1961, Schuetz set up the UAW's first program for its new skilled trades group. He's spent a great deal of his time in the past few years helping Greathouse negotiate contracts for members who work in the agricultural implements industry with special emphasis on the skilled trades people.

He's a tool and die maker by profession and plied his trade for Bell Aircraft Company from 1940 to '52 (with time out for military service), where he first joined the Auto Workers. As a member of Local 501 he recalls, he was actively involved in a "nasty strike," in '49. He was fired for his activities but got his job back when the strike ended.

Local 501 was a good place to learn about trade unionism Schuetz remembers with a smile. "About every shade of political opinion was represented, from Communist to Conservative, and we used to have some of the wildest meetings you ever saw."



He doesn't remember being an intense political activist until "after the strike."

"I learned how much I needed a union," he says now.

In 1952, he joined the UAW staff and helped organize shops in New York and Pennsylvania.

In 1954 he was moved to Northwest Ohio where he continued to achieve considerable success on the organizing front. His associates call him a natural Organizer "one of the very best in the UAW."

'Hard hitting' effort is key to ALA win

A "rock-em, sock-em" organizing drive by the Alliance for Labor Action is credited for a resounding win for the ALA in Atlanta, Ga.

The ALA "Project Atlanta" team recently organized some 700 employes of the Dobbs House restaurant chain in the huge Atlanta airport.

According to William Genoese, Teamster executive director of the Atlanta ALA activities, "this win shows what a truthful, honest and hard-hitting drive can accomplish."

"The unified drive put on by the three ALA unions—the Teamsters, the United Auto Workers and the Chemical Workers—was in great part responsible for the victory."

The management of the firm challenged the outcome of the election on a variety of points after the employes voted 389 to 106 for union representation.

The company offered four handbills as "evidence," according to the report. One complained the ALA used Julian Bond, noted civil rights figure and Georgia state legislator, to "inflame racial hostility among the Dobbs House employes."

Another handbill the company objected to included a drawing of a man called "The Man." It showed a man carrying two large sacks of money and said, "Stop the Chiseler."

The company charged the ALA "raised the issue of racial discrimination to incite hostility and illegally coerce the employes in the freedom of choice during the election period."

The regional director, in denying the company complains of racial overtones, said, "Under all the circumstances attendant to this campaign, and the important fact that the majority of the employes are Negro, it is my opinion that the union propaganda conceiveably racially oriented, WAS NOT DESIGNED TO INFLAME RACIAL HATRED, but rather DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE RACIAL ECONOMIC BETTERMENT THROUGH CONCERTED ACTIVITY.

"Moreover, the literature distributed by the union does not appear to be a deliberate attempt to invoke the racial hatred of the Negro employes for white people, rather it was designed to engender racial self-consciousness."

ALA helps tenant union win long rent strike

Could be there was never a bargaining session like it before.

And when it was over, the longest rent strike in the nation's history—affecting some 10,000 St. Louis families—virtually made those tenants their own landlords.

Out of it all was born the Alliance for Labor Action's first community offspring. And what a healthy youngster!

A year ago in January, tenants in nine St. Louis public housing projects struck against rent increases.

For 10 months, there was no progress toward settlement until one day in mid-October when UAW Region 5 Director Ken Worley and Harold Gibbons, president of Teamsters Joint Council No. 13, decided on an "ALA-style" approach which would involve men and women of goodwill from all parts of the St .Louis community.

Call on ALA

Into Gibbons' office came a delegation of rent strikers and representatives from industry, labor, religion and education.

One was John Joseph Cardinal Carberry who wrote to his parishoners: "It was indeed both a job and a privilege for Bishop McNicholas and myself to be among those present and the three-hour discussion gave me a visible proof of the splendid spirit which characterizes St. Louis."

That community spirit—mobilized and aimed at solving human problems—is what ALA is all about.

Gibbons was chosen president of the new St. Louis Civic Alliance for Housing whose avowed purpose is to meet head-on the problems of the poor living in public housing. Worley is on the board of directors.

When negotiations with public housing authorities ended, Richard Baron, attorney for the strikers, held up the contract and said: "There is no question about it. This document is revolutionary in the field of housing in the U.S."

Win Representation

With the end of the strike, Alliance leaders were on hand when Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes swore in three black housing commissioners and two whites—tenants—and on-looking strikers cheered. Some were in tears.

Details of the agreement:

- Rent will be pegged to a maximum of 25 per cent of tenant income. It had ranged as high as 70 per cent in some welfare cases. Rent for an unemployed family will be a maximum of $20 a month, irrespective of the size of their apartment.
- An elected Tenant Affairs Board becomes a court of last resort in housing authority.
- Tenant-management corporations will take complete responsibility for administering housing projects.

Washington Post Reporter Robert Maynard, when it was all over, reached this conclusion: "The big breakthrough for St. Louis, which has one of the most severe housing shortages of low-income housing in the nation, was the creation of the Civic Alliance for Housing."

attend your next union meeting!

"Shortly after the turn of the century," noted BLS, "only 3 in every 10 workers were in service industries. By 1950, the weight had shifted to just over 5 in every 10 in service industry; by 1968 the proportion had inched to 6 in every 10. In 1980, close to 7 in every 10 workers—or 68 million—are projected to be in service industries."

Employment in transportation, communications and public utilities is expected to increase to 5 million in 1980, up from 4.5 million in 1968.

BLS commented: "Even though employment in trucking and air transportation has expanded, the decline in railroad employment has been severe enough to cause an overall decline in the average for all transportation industries. But, a turnaround is expected: trucking and air transportation will increase fast enough to offset whatever further small railroad declines occur . . ."

Government employment is expected to total 16.8 million by 1980; agriculture will continue to drop as will mining; construction work will gain to nearly 5.5 million. Manufacturing, now accounting for 20 million jobs, will increase to about 22.4 million at the end of this decade.

In terms of occupational groups:

- Professional, technical and kindred will increase to 15.5 million.
- Managers, officials and proprietors will increase to 9.5 million.
- Clerical will increase to 17.3 million.
- Sales will increase to 6 million.
- Craftsmen, foremen and kindred will rise to 12.2 million.
- Semiskilled workers will increase to 15.4 million.
- Non-farm laborers will drop to about 3.7 million.
- Farm workers will continue their decline to 2.6 million.
- Service workers will jump to 13.1 million at a rate of increase more than half again as fast as the rate projected for total employment.

Growing Ranks

ALA 5/70

50,000-Member Distributive Workers Admitted into Alliance Membership

The National Council, Distributive Workers of America (NCDWA), with a membership of 50,000 workers, has joined the Alliance for Labor Action.

Announcement of the NCDWA membership in ALA was made by ALA Co-Chairmen, Teamster General Vice President Frank E. Fitzsimmons and UAW President Walter P. Reuther.

"NCDWA is a union which expresses perfectly the youthful spirit of the Alliance for Labor Action," declared the ALA co-leaders. "We are delighted to welcome them to the Alliance and pledge our full moral and financial support to help continue the impressive start they have made toward bringing the essential benefits of trade unionism to millions of disadvantaged workers in America."

NCDWA leaders Cleveland Robinson, President, David Livingston, Executive Vice President, and Frank Brown, Organizing Director, said they regard "our union's affiliation with the ALA a major step forward in our continuing search to upgrade NCDWA's basic ability to help the nation's most needy workers to a better, more secure and dignified life.

"We are fully in accord with ALA's advanced approach to meeting the most serious problems facing America and its workers," they said, "and we believe NCDWA can make a modest but significant contribution in helping the working poor organize themselves."

Currently represented in 14 states, NCDWA is in the midst of a massive organizing drive among the nation's working poor. In the past ten months, 10,000 workers have joined the locals which comprise NCDWA.

Robinson is also secretary-treasurer of District 65 which represents about 30,000 workers in the Metropolitan New York area. Mr. Livingston is President of District 65, and Brown directs "65's" organizational activities.

NCDWA currently represents workers in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Arizona, California, Illinois, and Kansas.

The union's racial mix at the leadership level is well balanced and fairly reflects a membership that is estimated to include about 40 percent black and Puerto Rican workers.

The International Teamster

Copy to Res. E015 ALA file

Alliance for Labor Action Seen Stricken By Ill It Was Formed to Fight—Lethargy

By ELLIOT CARLSON
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON —The fledgling Alliance for Labor Action—formed by the United Auto Workers and the Teamsters union to "revitalize" the labor movement—is itself threatened by a precocious sort of atrophy.

That's the view of many labor observers who have had 18 months to assess the ALA, founded to undertake numerous social-action programs for the poor. But these observers have concluded that the much-ballyhooed alliance hasn't lived up to advance billings.

Clearly, the ALA is plagued by many woes. Among them: Signs that at least one of four member unions may withdraw; mounting internal criticism over the pace of the ALA's progress, and shrinking funds for the ALA from the 2.1 million-member Teamsters union and the 1.4 million-member UAW, the nation's largest unions.

That isn't all. From its inception the ALA has been hampered by leadership troubles. The parent unions have yet to agree on a single director for the joint venture, which has creaked along uneasily under a set of UAW and Teamster co-directors. A much-trumpeted strike fund never was established. And it was 16 months before the customary union newspaper made its appearance.

Some labor sources even have been speculating that with the death early this year of Walter Reuther, UAW president and prime mover behind the organization, the ALA's days are numbered. "For Reuther the ALA was a way to spite Meany and show how stodgy the AFL-CIO had gotten," says one long-time labor observer. "But with Reuther gone, part of the ALA's reason for being is gone." The late Mr. Reuther had spurred creation of the ALA after quarreling with George Meany, the AFL-CIO president; the UAW pulled out of the AFL-CIO in 1968.

Some Success in Atlanta

To be sure, the picture isn't entirely bleak. The ALA's organizing drive in Atlanta has yielded some modest returns. A few of the social-action programs over which the alliance has spread about $1 million seem to be showing results.

Some labor sources say the ALA is in trouble simply because it committed itself to an impossibly ambitious set of goals. According to its prospectus, the ALA was to develop low-cost urban housing for slum dwellers, sponsor antipoverty programs, mobilize ghetto residents into community unions and organize unrepresented workers in low-wage industries into ALA unions.

But despite some recent signs of movement in these areas, few UAW men profess satisfaction with the ALA's performance. Some say that once the UAW's long strike with General Motors Corp. is completely settled, the union will begin a full-scale review of where the ALA has been and where it's going.

"The alliance is moving ahead at a slower rate than we expected," concedes Douglas Fraser, a UAW vice president. He blames this on repeated distractions, such as strikes and other troubles that have plagued both the UAW and Teamsters in the past year.

Bu outside sources believe ALA troubles go deeper, refelcting the often-conflicting styles and interests of the parent unions. This summer, questions about the ALA's future were raised when the UAW and Teamsters halved per capita payments to the ALA to five cents a month. The two other ALA members followed suit. The move was attributed to UAW financial problems and massive expenditures for the UAW's Walter and May Reuther Family Education Center at Black Lake, Mich.

Ill Omen Seen

ALA officials insist the reduction hasn't affected any of the alliance's activities or produced any cuts in its 50-man staff. Indeed, they suggest that, with $2 million in its treasury, the ALA was receiving more money than it needed. But some observers believe the fund cut bodes ill for the infant labor group.

"It would be embarrassing for the two giant unions to kill the ALA outright," says one veteran labor observer. "No doubt they've decided to let it slide quietly into nonexistence."

But there are indications that, rather than fade away, the ALA may break up. Originally, the alliance was to have been an umbrella organization for a wide range of unions committed to ALA objectives. But other unions haven't joined since April, when the 50,000-member Distributive Workers of America affiliated. Last year, the 110,000-member International Chemical Workers Union became the ALA's first recruit. The union then was expelled by the AFL-CIO, which has viewed the ALA as a rival federation.

Recently relations between ALA members have been severely strained. One reason is reports that the UAW—and possibly even the Teamsters—might be moving to patch up differences with the AFL-CIO. Labor sources comment that any resumption in formal ties between these unions—even though a long way off—would leave the Distributive Workers and the Chemical Workers essentially isolated.

To head off this possibility, the Chemical Workers at their October convention authorized the executive board to pull out of the ALA at any time it thought necessary. At present, ICWU officials say they are evaluating the union's place in the ALA. Some insiders believe a decision to pull out of the alliance may be made as early as January, when the ICWU executive board next meets.

Chemical Workers' Worries

Reasons for the Chemical Workers union's unhappiness aren't hard to find. The ICWU president, Thomas E. Boyle, told convention delegates: "If either the Teamsters or Auto Workers should return to the AFL-CIO we could be left out in the cold. We could be subject to raids (on membership) across the country without any protection whatsoever."

At the same time, Mr. Boyle complained that affiliation with the ALA hadn't increased the ICWU's rank-and-file membership. He also grumbled that in some cases local Teamsters had refused to honor ICWU picket lines.

These troubles aside, ALA officials insist at least some of their efforts are beginning to pay off. They cite the ALA's organizing drive in Atlanta, where the alliance has won 52 of 78 representation elections since September 1969. This means some 5,000 workers have been organized into ALA member unions. Eight elections are pending involving 2,642 workers and the ALA currently is working on 140 sites in the Atlanta area with a potential of 12,000 members, they add.

While such results are unimpressive by the standards of other areas, they amount to a modest achievement in the South, labor organizers concede.

Effect of $1 Million

ALA sources also assert that the $1 million the alliance has spread over some 20 projects proves that organization isn't as dormant as critics contend. They say the ALA has:

—Organized tenants of the St. Louis Housing Authority into a trade-union-like organization; the authority adds a monthly charge onto each tenant's rent to finance running the group much in the way employers check off union dues from wages. The ALA gave the tenant's group $50,000 to finance legal and other technical services to help it in its dealings with the authority.

—Provided funds to cover office space and utilities of the Southern Mutual Help Association. The group, functioning in eight Louisiana parishes, offers credit-union services and a self-help housing program and attempts to organize farm workers into trade unions.

—Granted monthly sums of $3,000 to the North Jersey Community Union, a group which, occupying an abandoned brewery, provides legal services, day-care facilities and job training programs for Newark ghetto residents.

—Extended $39,000 to Mexican-American residents near McAllen, Texas, for construction of a medical center. The facility is being built on 10 acres of land acquired by the ALA, which has deeded part of it over to the Texas branch of Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers union.

ALA spokesmen assert that such examples demonstrate the UAW and Teamsters "are getting along well." Indeed, a visitor to the alliance's posh eight-room suite here in Washington finds representatives from the two unions working together in comparative harmony. The appearance of unity was enhanced recently when the Teamsters advanced the UAW a $25 million line of credit for use in its long strike against General Motors.

But occasionally the ALA's workings have been impeded by the divergent styles of the two big unions. The UAW is highly centralized, makes decisions easily and has a yen for publicity. But the Teamsters union—at least without its former chief, James Hoffa—is more decentralized and requires many moves to be approved by sometimes conflicting baronies of power. It's also highly suspicious of the press.

At times the two unions have clashed on matters of substance, as in the Salinas Valley where the UAW backed Cesar Chavez's effort to organize vegetable workers. This brought both the UAW and the AFL-CIO-affiliated United Farm Workers into conflict with the Teamsters, which in August signed contracts with a number of growers. Eventually, a compromise was worked out, but not before the UAW and Teamsters were embroiled in, as one UAW source put it, "serious arguments."

Observers believe these and other strains eventually may prove too much for the maverick alliance.

In Florida

Teamster Drivers Capture Four Truck Roadeo Titles

Four Teamsters Union members, all proven drivers of safety and skill on the road, won championships at the National Truck Roadeo held recently in Miami Beach, Fla.

The combined on-the-job record of the Teamsters and a non-union winner underscored the experience that helped them take class trophies in the competition: A total of 77 years and five million miles of accident-free driving, over-the-road and in the cities.

The title winners were:

Straight truck—Cletus Frank of Teamster Local 391 in Greensboro, N.C., a driver for Akers Motor Lines.

3-axle—Marvin Harris of Teamster Local 71 in Charlotte, N.C., a driver for Johnson Motor Lines.

4-axle—Peter Granello of Teamster Local 560 in Union City, N.J., a driver for Mason & Dixon Lines.

5-axle—Paul D. Good of Teamster Local 413 in Columbus, O., a driver for Suburban Motor Freight.

Tank truck—William Hannibal, Jr., a driver for Esso-Indiana in Baltimore, Md.

While the National Truck Roadeo, sponsored by the American Trucking Assns., Inc., traditionally has no "grand champion," Cletus Frank came as close as possible to filling that role in this year's competition.

Frank did something no other driver ever has done in the 30-year history of the roadeo as he won an unprecedented fifth championship in the straight truck class. He also won in 1961, 1963, 1964 and 1967.

Granello's championship in the 4-axle class was his third title in the national competition.

Good's victory was his second crown in the 5-axle division.

While the driving competition was the major phase of the roadeo, contestants also took a written examination on the trucking industry, safety rules, fire-fighting and first-aid.

They also were tested with a "pre-trip inspection" examination in which they were challenged to detect planted defects in equipment such as non-functioning lights and loose wheel lugs.

Besides their enormous trophies, the winners also received money prizes.

The 1971 National Truck Roadeo has been scheduled for Houston, Tex.

Champion truck roadeo drivers check out equipment during the ATA competition recently in Florida. Shown are (left to right): Paul Good of Local 413; William Hannibal, Jr.; Peter Granello of Local 560; Cletus Frank of Local 391, and Marvin Harris of Local 71.

Shop Steward Completes Labor Course

Lucille Goodman Johnson, a shop steward for Teamster Local 832 in New York City, was a graduate in the first class of its kind from the 2-year labor and liberal arts program

Lucille G. Johnson

of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University.

Mrs. Johnson was one of 75 students receiving a diploma for the course. Her student colleagues included 20 presidents of local unions, three international union vice presidents, and a large number of business representatives and other officials from trade unions in the area.

Strike Wins Pact Gains In Missouri

Some 50 members of Teamster Local 574 of Cape Girardeau, Mo., won a 3-year contract providing substantial wage gains and other improvements after a 3-week strike at Stites Concrete, Inc., of Dexter, Mo.

Local 574 won a National Labor Relations Board representation election at the company last June and the walkout began when the company refused to budge during negotiations on the initial contract.

Thomas Edwards, Local 574 secretary-treasurer, said wage gains were made retroactive to last July 25th. The agreement also provided holidays, vacation schedules, hospitalization, and other items standard in Teamsters Union agreements.

First-Year Report

5,300 Workers Go Union In ALA Organizing Drive

First-year organizing efforts in Georgia by the Alliance for Labor Action resulted in more than 50 representation election victories in which more than 5,300 workers decided they wanted to work under a union contract.

The campaign results scored by the Teamsters Union, United Auto Workers and other affiliates of the ALA were considered remarkable in view of the fact that Georgia has long been a staunch "right-to-work" state.

Teamster General Vice President Frank E. Fitzsimmons, head of the ALA organizing program, hailed the achievement as one in which, for the first time, collective bargaining rights have been brought to thousands of workers laboring under the depressing handicaps of inadequate wages and poor working conditions.

He added: "ALA is keeping its commitments to upgrade working and living conditions for masses of people in the face of all kinds of opposition."

Fitzsimmons, noting that the ALA campaign has been operating from Atlanta only a year, declared: "The pilot program is now off the ground and detailed surveys are being made in other cities as the second phase of the operation gets underway."

Since the organizing drive began a year ago, the Teamster local unions have scored 32 election victories covering 3,969 workers; UAW local unions have scored 17 wins affecting 1,296 workers, and the International Chemical Workers Union has tallied two successes for 50 workers.

The scorecard shows the ALA group setting a winning mark of nearly 66 per cent—far above the national average—as 51 wins were gained against 26 losses in representation election balloting.

The most recent wins were scored at Voit Rubber, Air Treads, Combustion Engineering, Cathcart Storage and W. W. Grainger Co.

Some campaigns are still in limbo. The ICWU, narrowly out-voted at Dowling Textile Co., filed charges and won an order from the NLRB regional office in Atlanta to set aside the election and set a new date for another ballot. The company has appealed the case to the Board in Washington, D.C.

● Office Win

Office workers employed by Signal Delivery Service, Inc., of Evansville, Ind., voted unanimously for representation by Teamster Local 215 in a recent National Labor Relations Board election, according to James R. Foster, secretary-treasurer of the local union.

150 Workers At Air India Go Teamster

The Teamsters Union Airline Division recently was certified by the National Mediation Board as bargaining representative for more than 150 workers employed by Air India.

An election conducted by the NMB resulted in a vote of 58 for the Teamsters, 20 for the Transport Workers Union AFL-CIO, and nine ballots were voided. A total of 154 workers were eligible to vote.

Henry Breen, director of the IBT Airline Division, said the bargaining unit includes clerical and office workers, and fleet and passenger service employees.

Free Hoffa

Individuals and Organizations Working for Jimmy's Release

Throughout the country, there is growing activity on the part of private citizens and union members to secure a pardon for Teamster General President James R. Hoffa.

Wives of Teamsters are visiting their Congressional delegations. Teamster local unions are sponsoring letter writing campaigns to the White House urging Hoffa's pardon.

Typical of activity outside the Teamsters is the campaign of the Michigan State Building and Construction Trades Council, AFL-CIO.

The Council is furnishing petitions with a resolution calling for Hoffa's release. The petitions ask the bearer to secure five signatures and return the petition to the Council for forwarding to the White House. A headline above the petition says, "Sign and Bring Jimmy Hoffa Home for Christmas."

The Council takes the same position as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters that this is not a labor matter. It is one of concern to all citizens who believe every American, whether poor or rich, helpless or influential, anonymous or controversial as Jimmy Hoffa obviously was, is entitled to the same standard of justice and elementary decency as the least influential among Americans.

We in the Teamsters believe Jimmy Hoffa should receive a Christmas pardon from President Nixon, believing the President would increase his stature by so doing.

Workers, both union and non-union, have received many benefits from Hoffa's union activities in bringing about better living standards for millions of American families.

There is that old maxim that a 'friend in need is a friend, indeed,' and Teamsters everywhere are urged to write to the White House asking for Jimmy's release in time for him to be home for Christmas.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER

Southern Reginnal Council
5 Forsyth, NW
Room 201 30303
Atlanta 3, Ga.

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Farm Workers

By REV. JAMES L. DRAKE

Soon it will be nine years since Cesar and Helen moved to Delano to "build a union for farm workers." In retrospect, the move demanded such faith and audacity that it is a wonder that one family would summon the courage to begin. Think about it! Several million workers hounded by hunger, excluded from most basic rights guaranteed laboring men in this nation, and one family says, "Well, there should be a union, so let's build one."

The events of those nine years form compact lessons in organizing. Few revolutionary efforts are initiated and carried to fruition in this day of the OEO and other pseudo-movements. But, here is a drive that is succeeding and which has not destroyed itself through internal friction.

So what are the lessons?

First, and simply, one must begin! Oak trees do not grow where no acorns are planted. In 1961, men sat at bars and argued how to build a farm workers' union. Students even went so far as to make erudite studies of the matter. But Cesar and Helen got the revolutionary idea that the wisest way to get from point A to point B was to take step one . . . they moved to Delano.

There seems to be much pessimism about the possibility of change. And yet there is such a flood of talk about revolution and radical movements. I wonder if there has ever been in our nation such a turgid situation. There is vast willingness on the part of many to consider experiment. Yet, few are taking the concrete step of "moving to Delano"—or wherever.

Cesar and Helen make a bold organizational suggestion. Their life is their lesson. People will follow if you are willing to show direction. The Chavez' seem to place a tremendous responsibility on our shoulders. They say to radicals everywhere: "Don't talk; act! You'll be surprised by the results."

It is clear now why Cesar was so cautious about the source of financial support in the pre-strike years. Even his closest friends could seldom convince him to accept five dollars for food. His reasoning: "If the workers really want what I am offering, they will pay for it through dues." Often enough it appeared the workers did not want what he offered. In the winter of 1963, the family suffered greatly. But the principle worked. The workers shaped the organization by telling what they needed. What they didn't need, they didn't buy. Thus, to give, the organizer must first be at the other's mercy. By asking for workers' money to build the organization, Cesar was forming hundreds of partnerships.

To formalize these partnerships, nothing served better than the Credit Union. The trust built through that mechanism was a lasting glue. Such trust was absolutely necessary for confrontation with the growers. I believe that much of the spirit of mutual assistance which bore the grape strikers through five years of suffering was born in the Credit Union. Firm organization requires a sound structure, and the Credit Union has served as the structural steel of the Union.

Many times we try to take short-cuts, launching grand organizational schemes, demanding firm underpinnings, as though people cluster together as simply as tiny magnets. But the history of the farm workers' union-building shows how needed is attention to the details of trust-building. The organization which seeks to build new and freer forms of community must begin and grow as a family, teaching and trusting each newly added member. Officers, boards, trustees—these are mere formalities. Economic interdependence and personal trust are the real source of strength in a confrontation with freedom-robbing powers.

Organizations that are lasting are built as a pyramid. One block must be

(Continued on page 8)

Sister Mary Lou Rose, M.M., Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

New Drive To Organize Working Poor

By PAT JORDAN

Recently Honore Daumier's moving etching "If the workers fight, how shall the house be built?" appeared in a New York exhibition. While the etching is concerned with man's violence, its question is well taken. Could it be that wars and confrontation issue not only from politicians' gimmickry but also from the thirst of poor and just men for equanimity? The question is self-answering.

Since its inception, the **Catholic Worker** has shown a dedication to the plight of the poor. This has not been restricted to place or nationality, color or religion. And it has embodied allegiances with other groups seeking the alleviation of class and economic struggle. There has not been a univocal endorsement of all such groups' means on the part of the CW, and when there was not, such was generally made clear in these pages. (You will note the July-August issue's approach to the Black Panther Party.) Now, happily, we bring to your attention the ordered struggle of the working poor under the National Council of Distributive Workers of America.

The NCDWA was constituted at Suffolk Va. on May 4, 1969. Many of its members had or were about to disaffiliate themselves from the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO, on grounds that it did not practically represent them, nor did its leadership respond to the union's large minority constituencies. As Cleveland Robinson, an official of distinguished District 65 in New York City, said to the founding conference of NCDWA, "We know there are millions of unorganized workers in this country and a highly disproportionate number of them are black and Spanish-speaking.

(Continued on page 8)

Drive To Organize Working Poor

(Continued from page 1)

. . . They have been left out of the mainstream of society, and the labor movement as a whole, with rare exceptions, has ignored them. That is why there are now 57,000,000 unorganized workers in America." And he continued, "So we have to form an organization that is new and different, one that will fight racism in all its forms. . . . Our union must be a home for the poor—blacks, whites, Spanish-speaking, and others. We extend our hand of brotherhood and friendship to all. They want to be organized. . . . The one thing that holds them back is their distrust of the labor movement as exemplified by its present leadership." This is the avowed purpose of NCDWA: to organize the unorganized workers, especially to organize the working poor.

Representatives of the eleven locals which had disaffiliated from RWDSU to form NCDWA elected Mr. Robinson as the National Council's first president. He spoke for them when he had said to RWDSU, "We need friendship and we value friendship, but we do not propose to sacrifice principles." And so a new chapter in American Labor history began.

Not only did a new chapter ensue for labor, but a new turn was taking place in the American civil rights movement, what J. H. O'Dell calls the legacy of the Poor People's Campaign (**Freedomways**, Third Quarter 1969, p. 197ff). Such groups as SCLC had finally come to realize that the only way to defeat poverty was to organize the poor, and let **them** apply the lance. There was developing a united front of unions and civil rights organizations, much to the satisfaction of the poor.

Clay Stout of District 65 put it to me this way. Once there was a mosquito (labor) and an elephant (business). The mosquito would periodically and predictably attack the elephant's hide with a somewhat measured bite, which of course would move the elephant with entirely too foreseeable a progress. One day a bumblebee (the movement for minorities' rights) entered the picture. This bee, from every engineering standpoint incapable of flight, zeroed in and gave the elephant a momentous thrust on the trunk. The mosquito, hidden at the elephant's other end, thought his own nibble had caused the elephant too powerful a jolt. He immediately besought the elephant's pardon. This is the meaning of the tale: if the bee and the mosquito (the movements of minority rights and labor) were to get together instead of going at the establishment (elephant) alone and at opposite ends, they would probably move that elephant far more quickly, seriously, and efficiently.

It is of the utmost importance then that in the historic hospital strike of Charleston, S.C. (spring, 1969) we note the strong presence of both the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the NCDWA. Thanks to their cooperation and inspiration, this strike of poor workers was won in three months against the serious odds of an aristocratic power structure and the force of a reactionary state. (For a better understanding of the cooperation between SCLC and labor in the Charleston strike, see O'Dell's article mentioned above.)

Not only was the strike won, but soon employees at Ideal White Swan, the largest laundry in Charleston, had organized, struck and won, and some 250 workers in three city departments (Sanitation, Water Works, and Engineering) were gathering to represent their plight before the city government.

The sanitation strike of Charleston followed directly on the victory of the hospital strikers and took on some bizarre episodes. The mayor of Charleston, for example, pressed into service fifty convicts, policemen and prison guards carrying shotguns to collect the city's refuse. When the strike ended some six weeks later on Nov. 3, workers who had previously been receiving between $45-$62 for six days work were making from $68-$76 (it's now beyond $81) for working five days a week. More importantly, they were granted paid vacations, overtime pay, and a grievance procedure. Cleveland Robinson seemed vindicated that "the war on poverty can only be won by organized workers."

At the same time strikes were undertaken by local unions of the NCDWA all over the South, from Memphis, Tenn. to Newport News, Va., to Atlanta, Ga. **The Distributive Worker,** national publication of the NCDWA (which comes out of District 65's offices in NYC) follows these proceedings with the loyalty of a fraternal journal, and the gains of the strikes appear in its pages.

Perhaps the most publicized of these strikes has been the Obeci Memorial Hospital strike of Suffolk, Va. It lasted for over six months, and although it was ultimately sabotaged when strikers allegedly resorted to violence, it had progressed sufficiently to the point of developing local leadership and putting three solid wage increases in the strikers' pockets. As any union man will tell you, that must be considered a victory. The tangibles are most important, no matter what documents and signatures may or may not have been lacking.

In May of 1970, the SCLC, NCDWA, and ALA (Alliance For Labor Action) rallied in Atlanta in the March Against Racism, War, and Repression. This was a visible display that labor and civil rights groups were finally working in earnest to conduct their own war on poverty. During the Charleston hospital strike the ALA had come to the assistance of Local 1199B with $25,000, and when the NCDWA had joined the ALA in April, 1970, a joint statement of Teamster Vice-President Frank Fitzsimmons and UAW President Walter Reuther pledged full "moral and financial support to help continue the impressive start they (NCDWA) have made toward bringing the essential benefits of trade unionism to millions of disadvantaged workers in America."

Another sidelight in these actions was the growing activity of Churches in behalf of workers' rights. During the Suffolk hospital strike, for example, union representatives had been attending white churches to distribute literature. Later, in many cases, it was ministers who took part in the proceedings of settlement.

The struggle of the poor people to gain their rightful wages and dignity cannot be applauded enough. The rise of militant local leadership (for example Mary Moultrie of Local 1199B), the organizing of workers in areas of "essential service," the working of the bumblebee and the mosquito together, the benefits in dignity, wages, and security plans that have come to thousands of the "working poor," the realization that black people cannot rely on a black capitalism as corrosive as its white counterpart, and the vitality that has emanated from communities organized for specific purposes, makes the movement of the NCDWA and the SCLC one of the brightest in the field of social improvement and human rights. If this movement can grow with the momentum of the Farm Workers' victory, perhaps there is hope that a mass mobilization of America's poor will persuade this nation to make a real commitment to the abolition of poverty. Then the workingmen will not have to fight. They will be content to build.

Farm Workers

(Continued from page 1)

firmly placed before a higher one can be planted on it. Goals for the farm workers' union are always reachable—and from the workers' point of view, immediately worthwhile. A progressive pattern was developed: a Credit Union and a death benefit insurance led to a tiny cooperative. Disability insurance case-work led to quiet moves to stop unscrupulous labor contractors. Efforts to curb labor contractors led to a drive to keep rents low in crumbling labor camps, which ultimately led to the first direct and open confrontation: The Limell-Woodville Rent Strike. To consider jumping from the Credit Union step to the rent strike would have been folly. Organization means progression.

The grape strike had its seeds both in the Fillipino workers' strike in Coachella in 1965 and in the rent strike. In August, 1965, Linnell camp rent strikers employed in the vineyards of the J.D. Martin Ranch, struck for $1.40. For the first time, the world **"Huelga"** rang out.

We must **learn** to organize. It is an art, not an accident. The progression must be intentional and not accidental if the organizing is to reach its goal: **power.**

Finally, Cesar's work shows something of what is demanded in order to be a leader. One who leads **encourages** followers to experiment, once the goal is defined. The leader who demands perfect results the first time has not himself learned from experience. All who have shared the joy of serving the farm workers' movement have learned that one is seldom criticized for making mistakes. Rather, we feel the heat when we fail to take a step toward B and simply lounge around on A. Inaction is not tolerated.

The burden of change rests on the shoulders of many. UFWOC leaders are instructed not to horde responsibility, but rather to encourage masses to become involved. That is the secret of the grape boycott's success, and that is why the lettuce boycott will build power. Many boycotters are not workers. All of us are responsible for the suffering of the rural poor. It was our votes that kept the workers excluded from protective legislation. We are guilty. Cesar has always emphasized that correction of the wrong is not the sole responsibility of the worker. The worker must strike and lead, but any and everyone who cares is welcomed to join **la causa.** Perhaps this strategy, more than any other, has served to build that strange, beautiful conglomerate of people who have merged to bring long-denied justice to rural workers. And that is one lesson for all to behold: The liberation of the enslaved, if done for more than mere economic purpose, cannot help but liberate many more of us, whose identity has been categorized with that of the Slavemaster.

Farm With a View

(Continued from page 6)

often more than we can really house properly. Those who wish to visit should write or phone Stanley Vishnewsky; the guest master, or Marge Hughes, who might be called the principal coordinator of community affairs, if the Catholic Worker were only title-conscious. Stanley, by the way, is also a printer and a writer; and is at present happily engaged in selling to all comers Dorothy Day's new book **Meditations,** which has an introduction by Stanley himself, and illustrations by Rita Corbin. Rita is very busy—after taking care of her five children—preparing her Christmas cards. Anyone who has ever seen Rita's work knows that her cards are truly original and beautiful. They are advertised, I think, in this issue.

Deep in our woods in the cabin Jim built several years ago, Jim and Erica McMurray are happy with a new interest: little Came Thomas, their new son.

Late this afternoon I heard the song of a white-throated sparrow. Not at his spring-time best, but singing nonetheless, a last song perhaps before settling in for the winter. We move toward November, toward the great Feasts of All Saints and All Souls. DEO GRATIAS.

Franciscans

(Continued from page 7)

impossible within a corrupt institution. Their position is that the institution has lost credibility as a useful empirical agent of the Spirit. They say this because they have ceasd to have confidence in the Pope and the hierarchy. So they find themselves at odds with the visible, institutional structures of the Church. Sometimes they don't love it and they leave it and talk about following Christ outside the Church.

Francis and the early Franciscan family faced the same problem: an in-

ALA
Alliance for Labor Action

ACTION

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VOLUME 2 JUNE 1971 NO. 5

Richard Nixon, Rosemary's Baby ... And the New Young Voter

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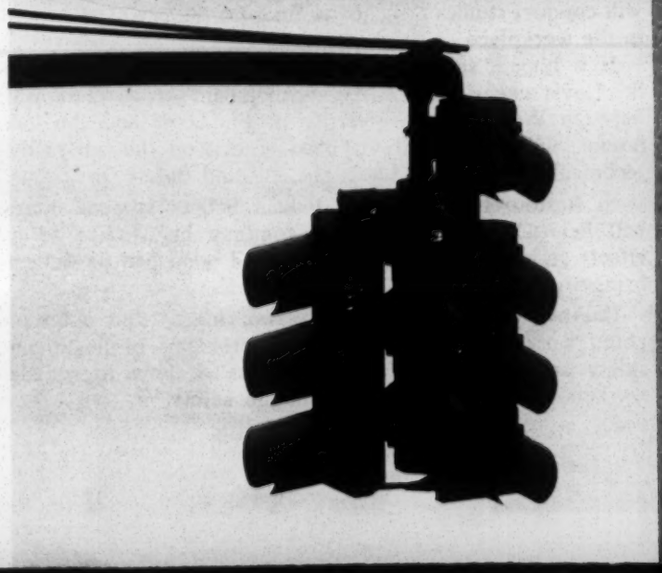
VIETNAM ... A Way Out

—See pages 4 & 5



It's a Long Way to Suburbia —at 3 A.M.

See pages 6 & 7

ALA backs summer study of 1970 job safety law

A broad summer study program sponsored by the Alliance for Labor Action is expected to result in more effective implementation of the 1970 Federal Occupational Health and Safety Act.

Eight ALA student interns, four in Washington, D.C., two in Boston, and one each in St. Louis and Charleston, West Va., have been hired to probe a variety of health and safety problems of direct concern to American workers.

Announcement of the program, Project Workplace Survival was made by ALA Co-Chairmen Leonard Woodcock and Frank Fitzsimmons. They said that ALA was deeply concerned by some early indications that the 1970 law "won't or can't be effectively enforced by the Government."

"We think this project can help provide some important information to our unions and will enable us to strive more intelligently to assure proper implementation of the nation's first health and safety bill of rights for workers."

One of the aims of the project is to produce a pocket-sized manual for in-plant use by unionists charged with the responsibility of making certain their company is living up to the law. The pamphlet will describe workers' rights and provide a clear, concise series of steps to follow to make sure that any violations reach the proper authorities.

The Washington interns are also working on a catalogue of available monitoring equipment for workers. "The idea is to let workers know they can conduct their own surveillance and provide important information to Federal inspectors looking into formal complaints," said Ron Sinoway, the 26-year-old Georgetown Law School senior in charge of the Washington phase of the project.

The catalogue is expected to be ready in September, said Sinoway.

In St. Louis, an intern will work with Teamster Local 688 to measure the "relative importance workers give to health and safety." Sinoway says a control group will be tested at the beginning and the end of the summer to gauge safety concerns. At the same time an industrial hygienist will conduct studies designed to find out the extent of hazards in the workplace.

It is hoped, said Sinoway, that one of the results of the St. Louis experiment is the development of a relationship between Washington University of St. Louis and the local unions, who "may find the need to call on the university's technical experts for future health and safety programs."

In Boston, two Harvard Medical School student interns will help Dr. David Wegman continue his studies of the effects of heat and noise pollution and what can be done to bring the issues to the bargaining table.

Interns in Boston will also be working to find out more about workers attitudes toward the problems of health and safety and try to provide some clues to how to broaden workers' concern for their on-the-job safety.

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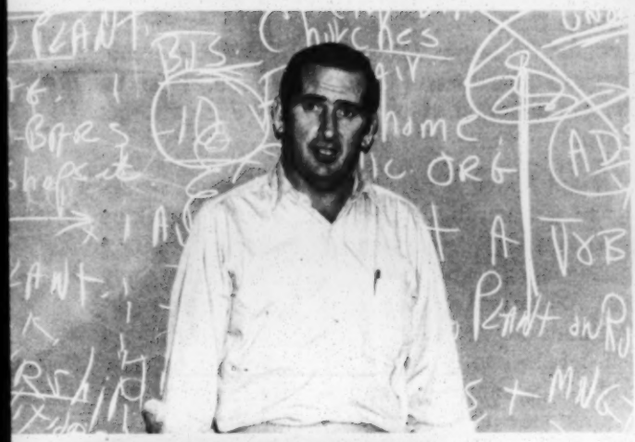
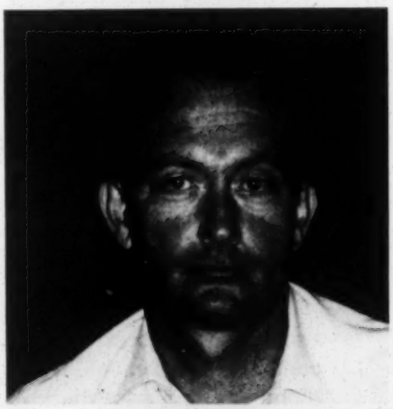
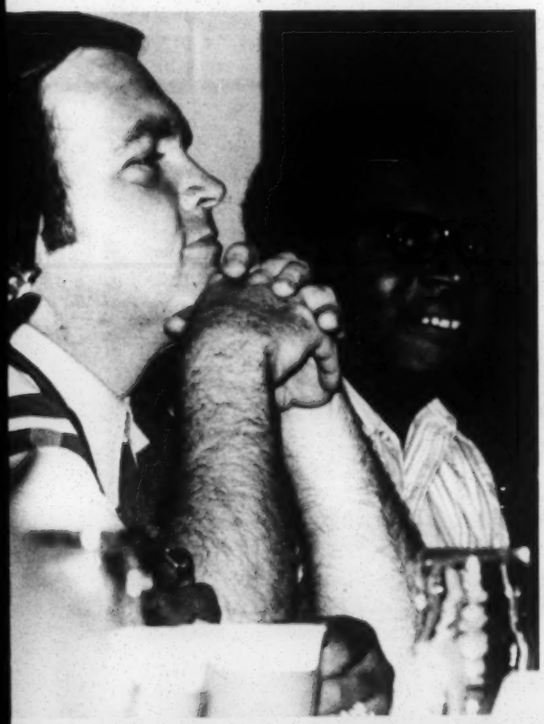


the education of an Organizer: Atlanta Style

Twenty ALA Atlanta organizers went to school June 12 and 13 to study some basic and advanced concepts of trade union organizing from veteran labor educator-organizers, Frank Lyons and George Daitsman of the Teamster Labor Institute. Tony Zivalich, appointed in April to direct the ALA Atlanta effort, arranged the session "to add to on-the-job experiences," of the organizers, most of whom moved to their current jobs without any formalized training. The school attempted to lay bare the tough realities of the job and was highlighted by an observation by Lyons who said "his gut instinct" was that the ALA Atlanta program offered great hope that the long-time dream for massive organizing in the South now had a "real chance to succeed."





VIETNAM...

A Way Out

UAW President Leonard Woodcock delivered the keynote address to the annual convention of the Americans for Democratic Action. Reprinted below are excerpts from that speech.

Now I would like to say something more extensively about the war. I have been saying in many speeches, "We've got to get out." And I firmly believe that. But just saying that really isn't sufficient because it leaves behind unsolved problems, problems that we as a nation are largely responsible for bringing into being.

It's clear, of course, that the American consensus, for whatever reason, against the Indochina War has gone far beyond the liberal and campus communities where at one time it began. From coast to coast across Middle America, and in every accent throughout the land, voices are calling on the Administration to end this tragic conflict and to end U.S. involvement. The question no longer is whether, but when the U.S. should withdraw—immediately or by December 31, this year or next.

The cynical expectation is that the President's unstated date is some time near November 1972. The current rate of withdrawal will be around 80,000 troops, perhaps all volunteers, by July of 1972. Unless there is a break in the negotiations which resolves the prisoner of war issue, these troops and the American prisoners of war in North Vietnam could be made hostages for each other with the withdrawal date contingent upon prisoner release as the North Vietnamese await the outcome of our 1972 elections.

Whatever date you support for getting out of Vietnam—and all of us, of course, would want tomorrow, everyone would agree that now is the time to do everything in our power to get all the killing stopped at the earliest possible moment and advance whatever date is set for American withdrawal.

For it is clear that Nixon's Vietnamization plan will not end the conflict or the killing. Ending direct American combat involvement will simply substitute Vietnamese blood for that of American blood and yellow bodies for white ones. The North and South Vietnamese will continue, perhaps for many years, to tear each other apart and blow each other to bits with the bombs, bullets, planes, tanks and mortars supplied by their respective allies, until one side or the other wins a military victory and imposes its will by force on the people of South Vietnam.

The Paris negotiations are all but dead. Hope has virtually disappeared for a political solution as the parties use the talks for propaganda purposes.

Yet the coming months present a new opportunity—perhaps the last—for the United States to take actions for peace and to pursue a policy that could end all the killing and not just Vietnamize it, to break the deadlock and bring about negotiations for the accommodations that are necessary to reaching a political settlement.

1971 is an election year in South Vietnam, the voters there are to choose a new House of Representatives in August and a president in October. These elections could be a fraud and a farce, or they could be an occasion for moving the conflict from the military to the political arena. What the United States does in the coming months can be decisive in either direction. Now is the time for us to act for peace instead of war.

First the United States, I believe, should initiate immediately and unilaterally a stand-still cease-fire taking defensive positions and stopping all offensive military action, including all air and ground missions, firing only in self defense. We would announce and publicize throughout South Vietnam our intention to take no military action except in self-defense, to establish a peaceful atmosphere for the period of the campaigns and elections inviting and urging the other side to join in the cease fire and the elections. At the same time, we would continue our withdrawals and announce unequivocally our intentions to withdraw all military force as soon as a permanent, effectively supervised cease fire has been agreed upon. We should test the sincerity of the North Vietnamese and not dismiss their offers out of hand as not credible and propaganda. Such a reaction taken by our government in the last two days is that of a government which is dedicated to continuing this war.

UAW to Congress: End the War

The war in Indochina is our country's major problem.

It has caused countless American and Vietnamese deaths, for no apparent good. It has seriously sapped the nation's economic strength. It has undermined our ability to address domestic and international problems, diverted our leadership from the true goals of a democratic society and resulted in mounting bitterness among our citizens.

We must change our national direction. We must begin to meet the urgent problems of our poor, our unemployed, our cities. We must drop our pretentions of militarism, and return the country to a position of moral leadership in world affairs.

To do these things, prompt Vietnam withdrawal is essential. Because the President has failed to initiate a timely withdrawal, it falls to the Congress to take the first step.

In the House, the Nedzi-Whalen amendment to the military procurement bill would withhold funds for the deployment of American troops in Vietnam. In the Senate, the McGovern-Hatfield amendment to the selective service bill would do the same. We urge the respective Houses to approve these amendments, thereby returning the nation to the path of peace and the solution of domestic problems.

—Statement by UAW Executive Board

Simultaneously, we should undertake vigorous pursuit of a permanent, internationally-supervised cease-fire agreement. Some such agreement is essential to ending the fighting and to assure the safe return of U.S. prisoners of war and all U.S. military forces.

On October 7, 1970, President Nixon, with great fanfare, proposed a stand-still cease fire throughout all of Indochina. The proposal was hailed throughout the country and the world by Hawks and Doves alike. For the first time, it appeared that the United States had changed its policy, that negotiations would replace Mr. Kissinger's Vietnamization policy, and that peace might have a chance. I personally publically supported this proposal of the President's. Unfortunately for humanity, the proposal was kept alive for just about four weeks. After November 3rd, 1970—and need I remind you that was election day—it was dropped. It has hardly been mentioned since, much less followed up as a serious proposal would be. And once again, Vietnamization emerged as the only policy the Administration intended to follow.

Was the cease-fire proposal a cruel hoax? A phony election gimmick designed only to help Republican candidates in the last weeks of the campaign? Or does the Nixon Administration simply lack the will, or the imagination, or the energy, or the negotiating skill, or guts, to follow through on their cease fire proposal? When pressed on this question, their excuse is simply that the other side rejected the proposal.

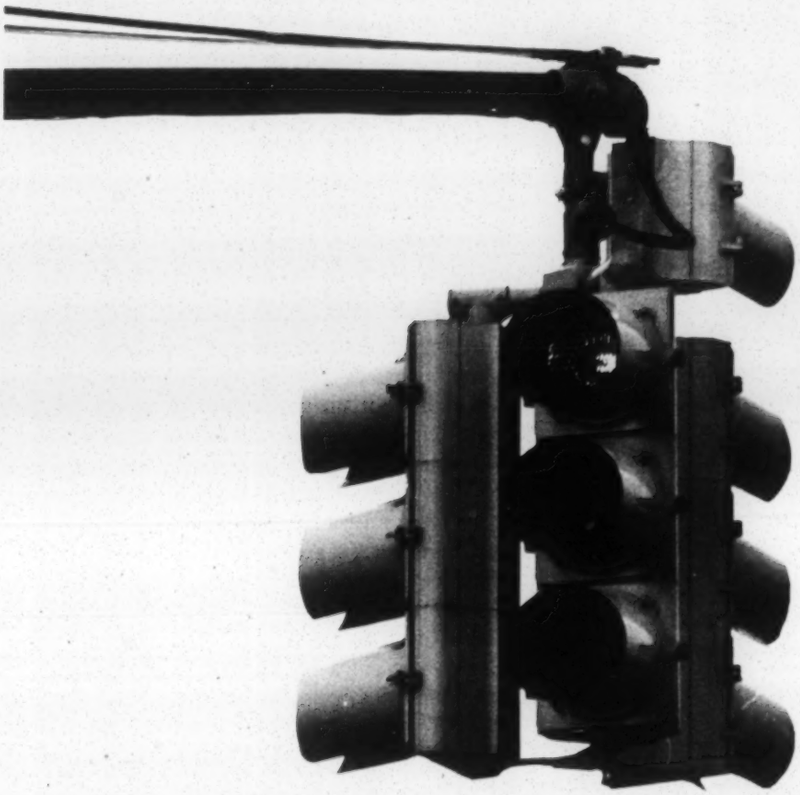
Well, if the UAW had taken "no" for an answer and dropped its proposal the first time General Motors said "no," or if we had failed to analyze the language of the replies we received, or pursued the openings, however bleak and subtle they may have been, or if we had failed to take initiatives, or modified our proposals in response to their's, or if we had failed to mobilize support and interest in our position on the part of the public—we'd still be sitting at the negotiating table in Detroit getting nowhere, just as the negotiators are getting nowhere in Paris.

The months of diplomatic activity that have surrounded the Middle East cease fire proposals suggests that when the Administration is serious it knows how to proceed to enlist the aid of outside parties, to enlist the allies of both sides, exploring every possible opening, influencing its own allies, developing detailed proposals and responses, carrying on a full-scale sustained diplomatic program in its behalf. It would seem not unreasonable to expect that at least some of this kind of energy could be expended on behalf of the October 7th proposal for a cease fire in Vietnam, where American men are dying now, and where American prisoners are now held captive.

The Nixon Administration's concentration in the Paris talks on the release of American prisoners before ending the conflict puts the cart before the horse and in a very cruel sense uses our men as an excuse for not negotiating, perhaps keeping them in captivity much longer than necessary. Negotiation and not Vietnamization is the way to unlock the cells of the American prisoners in North Vietnam.

There are now on the table in Paris cease-fire proposals by both sides, proposals that are admittedly very far apart, but which could be the vehicle for resuming talks if the United States would undertake a sustained program in pursuit of a political rather than a military solution in Vietnam.

(Continued on page 10)



It's a Long Way to Suburbia — at 3 A.M.

ALA joins fight to open suburbs to moderate-income workers

A major challenge to restrictive zoning laws may one day solve one of the more basic problems facing thousands of American workers who are forced to travel long, sweaty and expensive hours to their suburban jobs each day.

The Alliance for Labor Action joined the fight to open up the suburbs to moderate income workers when it agreed to help fund the New Jersey Community Union Housing Corp., Inc. (NJCUHC). Sponsored by the UAW, NJCUHC has been working since 1968 to find and build with Federal help, suitable dwellings for low-moderate income workers and senior citizens.

Paul Giblin, NJCUHC's attorney, says ALA's $36,000 grant is the reason "we may one day soon find a way to enable UAW members at Ford Motor Co., and Teamster members who haul cars from the plant to live in the town of Mahwah, N.J. where the plant is located."

Giblin explained that Mahwah has a minimum one acre requirement for building lots. That means that including the cost of the land a worker would have to be able to afford a $50,000 home to live in Mahwah. "That's not very likely," declares Giblin, who also notes that most of the surrounding areas have similar restrictions.

"What they are really saying," Giblin contends, "is that they want people to work in Mahwah, but after hours they don't won't them to live in the town."

The effects of the zoning bar on workers is very broad, Giblin points out. He says that most of the UAW members at Ford are forced to travel at least two and three hours a day and that the annual cost can go to as high as $1,000.

"And there is the discomfort of having to get up at three or four in the morning to catch a ride to the plant for the earliest shift which begins at 6 a.m.," he points out.

"Many workers would elect to live close in or close to Mahwah if they could afford it," he contends.

But all that may end if the organization can convince Cooper Union of New York to sell or lease about 50 acres of land in Mahwah to the Corporation. Giblin says ALA's funds enabled NJCUHC to hire a full-time person to seek available property to build low cost housing for moderate income working people."

He claims that with the right subdivision the Corporation could make available single family homes for about $20,000 to $25,000 by "subdividing on the basis of one quarter or one-half acre lots."

"That's more like a realistic price for working people," he emphasizes.

Giblin also says Teamster members have shown "substantial interest" in the effort to destroy what he calls an obvious discriminatory barrier based

on economic class differences and is a subtle way to keep blacks from living in Mahwah.

"An estimated 40 percent of the 5,000 workers at Ford are black or Puerto Rican," claims Aaron Resnick, president of UAW Local 906 in Mahwah.

Resnick, who has worked at Ford since 1955, says he travels 35 miles one way to work every day. "I can't afford to live here and neither can most of our members," he says angrily.

Resnick claims the union has come in for considerable criticism from "the chamber of commerce types," who "argue against what they call special treatment for workers."

Townspeople argue also that a lifting of the minimum zoning requirement will result in a "tremendous increase in the welfare rolls," says Resnick.

"But that's just a coverup for retaining Mahwah's purge of working people as neighbors," he contends.

In January, the UAW and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing filed a complaint in Newark, N.J. charging that local zoning laws deprived union members from living near their jobs at Ford's assembly plant in Mahwah.

The complaint, which was filed with the State Division on Civil Rights, received considerable national exposure and represented the first legal challenge by a major American labor union of local land-use restrictions that effectively exclude low-income residents.

The complaint charged that the minimum one acre requirement served to keep most of the 5,000 Ford workers from building homes in Mahwah.

The complaint also claimed Mahwah's opposition to new apartment construction effectively "confined" the community's small black population to a dilapidated neighborhood in the downtown section, or else "was driving it out of town."

Until the Auto Workers decision to complain to the state, attacks on local zoning bars have taken place in the courts. But the courts have been painfully slow to decide an issue which most people consider to be political dynamite, says Attorney Giblin.

"Even the state has been reluctant to move too fast to decide the complaint," he notes and goes on to say that the NJCUHC's recent discovery of the Cooper Union land is important "because maybe we can find another way to get around the zoning laws of Mahwah and other communities."

He contends that success by the Housing Corp., which is under the direction of Martin Gerber, UAW's longtime Region Nine director, "will enable us to argue the illegality of similar zoning restrictions in other places."

Giblin claims that the worker is unfairly shut out of towns like Mahwah, Saddle River and Franklin Lakes "where residents enjoy fine schools, lush green, quiet streets and adequate housing."

"But it's the taxes on workers' wages which pay the bill for the excellent schools, smooth country roads and to construct the sewers," explains Giblin. "It's the taxes on wages which enable Mahwah to charge its residents one of the lowest property tax rates in Bergen County," he continues.

"It's just not fair," Giblin concludes. "We think that with the help of ALA we will do something about it."

Richard Nixon, Rosemary's baby and the new young voter

"Is Richard Nixon Rosemary's baby?"

"Today's pig is tomorrow's baloney sandwich."

"Do it. Do it. Register and vote."

A strange mixture of cynicism and hope is spreading a gloomy confusion among America's political pundits.

They can't seem to figure out a neat little package for what they all agree may well be the deciding factor in the 1972 national elections: the millions of new young voters enfranchised by Congress' decision to lower the minimum voting age to 18 in Presidential contests.

"They can go either way," says Carl Wagner of ALA's Washington staff. He has been coordinating the Alliance's effort to register youngsters in California, Wisconsin, New Mexico and Massachusetts, all key primary states in the '72 battle.

Wagner points to the poster contests run by ALA in several California high schools. "Raising the President's relationship to Rosemary is a funny, sarcastic way of showing deep distrust of this president and what he stands for," says Wagner.

But it doesn't mean a total disrespect for the potential of the political system to solve many of the country's most critical problems, Wagner is quick to note.

ALA's youthful vote coordinator says there is no sure way to tell how the new voters will swing in 1972.

"It depends on the candidates and their approach to the issues of greatest concern to the 18 to 21-year-olds who will vote for the first time.

Wagner believes that candidates for the nation's highest office will have to stress a belief in the right and capability of young people "to make their own decisions."

He also stresses the independence of the new voter, "which is especially evident in states where you don't have to register as a Democrat or Republican to vote in the primaries."

ALA has been conducting a registration campaign mostly among high school students and local coordinators report 90 percent of the eligible students have been registering in California and close to that percentage in Wisconsin, New Mexico and Massachusetts.

In California, Wagner estimates that local deputy registrars have signed up between 50,000 and 75,000 students since the drive began in April.

The potential in California and elsewhere hasn't been really tapped, he says. In California it has been estimated 1,800,000 18 to 21-year-olds will be eligible to vote for the first time in 1972. "When you consider that Bobby Kennedy won his 1968 California primary by about 130,000 votes you can see how decisive the new young voter could be," Wagner speculates.

Some professional politicians discount the importance of the new voters, saying they won't vote in any greater numbers than their parents.

But early indications are that traditional pattern may be reversed. There are signs that young people are registering in sizable numbers.

Newsweek magazine reported recently that at Arizona University in Tempe, the League of Women Voters helped register 4,500 of some 6,000 eligible students. In Pennsylvania a major effort "put 183,000 new young voters on the rolls."

Add those examples to ALA's impressive performance in California and elsewhere and you begin to be able to make a case for new young voters to reverse the past record of lower record of registering and voting than other segments of society, Wagner argues.

The ALA staffer also points to a recent special Congressional election in Maryland where new young voters turned out in "significantly greater" numbers than their parents.

ALA's California effort has concentrated on the children of working people because, says Wagner, "most of them won't go on to college and this could be the last time to register them."

He explains that the idea was to register the children of working class people at the most convenient point—the high school. "Experience says it's much harder and more expensive to register people outside of some kind of institutionalized format like the high school," Wagner declared.

Trade unions have a special interest in the registration of the new voters. "History demonstrates clearly that the better educated and more affluent, many of whom find a home in the Republican Party act in a way counter to the best interests of the labor movement," Wagner explains.

The labor movement constantly seeks alliances among the more progressive segments of the nation, and the new young voter is potentially a vital ally, many trade union leaders have said in recent months as evidenced by other young voter registration projects.

Critical to the California effort was a legal decision permitting immediate registration of 17-year-olds who will be 18 and eligible to vote in 1972. "That's one of the reasons we chose California," Wagner says and he points out that similar rulings in Wisconsin, New Mexico and Massachusetts provided the stimulus for important ALA campaigns in those states.

Wagner thinks the key to success has been "our ability to interest political leaders at the local level and to attract committed local people to be deputy registrars to follow through in the schools." He strongly underscores the difficulty of outside direction and says "you can't run a successful program from a distance."

He points out that labor leaders applied the "clout" needed to convince local politicians to rule favorably on the eligibility of 17-year-olds to register now.

Without that kind of practical pressure "we couldn't have been as successful as we were," he explains.

But he cautions there is still "a long way to go." "There are some 25 million potential new voters in the nation, enough to make a big difference in 1972 and for many years into the future, but it is going to take a massive effort to enroll them not only as voters but to take an active role in the political process," Wagner says.

"ALA's preliminary work suggests the labor movement is ideally suited for the job," Wagner contends.

"But it is going to take a major commitment to build an effective, workable alliance," he concludes.

Vietnam: A Way Out

(Continued from page 5)

Simultaneously with the cease-fire initiatives, we must bring pressure to bear for political initiatives in South Vietnam. The other side must be invited to participate fully with adequate safeguards in every aspect of the coming elections, not only in voting and running candidates but in coalition, caretaker arrangements which would include all parties and could take the elections effectively out of the unrestricted jurisdiction of, say, the Thieu-Ky government.

Such an offer could meet some of the objections raised by the other side to elections with Thieu and Ky in charge, or perhaps open the way to negotiation of some kind of acceptable arrangements which could take the parties a long way toward the accommodations necessary to a political settlement.

If the other side is ever to give up violence, they must have full and fair access to the political process and guarantees against reprisals for political activities. Even if the other side does not participate openly, the elections could still provide the occasion for broadening the government, bringing in neutralist elements, and paving the way for tacit political accommodations. A de facto cease fire could increase the chances for success. In any event, the American government must refrain from any activity or aid on behalf of any candidates or which would compromise the freedom and integrity of these elections. At the same time, we must bring every pressure to bear on the Thieu government to make provisions for fair and honest elections. We should prohibit the use of any of our military or other resources on behalf of any candidates. We should demand the release of all those in prison for political activity and insist upon freedom of speech, assembly, and press for all citizens, fair access to the mass media, and freedom to travel by all candidates, and guarantees against reprisals for political activity.

To help assure that these elections are fair and open and to deter raiding and cheating by any parties, an international citizens' observer team should be formed in consultation and cooperation with the various Vietnamese parties and groups to work on the scene in South Vietnam for the campaign and election period to observe, evaluate, and report on the honesty of the electoral process. Such a team could enlist moral and political leaders, humanitarians and parliamentarians from countries around the world to join with the Vietnamese people to help assure honest elections. The objectivity and integrity of such a commission must be above question, with its only partisanship on behalf of peace and the opportunity for all the South Vietnamese people to choose freely, without coersion, their own leaders of government.

And finally, to help bind the sickening wounds of this war, we must pledge at least a billion dollars in aid and reconstruction to both South and North Vietnam.

health security movie set

Bet you're scratching your head trying to figure out why we are running this photo of a fat little imp savoring the last few drops of her "slurpie." Relax, it's just our corny way of drawing your attention to a new movie about the fight to win better health care for all Americans.

The movie, entitled "A Nation's Promise," produced by the Health Security Action Council of Washington, D.C. in cooperation with the Alliance for Labor Action, portrays many of the major problems faced by consumers of health care and offers practical solutions to skyrocketing costs, inefficient use of people and equipment and deteriorating health care.

You can obtain a print of the film by writing Health Security Action Council, 806 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.

ALA partners team up in Wisconsin; Small Virginia community to benefit

NEXT STOP, NEW CANTON. UAW and Teamster local union leaders in Beloit, Wisconsin were instrumental in supplying a small community in southern Virginia with much needed X-ray machinery. Organized by UAW's STEP program in cooperation with Project Concern, the unionists raised money and supplied van and driver to haul an X-ray, fluoroscope machine to the Central Virginia Community Health Center. From the left, Werner Wathke, president, Teamster Local 579; Robert McNatt, chairman, Janesville, Madison area CAP Council; Allied Van Lines driver and Wallace Friedman, secretary-treasurer, Teamster Local 579.

A tiny, impoverished Virginia community is the beneficiary of the concern and cooperation demonstrated by Teamster and UAW local unions in Wisconsin.

New Canton, Virginia won't stir bright lighters used to considerable after-dark urban action. The town is a speck in the southern corner of rural Virginia, often overlooked by myopic mapmakers bent on easing the plight of auto jockeys on their way to someplace else.

Unions don't get very excited about the possibilities of New Canton. You won't find the area rated at or near the top of any organizer's list of target sites.

The area suffers from a kind of understated misery relieved only by occasional whimpers of recognition.

Wisconsin local unions affiliated with the Teamsters and Auto Workers recently learned about New Canton, Virginia. And in small way they showed the potential implicit in the ALA's ability to be the spark for solution to troublesome problems facing small segments of American society.

Health care is one important problem facing residents of areas like New Canton. Equipment and personnel often are not readily available. It takes a special breed of doctor to give up the great material rewards of medical practice. Places like New Canton can't match the green potential of large urban areas like New York, Chicago and Los Angeles.

Even if you find a committed physician he has to labor under less-than-perfect conditions. Facilities often are inadequate; trained para-professionals are rare and equipment is in short supply. It takes extraordinary person to cope.

New Canton is luckier than most places. Residents of the town and area can call on a community health center staffed by several bright-eyed professionals eager to provide health services to the community.

All they need is a little help now and then. They got it recently from the labor movement in Wisconsin.

The Auto Workers boast of something they call STEP (Social-Technical-Education Program) run by the union's International Affairs Department in Washington, D.C. STEP was the coordinating vehicle by which New Canton's health center has acquired an X-ray-Fluoroscope machine provided by a Beloit, Wisconsin doctor.

Dr. Thomas Zurkowski of Beloit had the machine and he wanted to donate it to New Canton. So he got in touch with a local affiliate of Project Concern, a national organization devoted to alleviating needy communities' medical problems.

Mrs. Gloria Geise, chairman of Wisconsin Jaycette's Project Concern, and Dr. Zurkowski, agreed they needed to find a way to get the machine to New Canton.

And that's where the STEP came in. STEP's Stan Greenspan contacted UAW's Janesville-Madison Community Action Program Council (Locals 95, 443 and 1329) and Teamsters Local 579 and together those unions raised money and arranged to ship the equipment to the health center.

CAP Council and Teamster representatives said "we are proud to assist in this worthy cause." It's the kind of joint effort envisioned by Alliance for Labor Action leaders who believe the labor movement has an important role to play in helping the less fortunate.

The News In ACTION

* * *

Employment problems of the middle-aged, older and black Americans will receive extensive attention in two conferences in Washington, D.C. cosponsored by the Alliance for Labor Action in June.

About 300 persons attended a June 14 meeting designed by the National Afro-American Labor Council to discuss unemployment with special emphasis on the effects on black workers.

On June 30 and July 31, 200 delegates will probe the problems of the middle-aged and older workers at a conference put on by the National Council On the Aging.

* * *

Leonard Woodcock and Frank Fitzsimmons, ALA Co-Chairmen, have announced an interim emergency grant of $4,000 to help ease the plight of a group of impoverished Indians in the Far West.

The funds go to **Southern California Indian Assistance, Inc.** (SCIA) of San Diego and will enable the organization to continue a three-year campaign to alleviate the suffering of Cocopah Indian poor in near Yuma, Arizona; the Hopi of New Mexico and the Navajo in Arizona, said Woodcock and Fitzsimmons.

SCIA is directed by Teamster (Local 36, San Diego) Edgar J. Thomas, Jr., who founded the organization in 1968. Thomas says SCIA has distributed over 500,000 pounds of food, clothing and medical supplies with an estimated value of $380,000 to the Indians or to medical missionaries.

The Teamsters Executive Board tapped **Frank Fitzsimmons** to replace **James R. Hoffa** as president following the latter's official resignation from the union's top post. Fitzsimmons, who has been running the union since 1967, is expected to win election to a full-five year term when the union's convention opens in Miami Beach, Fla., on July 5.

Hoffa revealed his decision first on June 3 saying in a letter to the Board that he would not be a candidate for re-election. He said that he supported Fitzsimmons for the presidency and urged the convention to elect his longtime friend and associate to succeed him.

The Teamsters Executive Board has unanimously endorsed Fitzsimmons.

Fitzsimmons

* * * *

The National Council of Distributive Workers, an ALA affiliate, announced the affiliation of a Puerto Rican independent union which represents 20,000 workers in Government, public works, factories, mills and a variety of other plants in Puerto Rico.

NCDWA President **Cleveland Robinson** told a news conference in Puerto Rico that the affiliation of Sindicato Obrero Insular "was certain to make an important contribution to the struggle by oppressed workers for economic justice and freedom in the United States and Puerto Rico."

Robinson

* * *

To limit military expenditures and help the effort to redirect federal spending in America, the **Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy** has begun a major grassroots campaign to rally "citizens support" of the Proxmire amendment to the Department of Defense Procurement Authorization Bill (S. 939).

The coalition, which recently received a $5,000 grant from the ALA, says a recent Gallup Poll indicates that more than 50% of the nation believes America should "reduce spending for national defense and military purposes." They argue forcefully that the Defense Department ignores the recent intent of Congress, spends more than Congress authorizes and that S. 939 eventually will put an end to the violations by establishing the principle "of a spending ceiling as an annual concern."

* * *

The International **Chemical Workers** Union of Akron, Ohio, an ALA affiliate since 1969, decided to rejoin the AFL-CIO in May. The decision was announced by the Union's President Thomas E. Boyle.

Co-Chairmen Frank Fitzsimmons and Leonard Woodcock pointed out that membership in the ALA is "voluntary." "We wish the Chemical Workers well," they declared.

* * *

It's going to cost the **American Medical Association** a bundle to battle national health security. Those paragons of conservative virtue recently announced a $1.5 million kitty to flood the country with anti-health security propaganda.

Liberals may be hard pressed to counter AMA's pitch which some say has $750,000 allocated for advertising alone. AMA's plan, "Medicredit," provides tax credits for purchase of health insurance and doesn't do much about reorganizing the system.

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BIOGRAPHICAL DATA
FOR
WILEY A. BRANTON

Wiley A. Branton, Executive Director of the Community and Social Action Division of the Alliance for Labor Action since July 1969, was born in Pine Bluff, Arkansas on December 13, 1923. He received a Bachelor of Science degree in Business Administration from Arkansas A. M. & N. College and a Juris Doctorate from the University of Arkansas.

The Alliance for Labor Action (ALA) was formed by the United Auto Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, America's two largest labor organizations, and is committed to a program to revitalize the American labor movement and to help America find answers to its urgent social problems. The ALA maintains offices in Washington, D. C. Mr. Branton came to ALA from the United Planning Organization where he directed the Metropolitan Washington community action agency.

A lawyer by profession, Mr. Branton was engaged in the general practice of law in Arkansas from 1952 until 1962. During that time he achieved national prominence as Chief Counsel for the Negro plaintiffs in the Little Rock school case. He is a member of the bars of Arkansas, Georgia, the District of Columbia and the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Branton served as Special Assistant to former Attorneys General Nicholas Katzenbach and Ramsey Clark at the Department of Justice from 1965 until 1967 where he assisted in the implementation of the Voting Rights Act.

Prior to this he served as Executive Secretary of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity, established by Executive Order of President Lyndon Johnson on February 5, 1965. The Council, chaired by Vice President Hubert Humphrey, was composed of most of the Cabinet members and heads of major Federal agencies. The Council was abolished in October of 1965.

In 1962, Mr. Branton was appointed Director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia. The Voter Education Project was a cooperative effort involving the major civil rights organizations and many local groups which led to the registration of over 600,000 Negro voters in eleven southern states between 1962 and 1965.

He has also served as Executive Director of the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership in New York City and of the Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense, Inc. He has received numerous citations and awards for his civil rights activities.

Mr. Branton is a veteran of World War II, a Baptist, Mason and member of Omega Psi Phi fraternity. He is married to the former Lucille McKee of Memphis, Tennessee and they have six children.

Ala

To Clear The Record

AFL-CIO Executive Council Report on the Disaffiliation of the UAW

CIVIL LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January, 1966

THE JULIAN BOND CASE

The Facts

Five days before the opening of the Georgia House, John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC issued a statement condemning U. S. "Aggression" in Viet Nam and claiming that America was responsible for the "murder" of Vietnamese peasants. He called upon Americans to refuse to participate in the war by any means.

Reporters, knowing that Julian Bond, as well as being a newly elected legislator, was also Public Relations Director of SNCC, sought him out to question him. Mr. Bond stated that he concurred "fully" with the statement. Asked about whether he advocated draft-card burning, Mr. Bond stated that he did not advocate this, that he had his own draft card which he had no intention of burning, but that he did "admire" the courage" of those who protested the war knowing they must face the legal consequences and community ostracism.

Some Georgia House members responded by signing a petition to deny Mr. Bond his seat because his statements "gave aid and comfort to the enemy." Mr. Bond was informed that this petition would be considered by the Georgia House on its opening day, Monday, January 10th.

On the eve of the opening House session, the Georgia ACLU issued a statement through its president, Hugh W. Gibert, which said in part:

"Disagreement over U. S. policies cannot be made the basis for ousting a duly elected public official from office. If it were, we would have precious few legislators, since many of them shouted defiance of the constitutional decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court only a few years ago.

"Individual members of the ACLU, myself included, consider that to characterize our policy in Viet Nam as "Aggression" and to say that the United States bears part of the responsibility for 'murder' of peasants' is reckless and unfair. These are not relevant considerations, however, since what is at stake is freedom of speech guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U. S. Constitution.

THE JULIAN BOND CASE, CONTINUED

"To dissent from American policy is not to be disloyal. We are too great a country, and our freedom is too real and meaningful for us to think it necessary to pretend to the world that we are unanimous on any issue, either foreign or domestic..."

On Monday morning, at the opening session, Mr. Bond was not permitted by Speaker George T. Smith to take the oath of office given to other House members. At 11:30 a.m., Mr. Smith announced that the petition to oust Mr. Bond would be considered by a special twenty-eight member legislative committee with himself as chairman. The committee was to convene that same afternoon at 2:30 p.m. to consider the case in the House Chamber. The hearing was open to all House members, the press and the gallery.

The Hearing

The hearing began -- unpromptly at 3:30 p.m. -- before a packed house. Mr. Bond was represented by ACLU of Georgia Vice-President Howard Moore, Jr., assisted by ACLU Southern Regional Director Charles Morgan, Jr. The signers of the House petition brought Mr. Denmark Groover of Macon, a former House floor leader during the Griffin Administration, to present their case. Mr. Bond's attorneys called his two election rivals - one Republican and one Democrat - to testify that they felt he should take his seat, and that he would undoubtedly carry the 136th District again. This testimony was followed by statements from Senator LeRoy Johnson and Senator Horace Ward who also urged his seating. The chief witness for the petitioners was a Mr. Ed Spivey, a reporter for the state-owned radio station WGST, who produced a tape of an interview with Mr. Bond. The introduction of this tape by the petitioners was rather curious, since in it, Mr. Bond re-iterated several times that he did not advocate draft-card burning and would not burn his.

On cross examination of Mr. Spivey, Mr. Moore elicited the information that Mr. Spivey had no personal knowledge that Mr. Bond had been told that his telephone interview was being taped, and that there was no beeper on the telephone to apprise him that the telephone conversation was being recorded.

Mr. Morgan made the closing statement for Mr. Bond, stressing both the free speech aspects of the case, and pointing out the dangerous precedent which would be set for other state legislatures by the Georgia House action. Mr. Groover concluded for the petitioners by labelling Mr. Bond's statements as "treason" and by calling upon the House to refuse to seat him in the name of patriotism.

The special committee voted 26-3 against seating Mr. Bond, and an overwhelming 184 members of the House voted to follow their recommendation. Only twelve members dissented.

THE JULIAN BOND CASE, CON'T.

The Case

Following the House action, Mr. Bond's attorneys filed suit to enjoin the House from refusing to seat Mr. Bond. Or, as an alternative, the suit calls for the adjournment of the House until the 136th District can be represented. A three-Judge federal court has been impaneled to hear the case. (A three-Judge court is required by law whenever the constitutionality of statutes are brought into question.) The plaintiffs in the suit are Julian Bond, and two of the residents of the 136th District which he represents, one of them being Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The suit is based chiefly on the following grounds:

1. Mr. Bond was denied the right of free speech as guaranteed in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

2. His constituents have been denied their right of representation as guaranteed by the Fourteen and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

3. The House action amounts to a bill of attainder and ex post facto law -- i.e., a special act seeking purnishment for a particular named person, passed by a legislature against a named person subjecting him to a pain or penalty for something he did while not a member of the legislature.

4. Mr. Bond, was in fact, tried for treason and for violating the Selective Service Act. He was therefore, the suit contends, deprived of his right to be indicted by a Grand Jury under the Fifth Amendment, and to his right to a trial by jury under the Six and Fourteenth Amendment.

5. The statutes and provisions of the rules of the Georgia House of Representatives under which Mr. Bond was tried are vague. The ACLU contends that they are thus void for such vagueness under the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution.

This case is scheduled to be heard on January 28th. In the meantime, Governor Sanders has called a special election in the 136th District for February 23rd, five days after the Legislature adjourns.

The Advertisement

Seven hundred-fifty Georgians signed the advertisement to appear in the Atlanta Constitution on Wednesday, January 26th. With their signed ads they sent in dollar bills to pay for it. To meet the deadline, only Atlanta area ACLU members were contacted of whom almost 60% responded with a signature and a dollar, or more. But in spite of the limited circulation of the ad, signatures came also from Rome, Macon, Columbus, Savannah, Athens and Augusta.

THE JULIAN BOND CASE, CON'T

Over a third of the signers were students and faculty members. Among the rest were ministers, businessmen, lawyers, elementary and high school teachers, doctors, and of course, hundreds of citizens whose occupations could not be identified by their name or addresses.

To ACLU members and others who responded so promptly and generously -- many, many thanks.

ACLU TO SHOW POINT OF ORDER FEBRUARY 25

Circle this date on your calendar: - Friday, February 25th at 8:00 p.m. at Lenox Square Auditorium - an extra-special ACLU meeting, featuring the film Point of Order. This is a commercially made movie about the McCarthy erea, including the dramatic confrontation between Senator McCarthy and Attorney Joseph P. Welch.

We were apprehensive when we thought of scheduling the film that it might seem like ancient history. But in view of the Bond case, and the proposal to create a Georgia Un-American Activities Committee, it is, alas, all too timely. You won't want to miss this gripping movie!

YOUR RENEWAL NOTICES ARE COMING!

We picture all our ACLU members as anxiously questioning the postman each day: "Where is my ACLU renewal notice? I am so impatient to pay my dues that I can hardly wait."

This is to reassure all ACLU members -- except those who joined or renewed in the last two months of 1965 -- that they are on their way. We know you will all be relieved to get this information.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January, 1967

BILL OF RIGHTS DAY POLL

For the second year, 1,000 college students participated in a poll testing their attitudes towards the Bill of Rights. The students were from the University of Georgia, Georgia State, Oglethorpe, Emory, Clark and Georgia Southern colleges. The questions in this year's test were exactly the same as last year's, so that we could make a comparison between the two.

Surprisingly, especially in view of the talk of "white backlash" and Georgia's gubernatorial picture, this year's students were markedly less authoritarian in many respects:

o The percentage of students who felt the police could question a suspect without letting him call a lawyer dropped 17%.

o 79% of this year's students felt that segregated education violated the Constitution; last year only 66% felt that it did.

o 73% of this year' students felt that teachers should not be required to take a loyalty oath; last year only 42% felt this way.

o Out of fifteen questions on the poll, only three indicated a swing to more authoritarian positions, most notably on the question of prayer in public schools.

The complete results of the poll show this year's percentages compared with last, followed by the applicable section of the Constitution, and where available, a recent Supreme Court decision. If you would like a copy, please write or call the ACLU of Georgia office (404/523-5398) and we'll be glad to mail one to you as long as the supply lasts.

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS PROGRAM GOES NATIONAL

As part of its activity on behalf of Know Your Rights, the Georgia ACLU asked Atlanta Police Chief Jenkins whether he would be interested in supplying every Atlanta police officer with a copy.

Chief Jenkins responded by ordering 1,000 copies and issuing the following bulletin to the Atlanta Police Department:

"The ACLU of Georgia and the Georgia Council on Human Relations have published a booklet entitled Know Your Rights. This publication not only emphasizes the rights and responsibilities of the American citizen, but also the rights and responsibilities of the police...It is a very fine publication and every Atlanta police officer must read it and understand it. Members of this Department are instructed to pick up their copies in the Training Division."

Shortly thereafter, the Georgia Council on Human Relations, which is cooperating in this project, circularized every police chief in Georgia, and in response to their requests, distributed copies to police officers in Augusta, Alma, Tifton, Gainesville and Sumter County.

This police distribution was printed as a story in the Atlanta Constitution, and subsequently in the New York Times and on national television. As a result, we are distributing an average, with the Georgia Council, of 700 copies a week to police departments and citizens' rights groups all over the country.

ACLU TESTIFIES FOR FULTON COUNTY PUBLIC DEFENDER

Alan Bonser, a member of the ACLU Legislative Committee, testified in favor of the establishment of a Fulton County Public Defender before the public hearing called by the Fulton County Legislative Delegation on January 6th.

In his statement, Mr. Bonser pointed out that recent federal court decisions such as Gideon v. Wainwright have made Georgia's old procedures unacceptable. Under the present system, attorneys for indigent defendants are appointed by the courts and serve without compensation except in capital cases, where they are paid $150. This system imposes an unfair burden on the criminal bar. Also, it frequently means that the court-appointed attorney is either inexperienced or not as committed to providing first-rate legal counsel as he might be for a paying client.

Opposing a public defender system was Fulton Solicitor General Lewis Slaton, who stated that the cost of such a system would be prohibitive — about eight million dollars. Mr. Bonser countered that the cost of the Los Angeles Public Defender System, with more than six million residents (almost two million more than in the whole state of Georgia) was six million dollars. Mr. Slaton, along with Judge Dan Duke, favored a system of assigned counsel modestly compensated by the State, a method currently used in North Carolina.

Mr. Paul Webb pointed out that the danger of the assigned counsel system appointed by the Judge is that the attorney so appointed might be tempted not to challenge the court in any way in order to insure future assignments.

The ACLU proposal is a combination of both the public defender and the assigned counsel. One of the objections often raised

to the establishment of a Public Defender is that there will be conscious or unconscious collusion between the prosecutor and the public defender growing out of their close working relationship. While experience from other areas using public defenders has shown that the true adversary nature of the proceedings has been maintained, it is necessary for a defendant to have confidence in his attorney.

For this reason, the ACLU of Georgia recommended that in addition to the primary public defender structure, indigent defendants who do not wish to make use of the defender could be appointed an attorney from a list to be kept by the court and appointed in order of appearance on the list. These attorneys would be compensated according to the current fee scale accorded to attorneys in private practice.

The ACLU proposal will be presented on a statewide basis to the General Assembly some time during the present session.

BILL OF RIGHTS DAY DINNER

Two hundred twenty-eight ACLU members and friends turned out for the ACLU's Bill of Rights Day Dinner on December 14th. They heard Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., talk about how progress in civil rights had pioneered new concepts in dealing with the problems of the total population — poverty, slums, housing and education. Mr. Greenberg's remarks were thought-provoking throughout, and had special meaning for Georgians when he discussed the problems which communities like Atlanta still face.

Also on the program was the presentation of the Bill of Rights Day Award to Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. The citation on the plaque awarded to him read:

"Because he respects the rights of each of us,
He has made Atlanta a better place for all of us."

In making the award, Georgia ACLU President Hugh Gibert applauded Mayor Allen's contributions to better human relations, in particular his testimony in behalf of the Civil Rights Act. He added that the ACLU had sometimes criticized Mayor Allen's administration in the past, and would feel free to do so in the future, and said that this was a healthy state of affairs. Mayor Allen accepted the award in the same spirit of mutual appreciation and mutual freedom of dissent.

Special thanks for the success of the Bill of Rights Day Dinner — which we plan to make an annual affair — go to Kieve Landesberg, who handled the physical arrangements, and to Faye Goldberg and E. T. Kehrer, who did so much to insure the impressive turnout.

INCREASED ACLU EFFORT NEEDED UNDER MADDOX RULE

In a letter addressed to prospective members last week, the ACLU of Georgia said:

"There's no point in kidding ourselves. We got beaten. The Supreme Court ruled against us in our suit to insure every Georgian of the right to vote and have it counted.

"Now, what? We are faced with four years of government by a man who has shown over and over again his disrespect for the law and his disregard for individual dignity and human rights.

"Some people think now is a smart time to walk softly or to sit tight. We disagree. Now, more than ever before, Georgia needs an alert organization to safeguard the gains made in the past and to insure our freedoms in the future..."

We think we are at least alert enough not to join the rather hysterical chorus of newspaper columnists and editorial writers who profess to see in Mr. Maddox's inaugural address a living incarnation of Georgia's motto of Wisdom, Justice and Moderation. Talk is cheap. The verdict of history will rest on the actions of the new administration over the next four years.

While we are awaiting that verdict, there are several things that each of us as ACLU members can do to insure the freedom of expression, the equal protection of the law and the due process which are our goals:

o Press for election reforms which will discipline voting officials who do not count votes honestly and to make sure that never again will voters lose the right to elect their governor directly.

o Keep working -- hopefully with newly independent legislators -- for needed bills such as public defender, the right to privacy, abolition of the death penalty, protection of the rights of welfare recipients, reform of juvenile procedures. Watch for announcements of public hearings on these subject so that you can voice your opinions.

o Let the Governor and your legislator know that equal protection of the law applies to the state government, in fair employment opportunities, in state police practices, and in education, both for pupils and faculties.

Build the Georgia ACLU so that we can speak with a loud, clear unified voice. Our Georgia membership increased 180% last year alone. This is explosive growth which needs to be continued for us to be effective in protecting Constitutional freedoms. Talk to your friends and colleagues about joining.

Note: Members who missed our showing of Point of Order can see it now on January 17th at Oglethorpe College in the Lupton Hall Auditorium. The film starts at 8 p.m. and there is no admission charge.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

February, 1967

FAIR TRIAL VS. FREE PRESS LUNCH ON MARCH 2

The ACLU of Georgia has scheduled a membership luncheon on the subject of Fair Trial vs. Free Press for Thursday, March 2nd at the Progressive Club.

This issue — the conflict between the First Amendment's guarantee of a free press and the Sixth Amendment's promise of a fair trial -- has long been the subject of debate among judges, prosecutors and newsmen. The Supreme Court reversal of the conviction of Dr. Sam Sheppard and the Ruby trial have focussed national attention on the question of how far the press may go in covering a trial, and how far the courts may go in restricting the activities of the press to insure due process.

Interest in the subject heightened when the American Bar Association released a report recommending that judges be permitted to cite the press for contempt for publishing anything that goes beyond the public record during the period of jury selection and trial.

The participants in the discussion at the ACLU luncheon will reflect the conflicting approaches to assuring fair play to both the defendant and the press. The panel members will be:

The Hon. Albert J. Henderson, Jr., Judge of the Superior Court in Cobb County

Albert M. Horn, attorney

William R. Shipp, reporter for the Atlanta Constitution

The program moderator will be Bruce Galphin of the Constitution editorial staff.

It is interesting to note that Judge Henderson has on occasion barred newspapermen from the courtroom and from interviewing prosecution witnesses as a method of insuring fair play for a defendant, a policy which has not met with the approval of local reporters who regard it as a violation of freedom of the press.

Luncheon will be at 12 Noon and the cost is $3. The Progressive Club is located on Techwood Drive off 10th Street, one block west of the 10th Street Expressway exit. Even though we are delighted to see our members under any circumstances, it makes it extremely difficult when they appear at the door without a previous reservation, since we must tell the Progressive Club in advance how many will be there. So please, fill out the coupon on the last page and send it to us promptly.

Both the subject and the caliber of the participants insure a fascinating program. We look forward to seeing you there.

ACLU ANALYZES PROPOSED NEW CRIMINAL CODE

The ACLU of Georgia has sent to members of the House Legislative Committee an analysis of the proposed new Criminal Code introduced by Chairman Robin Harris of DeKalb County. In addition, ACLU President Hugh Gibert testified before the Committee on ACLU positions on code sections.

The ACLU memorandum examined twenty sections which in its judgment should be revised or rejected. Among them are:

o Raising the minimum age for commission of a crime. It seems to us that thirteen years old is too young.

o Insanity. The test of whether or not the defendant can distinguish right from wrong is obsolete and ignores accepted medical evidence that severe mental illness can exist side by side with the ability to tell right from wrong.

o Sex Laws. The sections which make criminal the private acts between consenting adults -- among them married couples enjoying a normal sexual relationship -- are an invasion of privacy.

o Advocacy of Overthrow of Government, Treason and Related Offenses. These sections, which do not link advocacy to the concept of "clear and present danger" violate the First Amendment protection of free speech.

o Electronic Eavesdropping. This section is limited to wiretapping by private individuals and does not deal with it by law enforcement officials, a greater danger to privacy and the Fourth Amendment prohibitions against illegal search.

o Sunday Laws. These sections are religious in origin and intent and therefore constitute an improper establishment of religion barred by the First Amendment. The state may restrict work to a six-day week, but the designation of Sunday in particular restricts the right of the individual to choose his own form of rest

and worship.

Legislative Manual Ready

Much of this material, plus several other subjects -- Reform of Juvenile Offender Procedures, Abolition of the Death Penalty, Public Defender, Rights of Welfare Recipients -- is contained in the ACLU Legislative Manual which will be sent to every ACLU member within the next week.

We hope you will find the Manual useful as background material when you talk to your legislator about bills you want passed and when you testify at legislative hearings in your community. We will be glad to send you extra copies to give to your legislator and to community leaders concerned with legislation.

SUPREME COURT REVERSES WHITUS-DAVIS MURDER CONVICTION

As readers of this Newsletter know, the ACLU of Georgia, in cooperation with the Southern Regional ACLU office, has been battling for many years to get the murder convictions of Phil Whitus and Leon Davis reversed on the ground of systematic exclusion of Negroes from the jury which tried them.

After Whitus and Davis had been convicted the first time, the U. S. Court of Appeals ordered a second trial on the ground that the jury had indeed excluded Negroes. A second-all-white jury found them guilty again. Now the ACLU appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court on grounds of jury exclusion in the second trial, pointing out that the jurors were selected from segregated tax digest lists.

On January 27th, 1967, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that Mr. Whitus and Mr. Davis did not receive a fair trial and ordered the state of Georgia to re-try them before a truly desegregated jury. The unanimous Supreme Court decision makes it clear that where a discriminatory method of jury selection exists, such as a segregated tax digest, the burden of proof will be on the state to show that jury exclusion does not exist.

The ruling is a milestone on the long road to ending segregated justice. For Walter Jones, the attorney who represents Mr. Whitus, it is an especially heartening victory. He has worked for seven years, first as a court-assigned counsel and then as an ACLU cooperating attorney, to secure justice for his client. In recognition of his services, the ACLU of Georgia awarded him its Civil Liberties Citation at last Spring's Annual Meeting.

MACON, ATHENS CHAPTERS ORGANIZE

In the first week of February, both the Macon and Athens ACLU groups met to organize into chapters. They each got started on adopting by-laws, electing officers and creating a committee structure.

Even before this formal organizing process, Athens members held a successful Know Your Rights clinic in the Brooklyn community. Macon members are already concentrating on legal and legislative action to secure a more democratic school board responsible and responsive to the wishes of the community.

We welcome these two new entities into the Georgia ACLU ranks, and hope they may be the forerunners of similar chapters in Savannah, Columbus and Augusta.

RENEWAL TIME IS HERE

Ours is the last organisation in the world to insist on conformity. It delights us to think that members come in all the available sizes, colors, political opinions and life styles. But we honestly don't think it does violence to your highly individualistic convictions to ask you to send in your membership renewal when it is due -- NOW.

Now, in fact, is the time for all good non-conformists to come to the aid of the ACLU. Your renewal notice has come. Please mail it back in the envelope provided with your check.

- -

Please reserve _____ places for me (and my guests) at the Fair Trial vs. Free Press Lunch on Thursday, March 2nd at the Progressive Club, at $3.00 each. My check for _____ is enclosed.

Name_____

Address_____

(Please use the enclosed self-addressed envelope for your check and this coupon.)

EFP ACLU

LEGISLATIVE

HANDBOOK

February, 1967

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52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE

American Civil Liberties Union

5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 523-2721

Charles Morgan, Jr.
Director

January 13, 1970

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Emory:

The Michelman article is good. I don't know how to popularize it.

Enclosed are copies of the ACLU working papers (not for release) and its action on the subject.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Chuck

Charles Morgan, Jr.

Encls.

CM:ts

National Headquarters 156 Fifth Ave. New York, N.Y. 10010
Washington Office — 1424 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 — Lawrence Speiser, *Director*

With organized affiliates in 34 states and 800 cooperating attorneys in 300 cities of 50 states

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

ADDENDUM TO LESNICK-ROTHWAX-SPARER REPORT ON GOVERNMENT BENEFIT PROGRAMS

This note is designed to make explicit our view that, although we preferred adoption by the National Board of a resolution on income maintenance and government benefit programs that differed in several respects from that adopted by the 1968 Biennial Conference, in the present context we urge adoption of Conference Recommendation No. 28 and those implementing it. The differences between our position and that of the Biennium are not major, and can be worked out over time, once ACLU has made the basic decision to concern itself with minimum standards of economic security; the action of the National Board, if ratified by the national electorate, would close out any meaningful consideration of the problem by the organization. It remains compellingly clear to us that: (1) The widespread economic dependency and deprivation that exist in this country is in significant measure the result of government-sponsored or government-encouraged programs. (2) The pervasive and severe inequalities resulting make any meaningful enjoyment of civil liberties by the affected citizenry a near-total mockery. (3) ACLU cannot remain wholly insensitive to the problem and continue to espouse the cause of civil liberties for all, rather than for that segment of society which already possesses the independence and power to take advantage of the benefits promised by the Bill of Rights. (4) Although not enjoying recognized constitutional protection, the right of each member of our society to live--that is, to enjoy access to an income adequate to insure a minimum standard of health and decency and a realistic prospect that his children can be raised with a fair chance of becoming fully functioning, fully free adults--ought to be considered a civil liberty and not subject to majority whim. It is therefore a proper concern of the American Civil Liberties Union. In our judgment, the step proposed would not transform ACLU into a general-purpose political organization. We see no reason for any disabling fear that ACLU lacks the capacity to work out the problems raised by this much-needed but specific redefinition of its civil liberties concerns.

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

September 12, 1969

TO: The Board of Directors

FROM: George Soll, Louis Lusky, Howard D. Samuel

RE: Proposed ACLU Statement on Government Benefit Programs

This memorandum takes the position that the ACLU interest in welfare and related programs should be focused on civil liberties concerns and that the ACLU should not become mired in those aspects of the subject involving economic and sociological judgments extraneous to free speech, due process, equal protection of the law, the right of privacy and cognate matters. We believe the ACLU should continue to support legislative, litigative and educational efforts (a) to assure due process for welfare applicants or recipients in connection with their right to obtain assistance, or respecting the reduction or termination of such assistance, including the right to a hearing and the availability of counsel, if requested, and (b) to protest against illegal invasions of privacy, for example, by the conducting of midnight raids, and (c) to protest restrictions on the right of poor people to travel freely by unreasonable residence requirements for welfare eligibility or laws permitting the expulsion of poor people from local communities.

We disagree with the conclusions of Biennial Conference Recommendation No. 28 supporting a guaranteed income, because we believe that the ACLU should not become engaged in disputes for or against the economic or social values or the adequacy of proposals for a guaranteed annual income, family maintenance program, children's allowances, negative income tax, or any other income maintenance program. Further, we disagree even more strongly with the views set forth in the report prepared by the other three members of our Committee, Howard Lesnick, Harold Rothwax and Ed Sparer (hereinafter referred to as the "Lesnick Report"), that the ACLU should not only support income maintenance programs, but that "programs of governmental benefits or services - such as education, housing and medical care" (emphasis added) - should become areas of ACLU concern.

In view of the foregoing, we recommend that the Board of Directors:

1. reject Biennial Conference Recommendation No. 28;

2. adopt the statement annexed to this memo; and

3. take no additional action on Biennial Conference Recommendations Nos. 29 to 32, since no further action is required.

These recommendations are not founded on any disagreement by us, as individuals, with the wisdom of either substituting some other system for the present welfare system or of substantially reforming the present welfare system. We deplore the indignities to which the present welfare system subjects many people; and we fully appreciate how questionable as an economic matter the present system may be, and how alternative systems might be devised which could prove more effective. Nor do we, as individuals, disagree with the premise that the U.S. is

wealthy enough to assure all of our people with a level of income adequate to meet basic human needs with dignity. However, as concerned members of the ACLU, we think that ACLU involvement in the types of issues proposed by the Biennial Conference and by the Lesnick Report will change the ACLU from the civil liberties organization it is into an all-purpose political group which will help neither the cause of civil liberties nor the ACLU.

Actually, there is nothing in logic which requires the ACLU to be concerned only with civil liberties issues. We could become another Americans for Democratic Action with perhaps some specialization in the civil liberties and civil rights fields. But, that is not the reason we joined the ACLU and we doubt that it is the reason most people joined the ACLU. The special appeal the ACLU has had to us resides in the fact that people from all walks of life, Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, people with differing views on economic, social and political issues, could all belong to the ACLU so long as their commitment was to the support of the Bill of Rights for all. The ACLU has become an effective organization because it is unique in this respect. Despite the varied views of its individual members, the ACLU, as such, has, for the most part, been non-partisan on the merits of specific economic and social issues. This non-partisan approach has been the ACLU's strength. The non-partisan stance would be abandoned if either Biennial Conference Recommendation No, 28 or the Lesnick Report were adopted.

First, as to Biennial Conference Recommendation No. 28, which proposes that "income should be guaranteed as a matter of right" and " must be high enough to meet basic human needs," we believe this does not involve a civil liberties issue in ACLU terms. The premise on which this proposal was submitted by the Biennial Conference was that the welfare system "contains severe and pervasive deprivations of civil liberties" and that such "deprivations are built in and intrinsic to the program itself."

Even if we assume these assertions to be true, it is obvious that abuses are possible not only under the present welfare system, but also under a "reformed" system or under any type of income maintenance program. Moreover, abuses in administering any program are not eliminated by the amount any family receives so long as eligibility to receive assistance is to be verified. The moral imperative in providing an amount "high enough to meet basic human needs" has very little to do with abuses of the system. Almost no discussion or analysis occurred at the Committee meetings on this moral imperative - a priori determinations (at least, so far as the Committee deliberation was concerned) were the basis of acceptance of the philosophy expressed in Biennial Conference Recommendation No. 28.

The economic and sociological aspects of this subject matter are, and should continue to be, outside of ACLU concerns. As individuals, we all must be interested in this complex subject. As civil libertarians, members of an organization with limited resources, purposes and skills, we should exclude this subject matter as one to which the ACLU commits its resources. We should work to keep the marketplace of ideas open for the public to debate how to resolve this complex and troublesome issue. We should work to point up the civil liberties deficiencies in the present welfare system. But the ACLU should not itself become involved in the merits of this issue in the marketplace.

The proponents of the Lesnick Report believe that "the right of every citizen to live" is not a matter on which the majority may justly claim a right to vote and, hence, it is a civil liberty. The proponents then say that "right to live" means "to enjoy access to an income adequate to insure a minimum standard of health and

decency and a realistic prospect that his children can be raised with a fair chance of becoming fully functioning, fully free adults." So defined, we think the issue is still debatable in our society and that the scope of that debate lies outside of ACLU interest.

Despite the strong views of the Lesnick Report, we believe we are not "hopelessly myopic" in suggesting that there may be substantial contrary views on income maintenance and, even if there are not, that the subject matter is not an appropriate one for ACLU concern.

Second, the Lesnick Report, while not recommending the adoption of Biennial Conference Recommendation No. 28, has accepted it as a foot in the door, and proposes that the ACLU should become concerned with a much broader range of economic issues, including such governmental programs as education, housing and medical care (not to see if the benefits are distributed without discrimination or if the programs are administered fairly, but to determine if the programs are adequate.) With this view, we are even more in conflict. Moreover, although the Lesnick Report is not explicit, the implication is clear that there is no reason why the ACLU should not then become involved in the substance of any other governmental program affecting the disadvantaged or underprivileged. Here is the critical excerpt from the Lesnick Report:

> "In large areas of central concern -- primarily education, housing and medical care -- the needs of the poor are met, not by cash payments with which they can purchase services in the private market, but with direct programs in kind. And this will continue to be the case, notwithstanding the seeming attractiveness of new systems of income security."

In a sense, of course, the Lesnick Report is correct: every aspect of life bears on every other, just as the ripple caused by a pebble tossed into the ocean is felt around the world. But it is quite clear that if the ACLU enters the areas of governmental assistance to education, housing and medical care -- not the civil liberties aspects of these issues, but the economic and social merits thereof and their adequacy - logic will require us to tackle a number of other areas of our economic life which are quite as important as those just mentioned, to wit, food stamp programs, the extent of coverage and amounts of payments under the minimum wage law, the social security system, unemployment issurance law, workmen's compensation and disability laws, the farm subsidy program, the rate and methods of taxation of the income tax laws of the federal, state and municipal governments and whether these revenue laws are fairer than sales taxes, or those imposed on other aspects of our economy. From these fields, it is a short step to ACLU consideration of laws and policies relating to child day care centers, air and water pollution,* fair trade proceedings involving proper labeling of foods and drugs, "truth and lending" bills and a thousand other issues in which decent people should be interested.

This problem of the ever-increasing universe was aired at one of the two meetings of our Committee. The adherents of the Lesnick Report acknowledged that a problem existed and suggested that lines would probably have to be drawn somehow to limit our activities. Where these lines could rationally and logically be drawn

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* Indeed, one affiliate has already determined that the pollution of water and seashore by off-shore oil drilling is an appropriate area of ACLU concern

was not discussed. But, regardless of how or where they may be drawn, it is obvious that more and more people would find it more difficult to become or remain devoted members of the ACLU. For example, if minimum standards of public housing should be enunciated as a "civil liberty" by the ACLU, anyone who was opposed to public housing or to the standards of adequacy promulgated by the ACLU could no longer, at least in this respect, be a believer in civil liberties. If one disagreed with the kind of medical care system the ACLU Board decided is a "civil liberties" requirement (or if one is opposed to any governmentally subsidized medical care system), then he would not, to this extent, be a conscientious ACLU member. Of course, probably no member agrees with all ACLU positions, but, at least the area of disagreement relates to civil liberties issues - not economic and social programs.

Instead of concentrating our limited resources in preserving the Bill of Rights, we face the danger of each day becoming more parochial, limiting our members to those who believe to some greater or lesser extent, in a particular political or economic philosophy. The issue is more profound than whether our preoccupation with these varied and complex economic and social problems would divert us from devoting ourselves to civil liberties. There can be no doubt that it would. Nor is the issue simply whether the ACLU has the skills to grapple with the entire range of economic and social concerns of the United States. Clearly, it does not. The fundamental point is that, regardless of each of our own views as individuals on these complex matters, the ACLU, as the leading civil liberties organization in the U.S., should remain open for those who oppose or support a guaranteed annual income, for those who believe in and those who deplore government involvement in education, housing, medical care and a hundred other important economic and social problems, and for each of those who holds a different view on what that involvement should be.

It will, no doubt, be said that the kind of argument in this memo has been made many times before in ACLU debate, that civil liberties frontiers would not have been explored if traditional approaches to civil liberties matters had been followed, that it is important we become "relevant" to segments of the population upon whom we have had little influence in the past, and that the problems of civil liberties today are different than they were 30 or 50 years ago. Even if we were to agree with all of the foregoing, we would, nevertheless, suggest that the ACLU should stay out on this issue because it does not present a civil liberties issue by any standard.

We recall a number of instances in ACLU Board discussions when the argument was made that a certain issue should not be treated as one involving civil liberties. On each occasion, whether or not the Board accepted the premise that a civil liberties issue was presented, the quagmire into which the ACLU might have wandered if it were wrong was not nearly so deep as that with which we are faced at this time. For example, on the question of abolition of capital punishment, our involvement in the subject matter did not mean we were entering an entirely open field whose limits were unknown. The extent of our interest was both obvious and recognized. A similar situation existed when the ACLU became interested in the elimination of abortion laws and when we sought the abolition of laws prohibiting the dissemination of birth control information. Once more the area of our interest although expanded from what it was before, was obviously a definable one. It is not important for this discussion whether the ACLU was right or wrong in pursuing these new areas. What is important here is that, in these examples, when we stepped into a new field, we recognized the limits of our new area of interest. It is our contention that with respect to the issue before us now, as presented by the Lesnick Report and Biennial Conference Recommendation No. 28, there are no horizons, no boundaries, no limits at all.

For those who believe that the ACLU should become another generalized pressure group like the ADA, taking stands on every issue under the sun so long as a substantial portion of the Board feels strongly about the issue, there is no difficulty in deciding that ACLU should plunge into this entire economic and social area. Those holding this view are not impeded by the fact that neither the Board, members of our various committtes, nor the staff were selected for their economic or social skills or expertise.

For those who believe that the ACLU is a unique group with a special purpose and special skills to match that purpose, the problem is a critical one. Those of us who are interested in the economic and social aspects of the issues raised in the Lesnick Report (and, no doubt, most of us are) give time and effort to many other organizations involved in these subject matters. If the ACLU were to become involved in this kind of work too, it would be a duplication of effort to belong to it. But, more important, ACLU involvement in these areas would spell the end of the ACLU as we know it.

* * * * * * *

Statement on Welfare Programs

The ACLU strongly opposes the many aspects of our welfare system that violate basic concerns of fairness, dignity and privacy that are part of the fabric of civil liberties. To be poor is tragedy enough. To be forced to forego elementary rights of privacy and decency in order to obtain financial assistance is improper and violates the fundamental precepts of a democratic society.

The ACLU, therefore, will, among other efforts, support legislation, litigation and educational programs to protect:

(a) The right of privacy of the poor, by opposing such tactics as midnight visits to the homes of those receiving assistance, and by supporting the right of recipients of assistance to bar case workers from their homes (unless authorized by a search warrant) without fear of losing governmental assistance;

(b) The right to a hearing, with counsel if desired, for welfare applicants to recipients in connection with their right to assistance or respecting the reduction or termination of assistance;

(c) The right to travel freely and to live where they wish in accordance with their means, by opposing unreasonable state and local residence requirements or laws permitting the exiling of the poor to their previous state of residence.

The ACLU further believes that certain aspects of our welfare system should be analysed to determine whether previous abuses of the types described above may be eliminated or substantially reduced by new approaches designed to eliminate the kinds of situations which engender the abuses. Thus, the substitution, where possible, of visits by recipients to the office of the case worker in place of the latter's visits to the home may help eliminate the invasion of privacy to which many needy are subjected. The opportunity for a hearing on rejected claims for assistance (with counsel, if desired) should be encouraged by governmental agencies. Information as to the right to a hearing should be automatically distributed with the rejection notice itself.

These are examples of the type of programs that can be adopted if concern for the rights and dignity of the poor exists. This concern must be manifested for each of our inhabitants so that liberty and justice for all can be a reality rather than a slogan.

* * * * * * *

Additional Statement by Howard D. Samuel

The deprivation of civil liberties caused by economic inequality is not restricted to the very poor, as the Lesnick report suggests. In fact, in certain areas, such as medical care and housing, society treats the very poor slightly better than those just above some arbitrary line, who are not eligible for public housing or medicaid. Even the welfare system penalizes the not-so-poor; the costs of working (transportation, food, etc.) may reduce the standard of living of those working at low-paid, unskilled jobs below the standards of those on public assistance and not working at all.

In short, the vagaries of our economic system are difficult to subject to traditional civil liberties standards, and entering this morass with the rather unsophisticated and simplistic outlook suggested by the other report might not only lead to basic and unfortunate changes in the ACLU, as the Soll, Lusky, and Samuel report indicates, but would also make us look rather naive.

* * * * * * *

Separate Statement of Louis Lusky

Shortly before the June 12, 1969, meeting of the ACLU Committee on Government Benefit Programs, Mr. Lesnick as Chairman distributed to the committee a draft report which was the same, in substance, as the present recommendations of Messrs. Lesnick, Rothwax and Sparer. At the June 12 meeting I circulated the following comments on the Lesnick draft (and still adhere to these views):

> I am unable to join in the draft report of the committee chairman, transmitted to the members with his letter of June 9. Pursuant to the invitation contained in that letter, this separate statement is offered:
>
> 1. The draft report is based on premises which seem to me to be self-contradictory. It acknowledges that legislation as well as litigation is required for an effective approach to the problem. Yet it says that "the right of every citizen to live -- that is, to enjoy access to an income," etc. -- "is not a matter on which the majority may justly claim a right to vote."
>
> 2. The draft report is based on premises which seem to me to deny any limitation on the appropriate scope of ACLU concerns. Attacking as "simplistic dichotomy" the distinction "between affirmative governmental acts and mere passivity in privately-ordained inequalities," it declares that civil liberties principle requires ACLU to take a position against such inequalities. Without expressing an opinion on the merits of state socialism which would be necessary for the obliteration of "privately-ordained inequalities" -- I do question whether state socialism is required as a matter of civil liberties principle.

3. The draft report claims that "the poor, like the Negro or Indian or the politically unpopular, constitute one of the 'discrete and insular minorities'" -- referring to the Carolene Products footnote. The claim seems to me to be based on a misunderstanding of the term "discrete and insular minorities" as used in the said footnote. The political power of the poor, if mobilized and if permitted by the courts to have effect, is great.

4. The draft report ignores the question whether the dependent relationship between welfare client and caseworker, under the present system, offends the Thirteenth Amendment prohibition against involuntary servitude.

NOT FOR PUBLIC USE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

September 11, 1969

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Special Committee on Government Benefit Programs

RE: Report for October 4-5 Board meeting.

This Committee was appointed, pursuant to a resolution adopted by the National Board on October 5, 1968, with the following charge:

> "to consider and report with recommendations to the Board in respect to the Biennial Conference recommendations on income maintenance, with the request that it devote particular attention to the recital in Resolution 28 that deprivations of civil liberties are built in and are intrinsic to the welfare program itself and the assumptions upon which the program is based, and that the committee further address its attention to whether similar disabilities affect other programs of public assistance (e.g. education, medical care)."

The Biennial Conference recommendations referred to are as follows:

> 28. Whereas (a) the present program of income maintenance, i.e., the welfare system, contains severe and pervasive deprivation of civil liberties; and (b) these deprivations are built in and intrinsic to the program itself and the assumptions on which the program is based; and (c) those who have been most deeply involved in the attempt to deal with such deprivations through litigation have testified to the inadequacy of such an approach; therefore the ACLU takes the position that, in order to meet the needs of the poor and the requirements of a free society, a program of income maintenance should be instituted, meeting the following two conditions:
>
> 1. Income should be guaranteed as a matter of right and provided under conditions posing no interference with basic freedoms.
>
> 2. The level of income maintenance guaranteed must be high enough to meet basic human needs.
>
> 29. That the Board appoint a committee to evaluate all legislative proposals for programs of income maintenance in the light of the principles of the resolution.
>
> 30. That ACLU lobby for or against specific proposals in light of the Committee's recommendations.
>
> 31. That ACLU continue to attack present abuses through legislation.

No
page 2
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money she needs for her family (the procurer's commission goes to the taxpayers, whose agent the welfare official is) -- (3) the identical consequence ensured by the inadequate level of assistance is deemed another matter entirely, presenting no civil liberties concern? If it was not sufficient in the last century for the law to prohibit the rich as well as the poor from sleeping under bridges and begging in the streets, it is difficult to see how civil liberties concerns today are fully met merely because a school child would not be prohibited from reading Lady Chatterly's Lover in the school library, even though the school had no library; or the child was never taught to read in school; or was expelled or dropped out as a result of official hostility, ineptitude, and arbitrariness; or was unable to attend school enough because of lack of sufficient clothing, or because of illness attributable to a meaningful degree to the inadequacy of public medical care or the inability of public officials to save him from falling prey in his own home to lead poisoning incurred in his pre-school years by eating paint flakes fallen from the walls.

To add a more conceptual framework to this, we would rest our view that a "civil liberties" question is involved on two interrelated grounds.

(1) It hardly requires extended argument, to a body like the ACLU Board, to establish the premise that the major part of the economic dependency and deprivation which exists in this country is the product, not of individual want of diligency or moral worth, but of large-scale economic forces and social malfunctioning. The tenant farmer displaced by technological innovations; the older worker rendered superfluous by changing consumer preferences; the mother deserted by her husband; the urban youth "educated" by an under-financed, discriminatory school system, and functionally unemployable in the evolving labor market of his community -- one could multiply examples, but it is plain that society has produced, along with the accomplishments in which it takes pride, a substantial byproduct of deprivation, dependency and insecurity. In many cases, the economic changes that have intensified the problem are themselves the product of governmental encouragement or reward. The obligation to cope with these problems is equally society's obligation. Much of the heightened moral awareness of recent years reflects an acknowledgment that it is not enough simply to avoid purposeful infliction of harm; powerful social institutions must accept responsibility for the unintended, often unperceived, consequences of their good works.

The protection of the right of every citizen to live -- that is, to enjoy access to an income adequate to insure a minimum standard of health and decency and a realistic prospect that his children can be raised with a fair chance of becoming fully functioning, full free adults -- is not a matter on which the majority may justly claim a right to vote. Rather, like the right to express dissident views, it is a right which all may claim against the majority. It is therefore a civil liberty, and its protection may call upon the resouces of ACLU. Any contrary view rests in part on a dichotomy between affirmative governmental acts and mere passivity in privately-ordained inequalities, and in part on a fear of committing ACLU to the consideration of issues which our constitutional jurisprudence may require to be presented to non-judicial forums. The former seems to us hopelessly myopic in a society in which so broad a segment of our individual and collective wealth comes from governmental activity and benefits. As to the latter, we refer again to the Report of the Law School Task Force:

ACLU has long played a role in the legislative process, and such concern obviously will go beyond constitutional issues. At the same time, we recognize that much of ACLU's legislative work has been intimately connected with civil liberties in its narrower sense of constitutional right. First, it opposes legislation which on enactment it would challenge as unconstitutional. Moreover, in many instances where ACLU has gone further, there is a readily identifiable constitutional nexus. For example, in supporting open housing legislation, ACLU can think of itself as seeking legislative implementation of the constitutional right of Negroes and other minorities to equal protection. In supporting a bill of rights for union members, ACLU may reason that the quasi-public character of labor unions makes it appropriate to seek protections, analogous to those found in the Bill of Rights, for the worker's political life within his union. But the affirmative and analogical character of these connections to constitutional rights should demonstrate that similar perceptions may be appropriate in the economic-security field. If, as we believe clear, the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws applies not merely to invidious discriminations based on race, but to similarly hostile classifications founded on proverty or dependency, it must be recognized that the affirmative implementation of equal protection in matters having to do with welfare, housing, education, and medical care seeks to foster values having their source in the Constitution. To be sure, this is not to say that they are constitutionally compelled, just as the enactment of civil-rights or union-democracy laws was an exercise of discretion. But the unavailability of a litigable constitutional claim is not itself ground for finding no civil liberties matter worthy of ACLU support.

It seems to us that ACLU can and should avoid two polar vices: indefinite expansion, consciously or otherwise, of claims of constitutional right, leading in all likelihood to eventual judicial rebuff, and in any event inescapably insufficient to meet the need; and failure to perceive important civil liberties radiations in claims which fall short of legally enforceable constitutional right. Rather it should recognize that, since there is much which has an intimate connection with constitutional rights but is not itself constitutionally protected, a fully effective concern with civil liberties in our present society requires that it be seen as having a substantial non-constitutional dimension. The constitutional base is there, and can be invoked validly albeit metaphorically. An organization historically specializing in constitutional rights can appropriately ask legislatures to implement values reflected in the fundamental law, even though their implementation goes beyond the role of courts.

To be sure, it may be thought unsettling to leave the seeming certainty of claims of legal right and enter the controversy of political rhetoric, But the certainty is an illusion: Today's law is built on yesterday's rhetoric. ACLU members would for the most part now accept the dictum that the Civil War Amendments provide a sufficient constitutional foundation for a nation-wide program to achieve racial equality through affirmative action. Until recently such a view has been highly controversial as a political proposition, though today it is probably on the verge of judicial espousal as legal doctrine.

Where the issue concerns the right to a job or to minimum income, or to fair opportunities to participate in benefits widely available through governmental programs (as in the case of housing, education, and medical care), we are today at the early political state, and the legal prognosis is not wholly clear. The organization may or may not commit itself to urging a similar judicial denouement, but it would be an act of uncharacteristic opacity for ACLU to perceive no analogy. Even today, the implementation of racial equality raises the most vexing of policy problems, often presented as conflicting claims of constitutional right. It is one thing for ACLU to move slowly in choosing which programs to committ itself to. It is quite another matter to see in the existence of controversy and complexity warrant for total abstinence.

(2) ACLU has long ago rejected the notion that the protection of liberty and the elimination of inequality are wholly unrelated concerns. The right of racial and ethnic minorities to the equal protection of the laws is now viewed as a claim within the concern of this organization. The right of political segments of the electorate to be free of enduring and severe crippling of their franchise through malapportionment is similarly not deemed a matter to be pursued by others. Indeed, it is worth recalling that even First-Amendment protections are as much guarantees of equality as of liberty. As Professor Amsterdam has cogently pointed out:

> Realistically, these and kindred guarantees are guarantees only to castoffs and undesirables, deviates, Negroes. In essense all are guarantees of equal protection of the laws. The mayor and the chief of police of Canton, Mississippi or Chicago, Illinois would never be arrested if they picketed a courthouse. Of course, the mayor and the police chief never will picket the courthouse; therefore the problem presented when Negores are arrested for picketing the courthouse does not seem at first blush to be an equal protection problem. Nevertheless, the forces which assure that if the mayor and policy chief picketed the courthouse they would not be arrested are the same forces which assure that the mayor and the police chief will never be the sort of men who will want to picket the courthouse, and that whatever the mayor and police chief want done in the courthouse will be communicated to the courthouse in other and more effective ways than picketing.
>
> Although abstractly accurate, it is perfectly absurd to say that the mayor and police chief have federally guaranteed immunities to make a speech, cast a vote, or walk the sidewalks of their towns. They do not need these immunities. The Constitution gives them nothing. Such protection as the Constitution gives, it gives to those in sore need, those whom other protections have failed . . . ."
> (113 U. Pa. L. Rev. at 800-01)

The time has plainly arrived for ACLU to recognize that the poor, like the Negro or Indian or the politically unpopular, constitute one of the "discrete and insular minorities" (Chief Justice Stone, in the celebrated Carolene Products opinion 304 U.S. at 153 n.4) whose claim to be free of official and community hostility, prejudice and arbitrariness presents a compelling civil liberties issue. We are no longer paralyzed by the contention that racial segregation is simply separation of one group from another, denying neither equal protection because each is equally segregated. Rather we perceive the subordination, denigration and hostility which accompanies this action by one group against another.

ACLU should recognize that the same process is at work against the poor, in welfare administration and in other programs of government benefits and services. To be sure, the poor are not a group with as readily identifiably and as permanent contours as are racial minorities, adherents of unpopular religions or the like. But in our judgment they suffer like deprivations. It should be recalled that ours is probably the only country in history whose poor are a minority, and 18th Century notions of the political potency of the lower-class "multitudes" are sadly out of place.

We do not, however, recommend adoption of Conference Resolution 28. First, it relfects a naive dichotomy between "the present program of income maintenance, i.e., the welfare system," containing pervasive and intrinsic deprivations of civil liberties, and a hypothetical alternative program which would be free of these flaws. To refer once more to the Report of the Law School Task Force:

> It would be illusory to think that simple legislative solutions exist to bypass long-standing denials of constitutional rights in the existing welfare program. It is not difficult -- although not very easy -- to construct a model negative income tax, family allowance, or other income-maintenance system which lacks the pervasive discretion and recipient-mistrust which poison the public assistance program. But it would not be much more difficult to build a model set of amendments to the public assistance law, which if enacted would go very far indeed to change the landscape. The abolition of the present categories of federal assistance; elimination of restrictive eligibility provisions not reflective of need; abolition of relative responsibilty laws, or the abrogation of required resort to support suits as a condition of assistance; elimination of the dollar-for-dollar reduction in assistance as a result of earned income; a more generous and rational set of rules on permitted retention of resources such as dwellings, insurance policies, and personal property; elimination of the present system of establishing need through the wasteful and humiliating verification process -- one should not too lightly dismiss the change that would come about through the adoption of these and a few other readily draftable provisions.
>
> The point of course, is that, in the present political climate, their adoption and retention seems unlikely in the extreme. Yet, proponents of federal income-maintenance legislation as a panacea seem to lose sight of that political fact of life in designing their model. All of the pressures which have warped the public assistance apparatus would, slowly or quickly, leave their mark on a negative income tax plan. It is a political common place to see reform legislation, even if adopted in relatively pure form, gradually succumb to the accumulation of limitations, counter-policies, and political backlash. It is only while a negative income tax system remains on the drawing board that it is easy to lose sight of the dozens of specific fact situations which, once the system were implemented, would each produce wide-spread political dispute and reaction. The most that can be said for the "new broom" attitude toward federal income maintenance legislation is that it might conceivably slip through an unusually liberal Congress, and transfer the burden of maintaining the assault to the forces presently enjoying the benefits of the laws of inertia. Even that hope seems to us a vain one. It is certainly chimerical to expect more. Thus, while the concept of an integrated

federal income-maintenance program certainly merits support, it should not be thought of as a means for solving deep-seated problems with a single knockout punch.

Second, Resolution 28 makes no attempt to relate the principles which animate it to areas of governmental activity other than income maintenance which, in our judgment, cannot be satisfactorily distinguished. For it is evident that the area of concern is wider than income maintenance alone. Cash grants are a small part of the means by which government responds. In large areas of central concern -- primarily education, housing and medical care -- the needs of the poor are met, not by cash payments with which they can purhcase services in the private market, but with direct programs in kind. And this will continue to be the case, notwithstanding the seeming attractiveness of new systems of income security. The pervasive inadequacies of these programs, the existence of arbitrary exclusions from coverage, their hostile manner of administration -- these are as fully deserving of ACLU concern as is the public assistance program.

We propose the adoption of the following recommendations by the National Board, in lieu of Conference Recommendations 28 through 32:

1. ACLU believes that it is an obligation of government to ensure the right of every citizen to live. The guarantee of the right to live requires that income maintenance programs assure all of the inhabitants of our society a level of income adequate to meet basic human needs, under eligibility rules and administration free of arbitrary, invidious or hostile restrictions. Programs of governmental benefits or services -- such as education, housing and medical care -- which are essential to the growth of our children into free citizens must similarly be available to all, adequately financed and free of arbitrary exclusions.

2. To carry out ACLU's commitment to these principles, the Board directs the appointment of a standing Committee on Minimum Standards of Economic Security (Governmental Benefits and Services). Local affiliates are urged to constitute similar committees. The National Committee will develop positions and specific areas of interest regarding litigation and legislation in the areas of income maintenance and programs of government benefits and services, and will engage in educational activities, within ACLU and addressed to the larger community.

Howard Lesnick
Harold J. Rothwax
Edward V. Sparer

CIVIL LIBERTIES

File ACLU-Ga

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

NEWSLETTER MARCH 1970

THEATRE PARTY "Z" ROXY THEATRE

FRIDAY APRIL 3 - 8 P.M.

This is a fund raising event with moneys earmarked for litigation. Besides that compelling reason for your attendance is the caliber of the movie. Acclaimed by all the critics, nominated for the Academy Award, it is very relevant to our ACLU interests.

The enclosed flyer contains the Time Magazine review and a list of the awards clipped from the New York Times. Pauline Kael in the New Yorker Magazine wrote.."Remember when the movie ads used to say, "it will knock you out of your seat"? Well "Z" damn near does.

"Z" is based on a novel about the assassination of Gregorious Lambrakes in Salonika in 1963. Lambrakes, it may be recalled, was a professor of medicine at the University of Athens who was also a legislator and a spokesman for peace. He was struck down by a delivery truck as he left a peace meeting - a murder planned to look like an accident. The investigation of his death uncovered such a scandalous network of corruption and illegality in the police and in the government that the leader of the opposition party, George Papandreou, became Premier. But in April 1967, the military coup d'etat overturned the legal government. "Z" reenacts the murder and the investigation in an attempt to demonstrate how the mechanics of Facist corruption may be hidden under the mask of law and order..."

It would be unbearable not to be able to discuss this movie with friends, afterward, so we will gather at the Kitfield residence, 133 17th Street for coffee and pastries and conversation.

The modest tab for this exciting evening is $4.50 per person. Fill out the application for your reservation as soon as possible so that we can plan accordingly. Reservations are limited.

(Some folks are having dinner parties before the movie - sounds like fun.)

MEMBERSHIP RECRUITMENT

April is the month for a big push to get new members. On three Sundays we are meeting with prospective members to explain our purposes and activities. We would appreciate it if you would fill out the enclosed sheet that lists friends of yours who might be contacted and mail it in right away.

CIVIL LIBERTIES: EMORY COURSE

Who is Gideon and what is he that all D.A.'s abhor him? Do you know? You didn't know that was a landmark Supreme Court decision, the Gideon Case, the right to counsel? How about Irving Feiner? You didn't know about The People of New York versus

Feiner - at issue the Freedom to speak? tch. tch. How about the black people in Prince Edward County and their battle for equality under law - well well, don't feel badly, you just need some nice somebody to explain the whole thing to you.- the whole living Bill of Rights.

Emory University is offering a non credit short course for adults in the evening entitled Civil Liberties and the nice somebody teaching it is William H. Traylor, Director of the Emory Community Legal Services Center, an outstanding ACLU member. This course came about because of our urging. Films from Encyclopedia Brittanica on the Gideon Case, the Feiner Case and the Prince Edward County Case will be used as will texts concerning Courts, the Judiciary and the Bill of Rights. This is a marvellous opportunity to stretch your mind and really understand what Civil Liberties is all about. The brochure "Evening at Emory" has been sent to you with a registration blank - if you have any questions call Mary Bugg 377-2411 ext. 7361.

See you there.

DEKALB CHAPTER ELECTS OFFICERS

Myke Mykel.....Chairman
Richard Huffman.....Lawyers Committee
Anne McNay.....Membership
Lucius Sanders.....Program
Carol Schier.....Secretary

They have formed committees on education, housing and police community relations. New members are welcome and their involvement solicited. For membership information call Anne McNay 634-2919. Incidentally, members do not have to live in DeKalb County.

DESEGREGATION

There is a general feeling of unease, a feeling of being deceived, lulled, and lied to about the whole school desegregation picture. Recent headlines announce that the Supreme Court will be rethinking the whole issue - this following the double talk and flim flam from the Justice Department and H.E.W. plus Carswell's nomination to that court.

The real clincher is in the works however. In a March 17 article by Duane Riner in the Atlanta Constitution the outlines become apparent. We quote:

> "Two North Carolina Congressmen introduced a bill defining a unitary school system as one in which pupils are assigned to schools nearest their home.
>
> The bill, the brain child of a liberal Yale University Law Professor Alexander Bickel would continue the federal drive for desegregation "but not to the tipping point of resegregation," according to its sponsors Representatives Richardson Preyer and Nick Galifianakis.
>
> The bill would allow retention of some all-black and all-white schools and cut down drastically on the need for busing.
>
> The authors have cited the flight of Atlanta whites to the suburbs as an example of the type of resegregation they're attempting to prevent.
>
> Preyer, a former Federal Judge, claimed a broad spectrum of support for his bill,

> which he said is the result of work "by many people from various parts of the country"...an aide to Preyer said Professor Bickel who expressed his views on the resegregation trend in a February 7 article in the New Republic was invited to the White House for a recent Sunday luncheon with presidential assistants."

Bearing in mind that the Atlanta School Board's latest plan locks pupils into neighborhood schools, leaving some all black and all white and most nearly so - the irony and full circle becomes evident.

The Atlanta School Board's purpose, through its long, extended court case (Calhoun versus Latimer) has been to obey only grudgingly the courts latest directive and in fact has hastened the white exodus to the suburbs by building its finest, newest schools in the solidly all white suburbs - and the center of the black ghettos and letting the schools in the transitional areas physically go to pot.

Indeed, it has been documented in an illustrative manner what the real purpose of the school adminstration was in the case of the Kirkwood elementary school.

In January 1965, Kirkwood elementary, previously all white, changed to an almost totally all Negro school. All the pupils previously attending Kirkwood had been permitted to leave. The school was centered in an area which human relations groups had hoped to stabilize, heading off resegregation.

When Dr. Letson testified at a court hearing in February 1965, he said the board had agreed to let Negro pupils transfer to Kirkwood in January but admitted he had previously sent a letter to white parents notifying them of the impending action and informing them they could transfer elsewhere if they wished. He repeated that Kirkwood was in a "transitional neighborhood." On the same day some 500 Negroes entered Kirkwood all but six whites had transfered out. The white faculty was transfered with the students.

Another illustration of the circle, the real thinking about desegregation through "neighborhood" school's can be gleaned from Judge Hooper's opinion of September 30, 1960, nineteen sixty that is, in the Calhoun vs Latimer case. He wrote:

> "It now seems clear that the people of Atlanta and Fulton County would prefer to have said Plan put into operation, then to have Atlanta's schools closed. It is quite evident that many other populous centers in Georgia have the same feeling. This feeling is not shared by citizens living in the rural areas for two reasons. First, they do not have the residential patterns that exist in the cities, which patterns as formerly pointed out by this Court, would result in the schools located in the white areas being practically all white and those located in Negro areas to consist almost altogether, if not totally, of Negroes. Such a situation, coupled with a Pupil Assignment Plan on application of the students, would cause little mixing. The residential patterns in the country, however, would not give this advantage."
>
> (Emphasis added)

March 18, 1970

TO: ACLU of Georgia Members

The 1970 Nominating Committee proposes the following slate of officers:

President.....Jon Johnston

First Vice President.....Albert Horn

Second Vice President.....Jerry Cohen

Secretary.....Anne McNay

Treasurer.....Johnny Glustrom

Advisory Board Members are elected every two years. The last Advisory Board election was held in 1968.

Nominated for 1970 Advisory Board:

John Lewis	Nat Gozansky
Lyndon Wade	Mel Gutterman
Howard Moore	Bobby Doctor
Faye Goldberg	Sam Massell
Judy Bourne	Emory Via
Leon Eplan	Vivian Henderson
Hugh Gibert	Bobby Hill
Gene Bianchi	Maynard Jackson
Jim Coogler	Patsy Morris
Aaron Buchsbaum	C. S. Hamilton
Gracie Stone	Father John Mulroy
George Walsh	Ghia Speilberg
Bob Tuve	Dick Falcon
Morris Brown	Dorothy Gibson
John Taylor	Austin Ford

The rules governing election of officers, Article IX of the ACLU of Georgia Constitution are:

"At least two months before the Annual Meeting, the membership shall be notified by mail of the nominees proposed by the Nominating Committee. Additional nominations may be made by petition of any five members, provided there is attached to such a petition a signed statement expressing the nominee's willingness to serve if elected; any such petition to be filed with the Secretary not later than one month before the Annual Meeting.

At least two weeks before the Annual Meeting, a ballot showing and distinguishing the candidates nominated by the Nominating Committee and those nominated by petition shall be mailed to every member."

Thus, you will be receiving your ballot, which will include any additional nominations by petition, in about six weeks.

<u>1970 Nominating Committee</u>:

Michael DeVito
Anne McNay
Hugh Gibert
Clarence Bacote
Bobby Doctor
Marcia Klenboth
David Crosland

PRESS RELEASE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
522-8764

FOR RELEASE TO
MORNING PAPERS:
SUNDAY, APRIL 5, 1970

ATLANTA -- A well-known Southern liberal said today that a new White House policy on race, abetted by black separatists and some Northern liberals, threatens to reimpose old racial patterns on the nation.

Charles Morgan, Jr., attorney in school desegregation and other civil liberties cases, said recent developments provide respectability for "an all-out and undisguised attack on desegregation." Mr. Morgan, now Southern director of the American Civil Liberties Union, expressed his views in an article in SOUTH TODAY, a monthly digest published by the Southern Regional Council.

"The enemy is no longer the racism of the statehouse," he said. "The opponents are now those who occupy the White House and in tragi-comedy enter a field of politics in which they, too, are destined to lose if simply because they lack the hatred required to effect a successful Southern strategy. To white Southern segregationists they will soon seem but 'an effete corps of impudent snobs.'"

Morgan described those liberals who now justify a slowdown in efforts toward school integration as "New Paternalists" who are replacing old-fashioned paternalists in seeking to determine the future of Negroes. The "New Paternalists," he said, are those who simultaneously accept the separatist arguments of Southern white supremacists and of blacks who call themselves militants.

"As white Southern housewives relied on their maids, the New Paternalists rely only upon 'militant' blacks," he said. "The New Paternalism refuses to grant blacks an equal right with whites to be damned fools and to be told they are damned fools. The New Paternalism

calls for the upgrading of slums and slum schools as though that goal were somehow shown to be attainable either by our history or our present inclination. CORE's Roy Innis roams the South, after building a solid record of non-results in the North, seeking new school districts to separate. The New Paternalist nods approvingly."

Because of these confusions, Morgan said, Southern segregationists suddenly are making headway again. "White Southern politicians. . . simply struggle along for years losing battle after battle, fighting as guerrillas, until they finally very politely win," he said. "As they turn America away from its stated goals, they mind their manners. . . ."

Commenting on recent contentions that the South has been treated differently from the rest of the country on school integration and should not be, Morgan said:

"The South had slavery by law. The South had segregation, apartheid, by law. This is why the South has been treated differently by the Supreme Court. The South is different. That is why it should be treated differently. That is why the Northern 'solution' -- if that be what de facto segregation is -- will not work in the South. Nor, if it were uniformly applied across the land, would it result in much other than at best the ultimate disfranchisement and at worst the dispatch of the nation's black population."

Morgan assailed a recent article by Alexander M. Bickel, a Yale University law professor, in the New Republic. The article, which has been the center of a national debate, suggested that massive school integration will not soon be attained in the nation and no one is certain it is worth the cost. It said stress now should be placed upon education.

Morgan said Bickel and Sen. Abraham Ribicoff, who recently joined

Southern senators on some school integration votes, have come to their views because of their own Northern big-city orientations and "white minority ethnic-group thinking." He added: "Relying on 'cultural pluralism,' as Stokely Carmichael did in proposing Black Power and citing Jewish Power and Irish Power as his model, is a common failure of many of those who deal with the South on the basis of non-Southern experience. They forget that in the South there was no melting pot and there is little pluralism of any kind, be it ethnic or religious. . . . There can be little parallel between the urban experiences of white ethnic Americans and the experience of American blacks."

Morgan noted that Professor Bickel, referring to the argument that integration sometimes tips schools racially and results in resegregation, suggested that this "is what the Nixon administration has been trying to tell us...." But, Morgan said: "What President Nixon has been trying to tell us is simply" 'White folks, vote Republican; we can do it better than Wallace can -- and we can do it more politely.'"

Those forces which place high priority upon ending patterns of segregation will ultimately prevail, Morgan wrote, despite some defections from their ranks and some current national trends. "We will win," he said, "simply because we must."

SOUTH TODAY is a monthly digest dealing with social trends in the South. The Southern Regional Council, founded in 1944, is a private research information agency.

# # #

8/17/70

aclu
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA, 1424 – 16TH ST. N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 ☆ ☆ ☆ 483-3830

August 14th, 1970

Emory F. Via, Esq.
S. R. C.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Many thanks for sending me the latest version of Know Your Rights with the Spanish translation. I like the new format and the way the text has been brought up to date. Please pass "mother's" compliments along, along with hopes for the widest possible distribution of this pamphlet.

I do hope this finds you and Margaret in good shape. Do give her my love and my fond regards to all my SRC friends.

Sincerely,

Florence B. Robin
Executive Director

C

• James H. Heller, Chairman • David B. Isbell, Vice-Chairman • Gary Burns Sellers, Treasurer • Michael W. Ambrose, Secretary •
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File - ACLU

REVIEW and OUTLOOK

W-S-J 12/27/71

A Mysterious Affliction

When the American Civil Liberties Union announced its opposition to Supreme Court nominee William Rehnquist, its chairman carefully noted that opposing a candidate for public office was an unprecedented step for the group. We presume the idea was to stress how horrible the nominee must be, but it now seems that the broken precedent tells us less about Mr. Rehnquist than about the current state of the ACLU.

For it happens that the increasing politicization of the union, and its decreasing emphasis on strict questions of civil liberty, has been carefully traced by Yale Law Professor Joseph W. Bishop Jr. His attack on it is quite different from the historic right-wing assaults, being full of praise for the ideals and historic accomplishments of the ACLU and indeed for much of its current work. But in its most celebrated current efforts, he argues, it is starting to destroy its own ideals.

The problem is that the union is abandoning its defense of limited but cardinal goals such as free speech, and is setting to remake the world in the image of the radical left. It is entirely fitting that Mr. Bishop's article should appear in "Commentary," one of the few remaining bastions of sensible liberalism, for it concerns not merely the ACLU, but a broader flight from reality that seems to have possessed the most conspicuous parts of the liberal community.

Since the original ideal of the union was to protect the liberties of all unpopular minorities, Mr. Bishop asks, why can you search through its ninety-odd active court cases without finding a right-wing client? Why does it criticize the treatment of dissidents in Canada but not in Cuba? What question of civil liberties is involved in the New York dispute over community control of schools, in which the ACLU's local affiliate has been involved? What constitutional issue explains involvement in the Berrigan case?

Above all, where is the ACLU on the current clear and present danger to freedom of speech, the efforts of campus radicals to suppress views with which they differ? Out trying to overturn injunctions obtained by the University of Connecticut against obscene and disruptive statements in demonstrating against campus recruiters, that's where.

What emerges, in short, is something less related to civil liberties than to radical chic. The source of the new crusades lies in the state of mind of some of the union's members and nearly all of its staff; its legal director says, "We are not yet a fascist state in general." And this attitude is profoundly antithetical to civil liberties per se; "Hyde Park speeches or Tom Paine leaflets," one activist says, don't mean a lot compared to "social justice."

The fascinating thing about this state of mind is its lack of contact with reality. Mr. Bishop finds himself explaining that there is a difference between the government of the United States and the government of Stalinist Russia, that there is a difference between Spiro Agnew and Joseph Goebbels.

"The union's attitude toward a constitutional and democratic government need not and should not be always, or even usually, that of Ralph Nader to General Motors," Mr. Bishop warns. Indeed, it is only under effective government that civil liberty can be maintained:

"A man whose government does not protect him from thieves and marauders is likely to lose concern for criminal due process and to support the first strong man who promises short shrift for criminals. The stability of the government of the United States and the survival of the liberties provided by its Constitution depend on its continued ability to enforce its constitutional laws by constitutional methods—including laws which are unwise, but not unconstitutional."

These are elementary observations, of course, but somehow they need repeating today. The questions, as Harvard sociologist Nathan Glazer has nicely put it, are so old we have forgotten the answers. It is comforting to have people like Mr. Bishop, and magazines like "Commentary," spelling them out for us once again.

But in the meantime, there is a new and as far as we know unanswered question to ponder. What mysterious affliction has seized the minds of so many of our best people, leaving them unable to understand the simple answers, unable to recognize their own traditional values, unable to distinguish between dream and reality?

ACLU-Ga

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MINUTES - EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE ACLU OF GA. - MARCH 13, 1972

Members present: Margie Hames, Nat Gozansky, Ed Ladd, John Mullroy, Faye Goldberg, Emory Via, Patsy Morris, Austin Ford, Bob Tuve, John Mather, Anne McNay, Jon Johnston, Chuck Morgan, Hugh Gibert, Ruste Kitfield.

Meeting was called to order at 12:20 PM by Jon Johnson. National ACLU requested and got Ga. Board support for the repeal of marijuana laws.

At the request of the Better Schools Atlanta group (which has several ACLUers) the Ga. Board met to consider our intervention in the Atlanta school case (NAACP v. School Board?) for a Richmond, Va. metropolitan-type plan. A vigorous discussion developed, with Chuck Morgan leading off on schools, political lines seen as arbitrary, and strategy ideas. Austin Ford commented on the hostility problems of one-way busing. Emory Via questioned the effectiveness and/or destructiveness of intervention as it applies to the values of integration. Margie Hames discussed where she was in terms of contact with NAACP (several lawyers), deadlines, and whether intervention or a new case was the best option. Motion by Nat, 2nd by Bob Tuve as follows: "Board approves plan to enter into, or commence our own suit, against Atlanta School Board to try to get comprehensive integration of schools in Atlanta area (5 county) as in Richmond, Va. plan." This motion passed, with several votes in absention. Voted on previous to the above motion, and failing 7-3, was this motion by Ed Ladd, 2nd by Faye Goldberg "Motion to refer matter to a committee to be appointed by chairman, that the committee report back to the Board meeting to be called for later in the week; that the meeting be held in two parts, with visitors who can contribute, followed by closed Board meeting." Margie Hames requested an advisory committee which Jon will appoint. Meeting adj.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/

Anne McNay, Secretary

NOMINATIONS FOR OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, & COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

FOR THE AMERCIAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF GEORGIA - 1972

OFFICERS (to be elected)

President - Jon Johnston
1st Vice President - Al Horn
2nd Vice President - Margie Hames
Secretary - Gene Guerrero
Treasurer - John Glustrom

2 opp

BOARD OF DIRECTORS (to be elected)

Present Constitution calls for 7 but expanded to 10 for this election

~~Faye Goldberg~~ ? Via
Leon Eplan
Jim Coogler
Nat Gozansky
Austin Ford
Chorsie Mattox
Thelma Wyatt
Hugh Gibert
Clinton Di Vieux
Kieve Landesberg

2 Vacancy

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN (appointed)

Due Process - Al Noonan
Equality - Judy Bourne
Academic Freedom - Ed Ladd
Lawyers - Jerry Cohen
Police - John Mulroy & Bob Tuve
Environment - Lou Deadmore
Membership - Kay Baygood
Privacy - Patsy Morris & Mary Olive Thomas
Publicity - John Mather
Legislative Liasion- Dorothy Gibson
Legislature - Ann McNay

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED MARCH 13, 1972 BY THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE:

Judy Bourne
Mary Olive Thomas
John Mather — Chm.
Lou Deadmore
Al Noonan
Chorsie Mattox
Patsy Morris

Tenured & Non-Tenured distinction be removed —

NYT 3-26-72

Impending Ruling by Federal Judge Promises Hope for Neglected in Mental Institutions Around Country

By BOYCE RENSBERGER

After more than a century of neglect, thousands of mentally disabled citizens, once doomed to lives of deprivation and hopelessness in public mental institutions around the country, are expected to find new hope in a decision to be handed down by a Federal district judge in Alabama in the next week or two.

Earlier in the 19-month-long case, Judge Frank M. Johnson ruled, for the first time in any court, that persons deprived of their liberty and committed to such institutions because they were mentally ill or mentally retarded had a constitutional right to adequate treatment.

Now, on the basis of his previous rulings, he is expected to hand down in Montgomery a set of minimum standards for care and treatment and to rule that institutions that do not meet the standards are violating their patients' constitutional rights.

While the suit he heard involves only Alabama's two state hospitals and one state school, several national mental health and legal organizations have said that they plan to file similar suits in many other states.

Suit Filed in New York

Since the first Alabama ruling, in fact, such suits have been filed against an institution for the retarded in Massachusetts and against New York's Willowbrook State School.

The suits are expected by their sponsors to have little difficulty in winning favorable decisions, many people in the field concede that elimination of injustices done toward the mentally disabled is long overdue.

Currently, some 570,000 people are confined to state institutions for the mentally disabled in the United States. Most of the institutions, in the opinion of many mental health experts, would fall well below the standards that Judge Johnson is expected to set on the basis of the recommendations of a number of prominent mental health experts who testified before him earlier this year.

Judge Johnson, who issued many of the historic desegregation rulings in the South over the last 15 years, has said that he would establish and enforce standards designed to ensure three conditions: a humane psychological and physical environment, qualified staff in numbers sufficient to administer adequate treatment, and individualized treatment plans.

The final ruling is also expected to include a stipulation that, inasmuch as long-term hospitalization often leads to deterioration rather than improvement, no patient may be confined against his will for longer than six months.

The judge has also indicated that he plans to appoint a "Federal master" to administer the Alabama institutions and bring them quickly into compliance with his standards. The master would have power to circumvent procedural delays.

The Alabama case began in September, 1970, when a budget cut forced the head of the State Mental Health Department, Dr. Stonewall B. Stickney, to lay off a number of employes at Bryce Hospital, one of Alabama's two large mental hospitals.

The employes filed suit in Federal District Court charging that the layoff threatened the quality of care at Bryce and denied patients a constitutional right to treatment.

Such a concept, though never set forth in an official opinon, was raised by David L. Bazelon, Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in a decision five years ago. In that case, Judge Bazelon declared that the plaintiff, a mental patient, had at least a statutory right to treatment so long as he was to be deprived of his liberty on the ground that he needed treatment.

George Dean, attorney for the plaintiffs in the Alabama case, said that, when the potential national implications of the suit were realized, the suit was enlarged to a class action including the state's two other large institutions, Searcy Hospital and Partlow State School.

A number of national organizations joined the case as "friends of the court" to help carry out investigations of the institutions and recommend changes. They included the American Psychological Association, the National Legal Aid and Defenders Association, the American Orthopsychiatric Association, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Center for the Law and Social Policy. The last three groups have formed a National Council on the Rights of the Mentally Impaired to bring similar suits in other states.

United States Attorney Ira DeMent in Montgomery also entered the case on behalf of the Federal Government and has led much of the investigation.

"The things we found in these institutions are an outrage," Mr. DeMent said. "There's neglect to the point that deaths have resulted. If I knew who to blame, I'd prosecute the criminal. But you can't prosecute the system that has let such things happen in every state."

As the case unfolded over recent months, the plight of the overcrowded and understaffed institutions became front-page news in several Alabama dailies, which published hundreds of articles, pictures and editorials. Many of them portrayed the institutions as decaying firetraps in which miserable children and adults were forced to endure degrading conditions with little or no treatment or habilitation.

Judge Johnson, a long-time target for his rulings ordering integration in Alabama, came in for praise in editorials that said, in effect, that if there ever was a case of the Federal Government meddling in the sovereign affairs of a state, this was it, but that this time it was jusitfied because the state had clearly failed to carry out its responsibility.

Though he is the target of much of the outrage, Dr. Stickney, the State's Mental Health Commissioner, is not fighting the court's action.

"We recognize that there are serious problems here," he said. "In fact, we've recognized it for a lot longer than the court has and we've been trying to make improvements, but we have not had the resources to do it."

In his last budget request, Dr. Stickney asked for an 83 per cent increase. The Legislature and Gov. George C. Wallace cut the rise to 38 per cent. Now, in view of the court's impeding ruling, there is talk of a special legislative session to raise more money.

"Actually," Dr. Stickney said, "it's kind of exhilerating to see that the courts may get the Legislature going. It's been our experience that they'd rather spend money for highways than mental health."

Earlier this month, investigations at the Partlow State School for the retarded disclosed such deficiencies that Judge Johnson issued an interim emergency order "to protect the lives and well-being of the residents," which he said were threatened by such things as the absence of minimal fire safety measures, poor sanitation in the kitchen, poor control over the distribution of drugs and so few employes that many wards lacked proper supervision.

The emergency order called for correction of these and other deficiencies within periods ranging from 10 days to 45 days.

The most dramatic was an order to hire immediately 300 additional ward workers within 30 days. Judge Johnson ordered the state to forget about Civil Service or "any other formal procedure" that would delay the hiring.

Within days after the order was made public, more than 1,000 persons applied for jobs and the quota was met.

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American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

March 30, 1972

To: Board of Directors

Fr: Aryeh Neier, Henry Schwarzschild

Re: Policy on Amnesty

In December 1970, the Board adopted the following resolution on amnesty:

> Whereas the present military involvement of United States in South East Asia is unconstitutional;
>
> Whereas the Selective Service Law is unconstitutional under present circumstances and as presently administered;
>
> And whereas regardless of the unconstitutionality of said military involvement and said Law,
>
> Punishment for violations should be mitigated so as to take account of the growing recognition that American participation in the Vietnam War has long been a mistake.
>
> Therefore be it resolved that full and unconditional amnesty should be granted to persons accused or convicted heretofore or hereafter of violating said Selective Service Law.
>
> The ACLU recommends amnesty for those who are or have been in the Armed Services who expose themselves to punishment for acts and omissions having a conscientious basis including a serviceman whose conscientious objection to service has been rejected on the ground that the objection is (a) non-religious or (b) to a particular war rather than to all wars or who have been court-martialed for disobeying a lawful order by reason of his persistence in his objection.

In February, 1972, the Executive Committee considered a proposal from the Michigan ACLU to amend this policy statement to make clear that the "acts" referred to in this statement did not include violent acts. The Michigan affiliate proposed that the final paragraph of the resolution be reworded to read:

> The ACLU also recommends amnesty for those who are or have been in the Armed Forces whose conscientious objection --

to military service, or to wars generally, or to a particular war -- has led to their punishment for their failure to cooperate with the Armed Forces.

The Executive Committee agreed that the Michigan formulation was a proper clarification of the ACLU resolution, provided that the non-religious reference in the resolution was retained. We believe, however, that the recommendation contained in the present memorandum would meet the substantive issue presented by the Michigan ACLU and at the same time incorporate other needed improvements in the ACLU policy position on amnesty.

At the time the Michigan proposal was considered, the Committee also discussed the view of the newly established Amnesty Project of the ACLU Foundation (established in January, 1972 with special foundation grants) that additional amendment of the policy statement was desirable. The Executive Committee took the view that these additional amendments would require consideration by the full Board. At the same time, in recognition of the rapidly growing public concern with amnesty and the crowded agenda of the committee which would normally consider any proposed change in policy prior to submission to the Board, the Executive Committee asked that staff submit its proposed change in policy directly to the Board.

We recommend to the Board that the last paragraph of the present policy statement be deleted and that, in its place, the following paragraph be adopted:

> The ACLU urges amnesty for those who are or have been in the Armed Services and have exposed themselves to punishment for acts and omissions which, if committed by a civilian in a civilian context, would not be constitutionally punishable under the criminal law.

The effect of this change would be:

1) To incorporate the change sought by the Michigan ACLU since assaults, destruction of property, thefts, etc., would be constitutionally punishable under the criminal law if committed by a civilian in a civilian context.

2) It would eliminate the requirement that a conscientious motive for such acts and ommissions as desertion or refusal to obey a lawful order be a condition for amnesty.

Since the thrust of the Michigan ACLU amendment is probably not very controversial within the ACLU Board, we shall focus the rest of this memo on the shift from the requirement of a conscientious basis for acts and omissions by those who are or have been in the Armed Services to the more inclusive amnesty contemplated in this proposed change in policy.

The preamble to the Board's December 1970 policy on amnesty makes it clear that the policy is first of all rooted in our belief that both the war and the draft are unconstitutional. For this reason, the December 1970 policy commits us to support amnesty for all those who have evaded the draft, regardless of whether their evasion of the draft has a conscientious basis. Not all draft resisters are motivated by high moral, ideological or religious beliefs. Nevertheless, we advocate the application of amnesty to them all, no matter what their motives for resisting what we regard as an illegal war and an illegal draft.

However, under the December 1970 policy, if a young person should be inducted into the armed forces and, six weeks later join draft resisters of whatever motivation in exile in Canada, that inductee would be required to meet a test of conscientious motivation. This is an inconsistency of approach which appears to imply that our basic belief in the unconstitutionality of the war and the draft is somehow nullified by taking the step forward for induction. Once that step is taken only a conscientious objection to service is considered by the December, 1970 policy as an appropriate ground for amnesty.

We believe there is another major defect in the December 1970 policy statement's requirement that persons once inducted into the armed forces meet a test of conscience before benefitting from amnesty. No one can be more aware than the ACLU that there is no agency less appropriate for assessing matters of conscience than the government. Many of the deserters who have exiled themselves think the government should be apologizing to them rather than forgiving them. It will hardly appear to them as an effort at reconciliation if the government offers to them the right to return to face the scrutiny of an amnesty board which will determine whether they were conscientiously motivated in their acts and omissions. (And what happens if they return to have their consciences tested -- and fail? Will they then be prosecuted? Hardly any would gamble on return under these circumstances?) By and large, the affluent and articulate were spared from the military service -- they found shelter in the reserves, in college deferments and in conscientious objection. If ordered to fight against their consciences, they went to prison, exile or underground. The disproportionate burdens of fighting this war have fallen upon the poor and poorly educated. And often, when

their consciences were violated; their only recourse was desertion. They submitted to induction and became aware only in the military of the cruelties and irrationalities of the war. It is these men, too, who in glaringly disproportionate numbers have been tried by military courts for various offenses and who have been given less than honorable discharges -- impediments for their future lives and careers. The circumstances which impelled both refusal and desertion were the same: the war and the draft. The motives were usually the same: a refusal to submit to the machinery of the war. The war served as an instrument of class discrimination; amnesty must not. All non-violent acts and failures to act, we urge, that arose out of the war, that would not have occurred but for the war, and that might be subject to criminal penalties, should be included in amnesty. Similarly, any tests of the motives of those who have refused to fight the war would discriminate against the inarticulate. Those who have pleaded conscientious objection to war have already had to undergo searing examination of their motives. The less sophisticated have suffered from discrimination -- and it would be a cruel irony to make amnesty another means of discrimination.

The post-World War II experience with amnesty is instructive. According to a recent law review article, the Truman Amnesty Board "compiled data concerning the family history, school and work records, criminal records, and selective service history of each offender. In considering this data the Board used no specific standards or formulae." As a result of the work of this Amnesty Board, President Truman granted pardons to just 1,523 of the 15,805 persons whose cases were before the Board (see: "American Deserters and Draft Evaders: Exile, Punishment or Amnesty," by Douglas W. Jones and David L. Raish, Harvard International Law Journal, Volume 13, Number 1, at page 124). If this most recent American experience with amnesty were to guide the operations of a post-Vietnam Amnesty Board, overwhelming class and race discrimination would result from making amnesty for inductees contingent on the ability to meet a test of conscience.

The December 1970 policy also states in its preamble that "regardless of the unconstitutionality of said military involvement and said /draft/ law, punishment should be mitigated so as to take account of the growing recognition that American participation in the Vietnam War has long been a mistake." This statement affirms a need for amnesty because of the importance to civil liberties of healing of the wounds left by the divisions over the war in Vietnam. If that healing of the wounds is any part of our concern with amnesty, it would follow that the amnesty we support should be broadly inclusive. Unless we apply to post-inductees the same standards we apply to pre-inductees, the amnesty we support is not inclusive enough to serve this purpose of national reconciliation.

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ACLU of Georgia Board Meeting - Tuesday, April 11, 1972-
Noon - 88 Walton St,NW

Policy Item #527 re public officials

AGENDA

(1) Report of National Board Meeting - Jon Johnston

(2) Mental Health Suit - Tom Harper - similar to Alabama suit (see enclosure).

(3) School Desegregation suit - Ruste Kitfield

(4) Election of board members to Biennial Conference (3 persons in addition to staff & national board member)

(5) Movie Benefit - April 16 - MODERN TIMES - Ruste Kitfield

(6) Discussion of the Nominating Committee's slate for officers and board, ACLU-Ga. - 1972

Annual Meeting — have Chad Morgan

The ACLU Biennial Convention will be held in Boulder, Colorado at the University of Colorado campus starting Thursday morning June 8 and concluding Sunday, June 11 at noon. One of the reimbursed members will be the National Development Council representative who will have to go a day early for a NDC meeting June 7. All expenses, food, lodging, and transportation, are reimbursed. Only those board members who can attend the entire convention should offer for nomination.

I will___ will not attend the board meeting April 11.

signed:_____

Please place my name in nomination for Biennial delegate.

signed:_____

Nat
Judith Bourne
Faye Goldberg

Ike Cuevas
Margie Hames

ACLU-Ga

MINUTES - ACLU BOARD OF DIRECTORS - MAY 17, 1972 - CALLED MEETING TO DISCUSS REFERENDUM ON SUBSTITUTING "EXPRESSION ACTION" THEORY OF THE 1st AMENDMENT FOR THE "CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER" POLICY

Members present: Jon Johnston, Patsy Morris, John Glustrom, Gene Bianchi, Margie Hames, Emory Via, Jerry Cohen, Al Horn, Ruste Kitfield, Anne McNay, Leon Eplan. Guests: Charles Morgan, Clinton Deveaux, Gene Guerrero.

Meeting was called to order at 12:20 pm by Jon Johnston.

HIGHWAYS

Ruste Kitfield announced that the Atlanta Coalition On The Transportation Crisis has requested that the ACLU-Ga. assist their efforts and join their coalition of civic groups concerned with stopping the unrestricted construction of highways and tollways in Metro Atlanta.

Jon Johnston explained that at this point the coalition was simply asking the ACLU-Ga. to lend its name to their efforts. There are, he explained, potential civil liberties issues involved in this area.

Al Horn moved that the ACLU-Ga. associate itself with the coalition as long as there are no substantial costs, reserving any decisions on any further involvement. Seconded, motion passed unanimously. Jon Jojnston instructed the ACLU-Ga. office to write Maxine Rock of the coalition informing them of the decision , expressing the Board's thanks for the invitation.

ANNUAL MEETING

Ruste Kitfield reviewed the plans for the May 31st annual meeting. There will be a cash bar at 5:30 pm with the annual meeting following at 6:30 pm in the courtyard of the Midnight Sun restaurant. At 7:30 pm friends of Chuck Morgan are sponsoring a banquet in Morgan's honor.

ATLANTA SCHOOL CASE

Ruste Kitfield reviewed recent efforts to raise funds for the school case. The ACLU Foundation sent a fundraising mailing to 1,000 persons on the ACLU-Ga. mailing list on May 15. The Methodist Women, contacted by Winifred Green of the AFSC, have donated $1,000 and may give $4,000 more. $1,000 has been pledged by an anonomous donor. Attorney Morris Abram has been contacted. She and Jon Johnston met with Bea Rich Wolfe who's sympathetic and may have some funds available.

Jon Johnston asked the Board for guidance in the approach to possible donors explaining that he had indicated to Ms. Wolfe that $15,000 was needed by the Foundation to secure the services of an attorney for a two year period. John Glustrom asked if a big grant was secured whether all should go to the school case or whether part should go to other important areas. Jerry Cohen suggested informing prospective donors that the ACLU had several lawyers available for the case and that funds would be used for their services, court costs, and misc. expenses. Jon Johnston indicated that the main problem was developing an approach which would maximize the ways funds secured could be used.

Al Horn suggested that in light of the departure of the NAACP from the Black Coalition, that the NAACP might now be willing to take over

part of the case. Ruste Kitfield said time was growing short, that action had to be taken now. Margie Hames said that the case had to be filed by June 15.

Jon Johnston asked what the case would cost. Margie Hames said it was very hard to estimate. $20,000 would be a good guess. John Glustrom asked what the minimum amount is that the ACLU would need to have in hand to initiate the case. Margie Hames said at least $5,000. Jerry Cohen said this was probably a low estimate. Cohen announced that the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law is on record supporting the ACLU in the case and has several volunteer lawyers available.

John Glustrom moved that a 25% limit be placed on general ACLU-Ga. funds that could be used for the school case. Motion died for lack of a second. Glustrom moved that the Board send Ruste Kitfield to New York to raise money for the school case and for general funds for the foundation. Seconded, motion passed unanimously .

Al Horn suggested that Ruste talk to the NAACP while she is in New York. Gene Bianchi suggested that written materials be prepared for the trip. Jon Johnston will call on Bianchi to assist the committee advising Margie Hames on the school case.

REFERENDUM

Chuck Morgan explained his feelings on what the ACLU's position should be regarding the 1st Amendment - no position other that the Constitution's,"Congress shall make no law...." Al Horn asked him how he would vote on the referendum. Morgan explained that he would oppose the Board's action with qualifications.

Anne McNay suggested that the Board write the National Board explaining the ACLU-Ga's position on the question. The following statement was adopted unanimously and will be sent to national with the ballots: "The sense of the Board of Directors of the ACLU of Georgia is that the test should be the simple words of the first amendment with an 'absolutist' interpretation rather than as phrased in either of the questions posed for vote."

Meeting was adjourned at 1:30 pm.

Respectfully submitted,

Anne McNay, Secretary

James Floyd
Painter
Mayfield Ky

John Butler Rec

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

MAY 22 1972

TO: Participants in May 5-7 National Conference on Corporal Punishment in the Public Schools.

FROM: Alan Reitman

I want to thank you for your active participation in our recent Conference which many people have commented was a stimulating and provocative meeting. I enclose for your information the press release issued at the regular Conference and the major New York Times article of May 8th.

Work is progressing on the overall Conference report and we hope to have that available in the near future.

news

THE AMERICAN
ORTHOPSYCHIATRIC
ASSOCIATION, INC.
1790 Broadway, New York, New York 10019

CALL SYLVIA F. GRUGETT / PUBLIC INFORMATION CONSULTANT (212) JUdson 6-5690

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York. May 7 -- A national conference on corporal punishment in public schools today voted to urge the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to limit its funds to those school districts in which corporal punishment is prohibited either by Board rule or by State law.

"All school districts applying for or now receiving funds should receive notice immediately that they must institute rules to abolish corporal punishment to qualify for further funding," the resolution stated.

This action was taken by the first national conference to combat corporal punishment in public schools which was attended by 85 representatives of 62 national organizations. The 3-day conference was sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Orthopsychiatric Association.

The conference prepared an action program directed toward ending corporal punishment through litigation, legislation and the promotion of educational alternatives, according to Alan Reitman, associate executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

"This program, involving a wide variety of organizations, will be focused on local communities where the issue of protecting student rights must be pressed," Mr. Reitman said.

(more)

The plenary session defined corporal punishment as embodying both physical and psychological assault on any school child. The conference agreed that corporal punishment is deliberately used on children who are members of minority groups "as acts of overt racism."

Dr. Marion F. Langer, executive director of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, noted that the conference recommended that federal, state and local statutes should be employed to criminally prosecute school personnel who use paddles or sticks or practice "psychological terror" on school children.

A temporary steering committee was elected by the conference to: (1) develop plans for a national clearinghouse for information on the incidence of corporal punishment; (2) establish a legal "brief bank" to be used by lawyers bringing suits in the courts on corporal punishment cases; (3) convene an all-student conference to develop ways of combating corporal punishment -- since they are its victims; and (4) raise funds for this program.

Members of the steering committee include: Dr. Arthur Thomas, director, Student Rights Center, Dayton, Ohio; Nat Hentoff, writer, N.Y.; Alan Reitman, ACLU, N.Y.; Dr. Marion F. Langer, AOA, N.Y.; Dorothy Cotton, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Ga.; Ronald Brown, Urban League, N.Y.; Shirley Lacy, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Inc. Fund, N.Y.; Adah Maurer, school psychologist, San Francisco, Cal.; Julian Hudson, teacher, Charlottesville, Va. and chairman of the NEA Task Force on Corporal Punishment; Carole Duncan, housewife and leader of Citizens Against Physical Punishment, Dallas, Texas; David Almada, teacher, Monterey Park, Cal.

(more)

Student members of the steering committee include: Debbie Bock, Wayne, Pa.; Richard Sussman, Lancaster, Pa.; Richard Gergel, Columbia, S.C.; Kurt Gripenstraw, Student NEA; Barbara Fleming, Columbia, S.C.; Bennie Eakes, Antioch College student; Gloria Cruz, Student NEA, Albuquerque, N.M.; Marge Logisz, Future Teachers of America intern, Washington, D.C.

Additional organizations represented at the conference include: National School Boards Association, National Education Association, Association for Supervisory and Curriculum Development, South Carolina Study on Student Involvement, American Association of School Administrators, National Association of Secondary School Principles, Jewish Board of Guardians, American Friends Service Committee, National Association for Retarded Children, American Academy of Child Psychiatry, Center for Law and Education.

The conference requested that ACLU local affiliates publicize incidents involving corporal punishment on the local level and initiate law suits challenging the practice.

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May 7, 1972

Corporal Punishment Ban in Schools Sought

By GENE I. MAEROFF

Spearheaded by lawsuits, quiet but determined campaigns are starting to build up in various parts of the country to ban corporal punishment in the schools, a practice that only two states have declared illegal.

The drive to eliminate corporal punishment—the use of physical force, such as paddling or spanking, to discipline school children—is expected to gain momentum as the result of a three-day conference that ended here yesterday. Leaders felt they laid the groundwork for pulling their disparate efforts together into a national movement.

New Jersey and Massachusetts are the two states that have outlawed corporal punishment. The New York City Board of Education has banned it, but no statewide action has been taken.

At the conference here, 85 delegates from 50 agencies and organizations met under the sponsorship of the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Orthopsychiatric Association. The delegates agreed to form a committee to fight corporal punishment and to create a national clearinghouse for information on the subject.

Separate lawsuits challenging corporal punishment as a violation of civil rights are waiting to be heard in Federal courts in Vermont, Alabama, Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, and California.

The Texas case, Ware v. Estes, a class action by a group of parents and children who lost in a lower court, will be heard Wednesday in Dallas by the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

Most states have no statutes either authorizing or banning corporal punishment, leaving the matter to local discretion. At least 13 states—Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Vermont and Virginia—have statutes condoning corporal punishment, according to a survey by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Though conference leaders could offer no statistics on the frequency of the use of corporal punishment, they described numerous incidents in school districts across the United States in wrich pupils, primarily on the elementary level, were said to have been beaten by teachers and supervisors with hands, paddles and rattans.

Among the alleged incidents were those involving a high school boy in Dallas who was beaten with a tennis shoe by his swimming coach for being late to practice; a fifth grade girl in St. Louis who was grabbed by her teacher and hit on the head with a ruler for being disorderly; a junior high school boy in Los Angeles who was paddled on the buttocks for being involved in a fight in which he said he was the victim, and a sixth grade boy in Hardwick, Vt., who was whipped with a 40-inch canvas belt for passing a note with a four-letter word to a girl classmate.

In a recent report on corporal punishment, the A.C.L.U. condemned such practices on the ground that they did physical and psychological damage to children.

Some educators, however, have defended corporal punishment as being a legitimate disciplinary method, when judiciously applied. Moreover, there is a feeling among some school personnel that they are being harassed when they are held accountable for using corporal punishment.

In a survey conducted in 1969 by the National Education Association, 65 per cent of the elementary school teachers and 55 per cent of the secondary teachers said they favored "judicious use" of violent bodily punishment.

The N.E.A., the country's largest organization for school personnel, has a task force currently investigating the use of corporal punishment. In the report it is scheduled to submit next month the task force is expected to recommend the practice's elimination.

"The situation throughout the United States is much worse than I thought," said Edward Wright, a member of the task force who was interviewed at the conference.

Phase-Out Voted

"I thought it would be a simple matter of the N.E.A.'s advocating an end to corporal punishment and the schools would listen," he added. "But I can tell now that it isn't going to be done away with that easily."

Mr. Wright is the assistant superintendent for instruction of the Owensboro, Ky. school system, where paddling is permitted, he said, when it is administered in the principal's office.

"I was naive when I got into this four years ago," said Mrs. Carolyn Schumacher of the Pittsburgh Committee to Abolish Corporal Punishment, another person interviewed at the conference. She continued:

"I thought it would be simple to get support, but I ran into fierce hostility from teachers and principals. Also, there are parents who want the school to have the right to spank their children."

Ultimately, Mrs. Schumacher's group prevailed and Pittsburgh's board of education voted to phase out corporal punishment, beginning with the kindergarten through the third grade. It is now outlawed through the fifth grade, though Mrs. Schumacher contends that teachers are trying to get the ban rescinded and that corporal punishment is still being applied, illegally, in the lower grades.

One of the issues subject to heated debate during the conference, held at the Belmont Plaza Hotel, was whether the participants should limit their attention to physical punishment or also include the matter of "psychological punishment" in their deliberations and recommendations.

Black delegates such as David Jacobs and Clarence Wright stated on several occasions throughout the weekend that the "threat facing black youngsters" in their region of the country "is not so much that they will get hit, but that they will be suspended or expelled."

Mr. Jacobs is with the American Friends Service Committee in Montgomery and Mr. Wright is with the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

At its plenary session yesterday afternoon, despite warnings from some white delegates that the move would "diffuse its efforts," the conference voted to define as corporal punishment "all forms of bodily and psychological attacks on students."

As an immediate step, the conference voted to ask the Federal Government to withhold education funds from local school districts or states that did not ban corporal punishment.

Some discussions during the three days of meetings turned to the question of "alternatives" for teachers who are being told not to use corporal punishment.

Among the suggestions were quiet rooms in which teachers and students could go to regain emotional composure, classroom assistants to absorb some of the tension, better preparation in teacher training to deal with confrontations, and scheduling of activity periods for students after long periods of concentration.

ACLU of Ga.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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CIVIL RIGHTS DEPARTMENT
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ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 (404) 525-8549

May 25, 1972

Mr. Jon J. Johnston, President
American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia
4362 Wieuca Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jon:

I was astounded when I received my ballot for 1972 Officers and Directors of the ACLU of Georgia to find that not only was I being asked to vote Soviet-style, yes or no, but that I had no secret ballot, and no opportunity to nominate additional persons. If any other organization did this, I feel certain the ACLU would be first to defend the rights of the affected members.

It just happens that I don't want to vote for all of the proposed Officers and Directors, so that I am casting my vote, as required, against all!

Sincerely,

E. T. Kehrer

E. T. Kehrer, Southern Area Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department

ETK:sjs
opeiu #2
afl-cio

cc: Mrs. Ruste Kitfield
✓Officers and Directors

Farewell to a Fighter

By Phil Garner

IF you're a Southerner and you want to be yourself, Atlanta is the place to do it, Charles Morgan Jr. said as he made ready to leave the city for a new job and new challenge in Washington, D.C.

Morgan should know. He left another major Southern city, Birmingham, in 1966 when he felt he could no longer live with reaction there to his stand against racial bigotry. He spent one year in Virginia, then came to Atlanta as head of the Southern Regional office of the American Civil Liberties Union, a job created expressly for him.

Since that time Morgan and a succession of young and tireless lawyers working for him have kept a critical eye on the course of Southern justice, and have represented major figures in the black civil rights movement as well as others with minority viewpoints.

Morgan's job was to organize ACLU affiliates in the South as well as to practice civil liberties law. When he opened the Atlanta office there were two ACLU affiliates in the South. Now the ACLU has active offices in every Southern state. ACLU Membership in the South has grown from 2,000 in 1964 to 20,000.

While he was practicing law and building membership, Morgan also was raising funds and speaking throughout the country on behalf of ACLU.

The style of the office under Morgan was frantic. When a case or a cause emerged and Morgan adjudged it worthy of the attention of his office, it was, more often than not, late in the course of events. It was part of the Morgan style to announce to his staff late one afternoon that an involved brief must be ready by eight o'clock the next morning. In such cases, the entire staff remained at its post until the job was done, sometimes working until 5 a.m.

Even though it was generally agreed that much of the rush nature of the work could have been avoided had a more conventional mind been behind the planning, the Morgan staff attacked its work with the zeal of people with a cause they believe in. Morgan's office, a volunteer ACLU attorney once commented, was "the most disorganized area I've seen since World War II."

AN equally distinguishing characteristic of the office under Morgan was its use as an information center and after-work gathering place by a variety of people ranging from lawyers and clients to journalists and politicians. It was friendly territory for many a citizen who felt most of the rest of the world was a no-man's land.

Morgan professed a deep love for the South and its people and asserts flatly, "The South runs the nation."

"The American struggle will be won or lost on an old and familiar battleground," he wrote in characteristically dramatic style in a report in 1969, "the Old Confederacy in a now-110-year-old guerilla war."

The Chuck Morgan making ready to leave the South for a new battleground has not changed his mind about the continuing struggle here.

But the man whose first love was Southern politics is eager to take on a political challenge near the seat of the nation's power.

Morgan's new ACLU job, like the one he left behind, was created for him. He is now called the National Legislative Director.

His job will be mainly to see that ACLU's members are informed about what's happening in Congress.

"People don't really understand," said Morgan, "that ACLU is not just an organization where everybody sits around swattin' flies.... We've got a quarter million membership and 83 percent of them are college graduates. Forty percent of the others have three years of college or more. The largest percentage of membership is in the 20-to-29-year-old range and the majority of our members are under the age of 39. The average contribution is more than $20 a head. We're organized in every state. We have more influence than most groups and our members ought to be organized on a congressional district basis. While we won't be in the political arena directly, we'll be letting folks know how their congressmen vote."

Morgan plans to organize membership rolls by congressional districts and to use a computer to match information with people.

"Hopefully, every member in a congressional district will know within 48 hours the actual testimony given before Congress or the position taken," Morgan said.

BUT Morgan is no mere distributor of voting records.

"I think the ACLU ought to get involved in some affirmative legislation," he said. "It seems to me the public schools ought to begin teaching something about the Bill of Rights. . .We ought to control the content instead of letting someone else control the content of those courses. There ought not be be a child who goes through a school system in the United States without learning what the Bill of Rights is."

Politics has been a Morgan forte, even though his racial views have been too radical to allow him to become an office seeker in the South himself. He still closely follows Alabama politics, for instance. Alabama Democratic Executive Committee Chairman Robert Vance once commented, "I wish Chuck would find a new hobby." A product of the University of Alabama, Morgan thrived in the political incubator of the campus. The University of Alabama until recently had the only accredited law school in the state. Young law students interested in politics cut their teeth on campus races, made their contacts with state politicians by working in campaigns and were ready to enter the *(Continued on Page 22)*

The ACLU's Charles Morgan Jr. leaves the South—if he can find the time

Charles Morgan Jr., with wife Camille, waves goodby to friends at a recent banquet in his honor.

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BY ARTHUR JAY

as seen in
SEVENTEEN

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'Blacks must be given the right to be wrong'

(Continued From Page 7)

arena themselves after graduation. Morgan had slipped into that mainstream and probably would have stayed except for one little quirk of character—he did not believe in turning down a case merely because the prospective client's cause was unpopular.

Morgan began law practice shortly after the Brown vs. Board decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1954 and the implementation decision of 1955 in a city that was to become a focal point of the racial struggle in the South. He didn't go out looking for civil rights cases. He was making a comfortable living practicing corporate law.

HIS first civil rights case involved a client named Tommy Reeves, who had gone into a public park in Birmingham to pray following racial demonstrations. Reeves had been arrested. Seven law firms turned Reeves down before Morgan was approached. He took the case and Reeves was acquitted. "He was praying for the wrong thing, I guess," said Morgan. "In Bull Connor's infinite wisdom that was a sin." After that came the case of a minister named Robert Hughes, head of the Alabama Community Relations Service, who declined to give a grand jury the names of his members. When word spread that a competent lawyer in Birmingham was willing to handle civil rights cases, Morgan had all of them he could handle. Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times came through Birmingham about then and wrote a series of reports on the city that got him indicted by a Birmingham grand jury on 42 counts of criminal libel. Morgan defended him. The cases kept coming. And then in Birmingham someone bombed a Negro church, killing four little girls attending Sunday School.

Morgan denounced the bombing in a speech to a young men's club and was subjected to threats and ostracism.

"I thought that whatever career I had in Birmingham was over," he said. "I didn't think I would really like to raise a son there."

He left Birmingham wrote a book about his experiences and worked in Virginia for a year before he was hired to open the ACLU's Southern office in Atlanta.

"Atlanta became a city that could meet change," said Morgan, comparing the two major environments of his life. "It's a city where you can be yourself. In Birmingham, you can't do that. . . . You just can't help but look at Atlanta and say that it has turned itself into the center of the rational South."

Rational though it was, Atlanta became a base for an eight-year Morgan crusade against the oppression of individual liberties. The thrust of that fight was racial.

Morgan was attorney in Reynolds vs. Sims, the reapportionment case requiring one-man, one-vote representation in both houses of state legislatures.

He represented two Negro plaintiffs who integrated the Huntsville, Ala., campus of the University of Alabama while Gov. George Wallace was standing in the door at the main campus in Tuscaloosa.

MORGAN was attorney in White vs. Crook, a case integrating juries in Lowndes County, Ala., and remains involved in jury integration cases throughout the South. He argued Whitus vs. Georgia before the U. S. Supreme Court, a case in which racially segregated juries selected from racially segregated tax rolls were declared unconstitutional. Morgan argued Lee vs. Washington before the Supreme Court and obtained what may be the broadest desegregation order ever entered, integrating the facilities of hundreds of penal institutions. In Hadnott vs. Amos, which he argued before the Supreme Court, Morgan obtained a place on the ballot in 1968 for nominees of the National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA), a predominantly black party claiming it was more loyal to the national party than the state democratic organization. As a result, 17 NDPA candidates were elected in Alabama. When six of the NDPA candidates were left off the ballot in Greene County, Ala., Morgan went back to the Supreme Court and got an order

for a new election with the six NDPA candidates on the ballot. The six candidates were elected.

Morgan also has involved himself in cases concerned with women's rights and anti-war actions. Among his most famous clients have been Muhammad Ali, court-martialed Army Capt. Howard Levy, Green Beret Capt. John J. McCarthy, Lt. Col. Anthony B. Herbert and Georgia Rep. Julian Bond.

Morgan plans to retain a corner in the ACLU office in Atlanta, a result of his attachment to his native region. That attachment extends as well, he says, to the people of this region, most of whom do not agree with him philosophically.

"I never used the word 'nigger,' " Morgan said. "It took me a little longer to learn not to use the term 'redneck.' The only reason a man's neck is red is that he works hard. I'm one of the biggest rednecks I know of."

Morgan speaks out now, in fact, on a turn of events he calls the "new paternalism."

"The new paternalism says that if a black person says it, it must be true," said Morgan. "If he says it loud and says that he's a militant, then he must be a militant. It says 'I'm guilty, therefore if the black person says it, it must be true.'

"A black man's got a right to be a damned fool just like anybody else does, and he's got a constitutional right to be told he is. I see folks talking about cultural and racial pride. Well, I don't see anything in racial pride. I was born white and I'm not ashamed of it. I didn't have any control over that and the black person didn't either. Race is just a fact, it's not an extolling virtue."

Morgan leaves the South with the implication that he will certainly return.

"Race remains for me the most important question," said Morgan. "The war came and now we have the war cases. It wasn't the fact that we couldn't afford to fight and still have social progress, it was the fact that war takes your mind off social progress. The creative efforts went to the war. They went to one side in demonstrations and the other in warfare.

"But the central theme is still the South, and the central theme of Southern politics is still the question of blacks and white. The struggle in the South is a struggle of law against the order, not of law and order."

HIS friends staged a farewell party for Morgan. Associates made speeches and one even sang a couple of Morgan's favorite songs.

He was to have gone to his new job July 1, but he was, well, too busy. He would get there eventually but probably not until after the Democratic convention in Miami.

On July 1, Morgan was arguing for the seating of a challenge Mississippi delegation before the Democratic credentials committee in Washington.

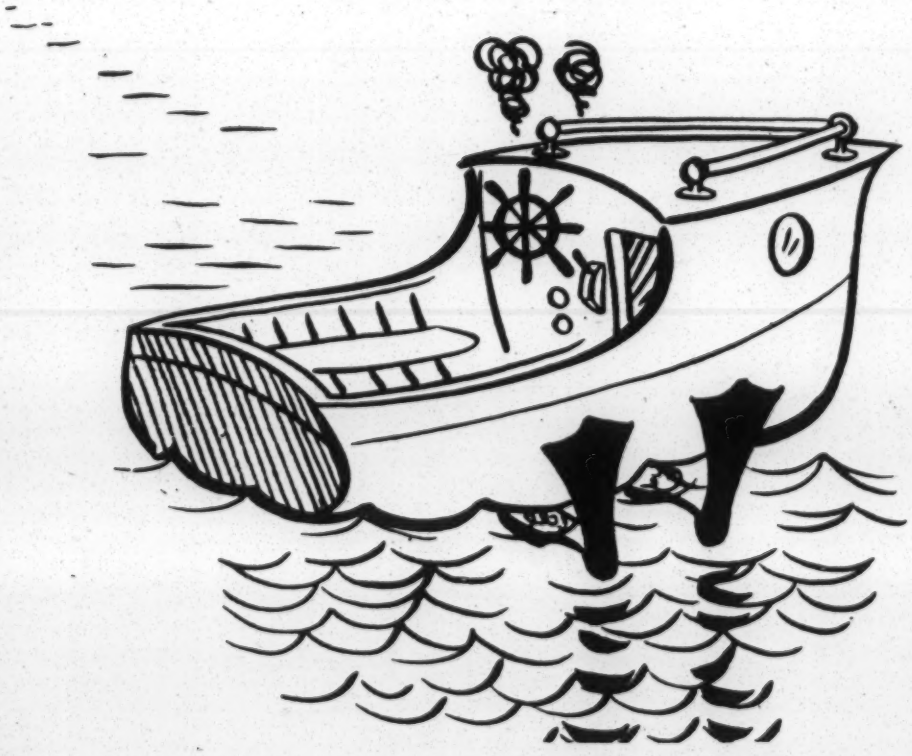
Interrupted briefly by a bomb threat that cleared the hall, Morgan returned to win a unanimous vote of the committee for seating of the challenge delegation, led by Aaron Henry.

Henry rushed up and embraced Morgan before the entire audience.

"They say the race issue is passe," said Morgan. "Well, maybe it is, but the satisfaction was as strong as ever."

Then Morgan made plans to represent the Henry delegation through federal appeals court if necessary.

"I'll get to Washington," he said. "There'll just be a small delay."



King: 17 mg. "tar," 1.2 mg. nicotine. Extra Long: 18 mg. "tar," 1.2 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report (Apr. '72).

ACLU-Ga 5/31/72

Morgan Gets ACLU Legislative Post

Charles Morgan Jr., director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Southern regional office, has been named national legislative director for the ACLU in Washington.

Morgan came to Atlanta in 1963 from Birmingham, Ala., where he was instrumental in many civil liberties and civil rights causes. Morgan represented black students who sought admission to the University of Alabama despite Gov. George Wallace's schoolhouse door stand, and was also attorney for the union in the case of Lee vs. Washington which resulted in the desegregation of Alabama's penal institutions.

He has also defended former world heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali, Green Beret Capt. John McCarthy and State Rep. Julian Bond when he was excluded from the Georgia legislatue.

ACLU-Ga. 1972

ACLU OF GEORGIA 88 WALTON STREET, ATLANTA 30303

ANNUAL MEETING

WEDNESDAY MAY 31 6:30 PM

MIDNIGHT SUN COURTYARD - PEACHTREE CENTER SOUTH

Cash Bar 5:30

Meet the new officers . . . review the years progress . . . discuss our current cases. Get together with old friends.

FOLLOWING ANNUAL MEETING

At 7:30 you are invited to a farewell banquet for Charles Morgan, Jr., who will be leaving Atlanta and his post as director of the Southern Regional office for Washington, D.C. to become National Legislative Director of the ACLU.

The banquet is sponsored by his friends in Georgia who are really grievin' at his leavin'. It marks the end of an era.

Chuck Morgan arrived in Atlanta from Birmingham, Alabama after 1963, having come to national attention following a speech made on the day after the Birmingham church bombing in which four children were killed.

He has served as principal attorney in numerous civil rights and civil liberties cases, including Reynolds v. Sims, the reapportionment case requiring one-man, one-vote representation in both houses of state legislatures which he argued before the United States Supreme Court.

In the University of Alabama desegregation case, he represented the Negro plaintiffs who gained admission into the University of Alabama's Huntsville Center, despite Governor Wallace's "stand in the schoolhouse door" in Tuscaloosa. He has served as attorney in numerous cases seeking to integrate the structures of justice in the South. Among them is White v. Crook, resulting in the integration of Lowndes County, Alabama, juries. In this case the Alabama statute (then existing in South Carolina and Mississippi) which excluded all women from jury duty was declared unconstitutional. This was the first application of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to women's rights. He has served or is presently serving as counsel in more than a score of cases to integrate the jury systems of Deep South counties in Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. In Whitus v. Georgia, which he argued before the Supreme Court of the United States, racially discriminatory juries selected from racially segregated tax digests were declared unconstitutional. This decision resulted in the setting aside of at least five Georgia death penalty convictions including that of Julious Sullivan whom he also represented before the Supreme Court of the United States in Sullivan v. Georgia, and whose conviction was reversed per curiam.

In Lee v. Washington which he argued before the Supreme Court of the United States he obtained what is probably the broadest desegregation order entered, literally hundreds of Alabama penal and correctional institutions being required to integrate their facilities. In this case the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment was said to cover the rights of Negro prisoners. He has served or is now serving as counsel in similar actions to integrate penal and correctional facilities and public employment in South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana.

In Morris v. Fortson, which he argued before the Supreme Court of the United States, he attempted to have Georgia's 1966 gubernatorial election declared invalid, but the Court ruled against his contentions

Farewell, Chuck

You are cordially invited to attend

A Farewell Banquet

honoring Charles Morgan, Jr.

sponsored by his friends in Georgia

Wednesday evening, May 31 - 7:30 p.m.

at the

Midnight Sun Restaurant

Peachtree Center South Building

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Please reserve____places at the Farewell Banquet

May 31 at the Midnight Sun
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Make check payable to Midnight Sun Banquet and mail to ACLU, 88 Walton Street, Atlanta, Georgia 30303

ACLU - Ga

MINUTES - BOARD OF DIRECTORS, ACLU OF GEORGIA - FEBRUARY 1, 1973

Be it remembered that the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia met on Thursday, February 1, 1973 at 88 Walton Street, N.W. President Jon Johnston called the meeting to order at 8:00 p.m. Members present were: Austin Ford, Lew Deadmore, Anne McNay, Bob Tuve, John Mulroy, Clinton Deveaux, Gene Guerrero, Emory Via, Jim Coogler, Patsy Morris, Mary Olive Thomas, Nat Gozansky, John Mather and Executive Director Ruste Kitfield.

ED LADD

Jon Johnston expressed the Board's deep regret at the death of Ed Ladd who was present at the last meeting. Emory Via moved the adoption of the following resolution,

"The American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia notes with grief the death of its first president, Dr. Edward T. Ladd. Ed Ladd and a small band of friends first organized the Union in Georgia and through his continued efforts as a member of the Board of Directors, Chairman of the Academic Freedom Committee, and member of the National Advisory Committee, he helped the Union to grow and prosper.

"Ed Ladd cared for freedom, cared for it and worked for it. His was an expansive and liberal view of freedom, insisting that the Bill of Rights applies where few had thought of applying it. For it was to children that he devoted himself both personally and professionally.

"His views were thoughtful, well considered; his judgement solid, and we counted on it. A compassionate and serious thinker, a man of gaiety and ready wit, Ed Ladd set an example of what it is to be a citizen in a democracy and a friend.

"We offer our sincere sympathy to his family. His friends and co-workers in the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia are as dimished by his death as they were enriched by his life."

Bob Tuve seconded the motion. Passed unanimously. A copy of the resolution will be sent to his family, the Department of Education at Emory and the National Committee Against Corporal Punishment.

Jon Johnston asked for suggestions as to actions the ACLU of Ga. might take to honor Ed Ladd. Among the suggestions were: giving a posthumous award at the next Bill of Rights dinner, renaming the ACLU of Ga. Foundation, donating books to the Emory library in his name. There was a consensus that the work of the academic freedom committee should continue and that information on student's rights should be developed and dissiminated in Ed Ladd's name. Anne McNay moved that Roger Feldman be invited to suceed Ed Ladd as head of the Academic Freedom committee. Austin Ford seconded the motion which was approved unanimously. The secretary of the Board will send an invitation to Feldman.

ABORTION CASE

Anne McNay moved the adoption of the following resolution: "Whereas Margie Pitts Hames sucessfully pursued the case of Doe v. Bolton in the Supreme Court of the United States with great sacrifice of time, thought, and talent.

Be it resolved; The Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia extends its congradulation and appreciation to Ms. Hames, and expresses on behalf of our citizens its gratitude for this signal victory for the rights of women."

Jim Coogler seconded the motion which was approved unanimously and will be sent to Ms. Hames.

JOB DESCRIPTION - EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Jon Johnston read the report of the ad hoc committee which prepared a job description. There was discussion of the relationship of the Director and the Board as discussed in items 5,7, and 9. Should responsibility for membership promotion, fundraising and the annual meeting rest with the Director or the Board. Nat Gozansky moved that the phrase "be responsible" in those three items be changed to "be responsible under the direction and with the cooperation of the Board of Directors." Emory Via seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Emory Via moved that an item be added to read, "Prepare an annual report on the activities and status of the Union." Gene Guerrero seconded the motion. Mary Olive Thomas suggested adding the clause to item two. Her suggestion was accepted as a friendly amendment and the motion passed unanimously.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Jon Johnston announced that the invitations to serve as members of the Advisory Committee had not been made because of the press of other Union business.

REVENUE SHARING

Ruste Kitfield reported on the press conference the Union held announcing that the ACLU will sue the City of Atlanta if the Aldermen approve a scheme to rebate revenue sharing income to property owners or water department users. Jerry Cohen will be the lead attorney.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Jon Johnston opened nominations for members of the nominating committee, to consist of three board members and four non-board ACLU members. John Mulroy, Bob Tuve and Clinton Deveaux were nominated for the board positions and Ruste Kitfield, Helen Bullard, Eleanor Richardson and David Colmer were nominated for the at-large positions with Noyes Collinson to serve as alternate if someone could not accept. The nominations were approved unanimously.

CONSIDERATION OF APPLICANTS FOR DIRECTOR

The Board went into executive session with Ruste Kitfield, Anne McNay and Gene Guerrero leaving the room. Clinton Deveaux served as acting secretary. Jon Johnston reported that six applicants have submitted resumes and a seventh resume was received on February 1. Nat Gozansky moved to close nominations. Approved unanimously. John Mather suggested that the ad hoc committee which has been interviewing applicants complete the remaining four interviews and make a reccomendation to the Board. Nat Gozansky suggested that instead of one reccomendation, the committee reccomend those whom it feels are most qualified, one if possible but

two or three if necessary. Discussion ensued. Emory Via moved that the committee be established to complete interviewing and make a report to the Board. The motion passed with one objection. Clinton Deveaux expressed strong concern with the contravening of the purpose of the Board as expressed at the last meeting that a selection would be made at the Feb. 1st meeting. Further discussion. General consensus was that the committee should screen the candidates as much as possible and arrive with a recommendation or recommendations. Bob Tuve moved the consensus and Nat Gozansky seconded. Passed unanimously. Nat Gozansky moved that the committee report to the Board on Tuesday, February 13 and that in accordance with the by-laws, there be no votes by proxy. The motion passed. (The interpretation of the by-laws by the President was such that the issue of the election was not before the Board at this Feb. 1st meeting.) NOTE: No proxies will be accepted at the February 13th meeting.

WOMEN IN THE ACLU

Gene Guerrero reported that the Board at its last meeting had acted on incorrect information in discussing the recommendations of the ad hoc committee. Those recommendations were ad hoc and did not reflect a position of the National Board. Later the Special Board Committee On The Role Of Women In The ACLU had issued a series of recommendations which affiliates are asked to respond to. Guerero read the recommendations which were adopted unanimously with two reservations. The amending of the ACLU Constitution to provide six additional at-large members of the National Board (to increase the participation of women) should be seen as temporary with every effort made to reduce the size of the national board back to its orginal size as soon as possible. The seventh recommendation should be clarified as to the responsibility and authority of the national board as distinguished from the Women's Rights Steering Committee in such a way that responsibility clearly rests with the Board. Furthermore the proposals of item seven should be stated in such a way as to clearly indicate the autonomy of affiliates.

The meeting was adjourned at 10:15 P.M.

Respectfully Submitted,

Gene Guerrero, Jr.
Secretary

ACLU-Ga.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF GEORGIA
88 Walton Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MINUTES: Academic Freedom Committee, May 17, 1973, 8:00 PM, ACLU Office

1. It was decided that an Academic Freedom Committee action on preparing a pamphlet "Students Rights and Responsibilities in Georgia" should be initiated by a sub-committee consisting of Tom Keating, Gene Guerrero, Mark Komisarow, George Crooks, Doug Miller, John Meyer and Roger Feldman. The sub-committee will meet on MONDAY, May 28, at 7:30 P.M. in the ACLU offices, 88 Walton St., N.W. Prior to the meeting, Dr. Feldman will be in touch with John Norton, (803) 253-5316, and will review with Maria Ladd whether information was available concerning such a publication for Georgia. Gene Guerrero will discuss the project with Laughlin McDonald of the Southern Office of the ACLU. Tom Keating will attempt to obtain, from the publishers, additional copies of the book on Georgia Education Law, and prepare an outline of the division of responsibilities necessary to begin work on the project this summer. Sandra Thornton would be asked to suggest possible representation of college students in Atlanta and other areas for the committee.

Hatter Sup Ct & Dist Ct cases needed to Ga.

2. In relation to the preparation of a draft proposal concerning due process in alternative schools, Jon Johnston, Bart Aronoff, and Father Cover would review a presently available draft, and be prepared, at the next meeting, to discuss their revisions for presentation to the board.

3. Following presentation of information, it was suggested that a sub-committee review present Atlanta School Board policy concerning corporal punishment, and obtain information concerning the application of this program. The committee is to consist of Jim Noe, Ken Stephens, Bart Aronoff, and Roger Feldman. The committee will meet at the home of Dr. Feldman on WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, at 8:00 P.M. Mr. Noe will obtain further information concerning regulations and information available, and Gene Guerrero would make available to the committee previous statements of policy on this subject.

4. After a presentation of Jeff Jacobson of plans for a project on children's rights, Ken Stephens was appointed as liason member of the Academic Freedom Committee to be on the planning committee of the project, and keep us aware of developments that may be relevant to the committee's program.

whom in charge & speaks for whom

5. Gene Guerrero is to obtain information from the ADL and other agencies involved in the subject of religious programs in the public schools. Needed from our committee is a statement expressing our concern, and appropriate wording to offer a regulation for consideration by the DeKalb County School Board. Appropriate to this would be the material previously presented to the Atlanta School Board, and the statement of their decision. It was also considered appropriate to evaluate whether a presentation to the State Board of Education on this subject had been

MOORE, DDS.
Jt Press Conf. — Coalition, ACLU, Urban League

Judge Henley, Ms Lanza for FOP,

made or could be made using information collected concerning the recent problem in DeKalb County. Although it was not clearly formalized, we can expect further information concerning this subject from Gene Guerrero at the next meeting.

6. Gene Guerrero will distribute a policy guide concerning previous Academic Freedom decisions to all members of the committee.

7. No one can speak for the ACLU without prior approval of the President or the Executive Director of the ACLU.

8. The meeting was adjourned at 10:45 p.m.

Roger A. Feldman, M.D.
Temporary Secretary

MEMBERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

	nat. new	aff. new	renewals
4/30/69	21	58	259
4/30/70	50	45	281
4/30/72	83	37	346
4/30/73	143	28	342

1200 members appx.

Other Southern states as of 4/30/73

Ala.	59	19	125
Ark.	33	5	90
Fla.	389	124	975
Ky.	73	42	326
La.	85	38	231
Miss.	13	43	78
N.C.	190	51	531
S.C.	39	22	151
Tenn.	91	69	505
Va.	189	79	740
Texas	372	106	1,432

Part of our lower renewal rate for the first third of this year is because some members renewed early in response to last fall's "emergency" mailing. But rate of renewal is one of our weaknesses. An analysis of the 1973 renewal campaign (Dec.-April) compared with the 1972 campaign reveals that our renewal rate is only up 4%. Our rate is behind all other Southern states (most in the 10%-20% range) except South Carolina and Texas. We are also weak in terms of new members that we solicit (affiliate new). Mississippi has gotten 43 so far this year compared to our 28.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
of Georgia

88 WALTON STREET, N.W. • SECOND FLOOR • TELEPHONE 404/523-5398 • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

OFFICERS

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Treasurer

May 24, 1973

Dear Friend,

You don't have to be a lawyer to join the American Civil Liberties Union. All you need is to care about freedom. Freedom cannot be taken for granted, it will not come as a gift from power, but is a possession to be earned daily by the concerted efforts of each of us.

Since 1965, the ACLU of Georgia has worked diligently to preserve and extend the rights of all citizens. Every month we receive hundreds of calls for help. Sometimes we can right wrongs without going to court. Other times legal action results, but sometimes we cannot respond.

With your help, with your membership and commitment, we can respond to more and more of those who need our help. When funds for public legal assistance have been drastically cut and when individuals in the highest levels of government conspire to deny individuals their rights, it is imperative that the American Civil Liberties Union maintain its strength and independence.

The ACLU of Georgia just won a landmark decision in the United States Supreme Court, establishing the right of a woman to have an abortion. And you probably read about our recent victory in the Atlanta Revenue Sharing case in which citizens interests were protected against the illegal use of funds by the City. These cases are famous, but most are not; they simply allow individuals to exercise their rights.

We are committed to the Bill of Rights:

Your right to know and to speak

Your right to worship as you please

Your right to equal protection of the laws

We know that you care, too. When you make a commitment to join and help, we make a commitment to work for you, inform you, and defend you personally, if need be, if your rights are abridged. If the rights of one person can be denied, the rights of all are in danger. This is the principle which guides our belief and our action.

Won't you invest in your rights now? Join the ACLU of Georgia.We need *your* help, and *many* people need ours.

We are enclosing a membership envelope and an invitation to attend our annual meeting on June 2. Join us.

Sincerely,

Gene Guerrero Jon Johnston

Gene Guerrero
Executive Director

Jon Johnston
President

5/29/73

CASES IN COURT

(1) Armour v. Nix - Atlanta school case. Supreme Court issued a 4-4 "no decision" on the Richmond, Virginia case. ACLU case should now be heard by the District Court here. We will also file an objection to the "compromise plan" with the Fifth Circuit in New Orleans. Cooperating attorney is Margie Hames.

(2) Reasor v. Butts County Schools - Case closed after school board rescinded policy of requiring female students who marry to drop out of school until the following year. Cooperating attorney was Charles Marchman of Macon.

(3) Sapp v. Renfroe - Compulsory ROTC at Decatur High School. On May 15 Judge Moye ruled that in view of the relaxing standards of society and the increased permisiveness, a little military training was beneficial. Cooperating attorney Elizabeth Rindskopf will appeal. Appeal costs should be less than $200 as she does not plan to print her brief.

(4) City of Atlanta v. Thomas Pickens - Young black man arrested on traffic charges in Decatur and beaten after protesting being fingerprinted. David Crosland took the assault charges as a private case after Pickens indicated that he had put up some resistance to. $200 fine.

(5) Community Action Group v. City of Columbus - unfavorable ruling from Fifth Circuit. Petition has been filed to reconsider and consider the case en banc. A petition for certiorari has been filed at the Supreme Court of Georgia on the contempt charges arising from the case. Cooperating attorneys are Margie Hames and Al Horn.

(6) A.J. Burnham, Et Al. v. The Dept. of Public Health - unfavorable ruling at the District Court. Currently on appeal to the Fifth Circuit in conjunction with the Alabama mental health suit. Attorney Jack Drake of Tuscaloosa is handling both appeals. Cooperating attorney is Tom Harper.

(7) City of Atlanta v. Robert Dixon - student at the Downtown Learning Center was arrested in front of Rich's during the strike while trying to transfer buses to go to school. Charged with obstruction of officers. Charges dismissed at police court. Cooperating attorney Joe Bankoff has asked the police department to destroy arrest records. Awaiting reply from Inman.

5/29/73

POSSIBLE CASES

(1) Macon Juvenile Court - the court is trying to take five kids under 16 away from a widower solely on the grounds that she is a homosexual. Cooperating attorney is Charles Marchman.

(2) Union Democracy - a black phone company employee is being expelled from the union because she helped distribute a black workers newsletter containing an article critical of the union. Cooperating attorney is Mary Joyce Johnson.

?

(3) Juror Qualifications - the questionaire for jury duty contains a list of legal grounds for exclusion including "housewife with children 14 years of age or younger" and "female". No cooperating attorney as yet.

(4) Student Activity Funds - last year the Student Gov't Assoc. and the Regents got into a dispute over allocation of student activity funds at the Univ. of Ga. In the past the SGA has allocated the funds, last year the Regents stepped in and changed allocations. SGA has requested that we take the case. We are awaiting the result of legal research by a class at the law school and possible Athens attorneys to take the case.

(5) Retardation Center - black head of a cottage at the center was fired after he protested the transfer of a young black patient to Milledgeville. The cottage head argued that the treatment the patient received was an imposition of white culture on a black person. That could be a main issue of the case along with the question of due process and free speech in the firing. Cooperating attorney is Ralph Martin.

Middle class or white - non-Institutional ?

(6) Airport - salesmen for radical and underground newspapers have been barred from the airport. New distribution is exclusively handled by a news agency that will not handle the papers. Cooperating attorney is Rick Middleton.

(7) City Elections - engineering aide for the City of Atlanta wants to run for City Council. New City Charter reads under qualifications, "Must not hold or qualify for any other elective public office, or hold any position of full-time employment with the State of Georgia, any county thereof, or with the city." No cooperating attorney as yet.

(8)Atlanta Penitentiary - black inmate is being denied permission to marry a white woman. Denial appears completely arbitrary. Cooperating attorney is Mary Joyce Johnson.

(9) Aliens - one resident alien was barred from teaching in the Governor's Honors program. Another has been barred from a job with a county health department. State policy is that aliens cannot have a job unless it is demonstrated that no U.S. citizens are available. Cooperating attorney is Carter Tate.

ACLU-Ga.

MINUTES: Executive Committee, ACLU of Georgia - July 18, 1973

Present were: Margie Hames, Tom Almon, Gene Guerrero, Richard Fishman, Jeff Jacobson, Jerry Cohen, Jon Johnston, Patsy Morris.

A proposal was made to the Executive Committee concerning a State Revenue Sharing Case in which the ACLU of Georgia might be interested. Discussion centered on the similarities and differences between the Atlanta Revenue Sharing Case and this proposal; also there was considerable discussion about the pros and cons of having only a part of the suit won. The Executive Committee expressed interest in filing the suit if an attorney can be found. Jerry Cohen suggested the Jonathan Golden be asked if he would consider being the Attorney of Record. It was noted that Elliott Levitas was interested in the suit, but not in handling it. If the suit is filed, it was recommended that the ACLU hold a Press Conference to discuss the issues.

Gene reported that a complaint had been received that Emergency School Assistance Act (ESSA) monies were being approved by the Atlanta Board of Education for use in Roman Catholic schools. The monies are appropriated for remedial education for minorities. The schools to which the funds have been allocated have varying minority enrollments. Apparent Church-State issues are raised. Margie suggested that an ACLU committee go to the Board of Education and ask them to re-allocate the funds in view of Supreme Court decisions denying use of public funds for parochial education. It was suggested that Dr. Mays be called and asked for time at a future School Board briefing session so that the issues could be raised. The Committee is to consist of Gene, Margie and Jerry.

Gene presented a suggested "Procedure for Taking Cases" statement. After discussion and minor amendments, the attached statement was adopted.

Respectfully submitted,

Patsy Morris
Ascting Secretary

Procedure for Taking Cases

Requests for ACLU assistance by the state office will be screened for possible civil liberties violations by the Lawyers Committee of the Board of Directors. Cases originating in the geographic area of an active chapter will be forwarded to the respective Chapter Board, with comments from the Lawyers Committee, for consideration as a possible case.

Where a chapter does not exist or is not active, the Lawyers Committee will make recommendations to the Board of Directors, which will be presented to the Board by the head of the Lawyers Committee or the Executive Director.

All cases must be approved by the Board of Directors. Between Board Meetings, the Executive Committee of the Board is empowered to act on behalf of the full Board. In the event of an emergency situation, a majority of the Executive Committee are authorized to approve cases.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF GEORGIA
88 Walton Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

9/21/73

MEMO TO: Board of Directors & Advisory Committee

RE: National Board of Directors

FROM: Jon Johnston

As you may know, our colleague, Margie Hames, has been nominated for the Executive Committee of the National Board of Directors of the ACLU. This position, which Margie is eminently fitted to fill, is one of great significance in the Union, and it is important that we do everything possible to assure her election. The electorate consists of the National Board of Directors, the membership list of which is enclosed. If you know personally any of the members, a letter on her behalf would be appreciated. The office has the address of each National Board member. Call Gene Guerrero at 523-5398 Your letter should be sent immediately.

National Board of Directors

Ackley, Sheldon
Brown, Ralph, Jr.
Carliner, David
Dorsen, Norman
Elie, Lolis
Ennis, Edward
Fraenkel, Osmond
Hackel, Donald
Isbell, David
Karpatkin, Marvin
O'Hare, Rolland
Asher, Thomas
Askin, Frank
Bierstedt, Robert
Black, Algernon
Brackett, William
Bulkley, Robert
Chambers, J. Levonne
Champlin, Linda
Clark, Ramsey
Cleland, John
Cohen, Carl
Cranberg, Gilbert
Cummins, Richard
Delogu, Orlando
Dershowitz, Alan
Dicks, Samuel
Erskine, Hazel
Feder, Richard Yale
Feinberg, Irwin
Freedman, Monroe
Goldberg, Julian
Grossman, George
Haiman, Franklyn
Hames, Marjrie Pitts
Hanlon, David
Hart, Brook
Hay, John
Hendel, Samuel
Herman, Lawrence
Hill, Norman
Hirschkop, Phil
Holtman, Donald
Hopkins, Jeanette
Jewel, Howard
Johnston, Dan
Johnston, Jon
Kerr, Thomas, Jr.
Kobler, Arthur
McAninch, William S.
Meyer, Paul R.
Monaghan, Henry P.
Murray, Pauli
Pilpel, Harriet
Post, Suzy
Preiskel, Barbara Scott
Price, Henry J.
Reynard, William F.
Rhodes, Joseph, Jr.
? Rice, William G.
Roth, Ben
Schacter, Marvin
Seidenberg, Faith
Slaff, George
Smith, Erskine
Stark, Matthew
Stephen, Charles, Jr.
Straus, Melvin
Swomley, John
Van Alstyne, William
Wadleigh, Winthrop
Wagstaff, Robert
Westin, Alan
Whiteside, Howard
Young, Tasia
Zacks, Richard
Zervigon, Luis
Zinke, Otto Henry

File GA. - ACLU.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Emory Via

DATE: 10/17/73

FROM: George Esser

COPIES:

SUBJECT:

I am returning Jeff Jacobson's proposal. The proposal should go to the government and law program at the Ford Foundation, and I am a little uncertain as to which staff member. My suggestion is that it be sent to Mr. Sanford Jaffe, Program Officer in charge, Government and Law Program, Division of National Affairs at the Foundation.

Left want for Jeff, then good message to Gene.

jb
Enclosure

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF: George E.

Emory Via

10/8/73

George:

Jeff Jacobson with the ACLU Foundation of Ga. is a young attorney who has developed the attached proposal. He would like to know who at Ford would be an appropriate person to receive it. Do you have any suggestions.

Emory

File → GaACLU

~~FL~~

~~Jeff Jacobson~~

?

CHILD ADVOCACY PROJECT

A Project of the

American Civil Liberties Union Foundation

of Georgia, Inc.

American Civil Liberties Union
Foundation of Georgia, Inc.
88 Walton Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

CHILDREN"S ADVOCACY PROJECT
ACLU FOUNDATION OF GEORGIA, INC.

I. THE JUVENILE JUSTICE PROBLEM

The American juvenile court system was launched in 1889, with an intended goal of promoting justice for juveniles by diverting them from the adult criminal justice system. Children were supposed to receive individualized treatment at the hands of the new courts. But, instead, the treatment of children by our judicial system has become steadily more arbitrary, less individualized and more callous since 1889. Justine Polier, former judge of the New York State Family Court, spoke for many critics when she questioned the continued social utility of our juvenile justice system, as follows:

> Many within the courts, as well as without, must question the extent to which the courts can play a constructive role in the lives of troubled children and their families in the absence of adequate services. To many critics these courts represent only one more bureaucratic institution through which children -- delinquent, incorrigible, emotionally disturbed, mentally ill -- can once more be put away and out of sight. It has been charged that juvenile courts use the rhetoric of rehabilitation and treatment while they place children in 'junior prisons' which have little to offer other than custodial containment.

Georgia's juvenile justice system, like those of most American jurisdictions, exists in an Alice in Wonderland air of unreality. It is a topsy-turvy world, in which children are denied constitutional rights, and are prosecuted and imprisoned for offenses which have no counterpart in the adult criminal justice system. In order to illustrate the hazards facing a

child in Georgia's juvenile justice system, consider the case of Charles Doe, a fifteen year old black child, whose name is fictional, but whose true story is repeated every day in the juvenile courts of Georgia.

Charles was deserted by his parents shortly after he was born, and was raised by his aunt and his grandmother in Rural County, Goergia. The segregated school which Charles attended was characteristically poor so that when the county's schools were integrated, Charles found himself competing with children who had the advantage of years of superior schooling. Confused and defeated, Charles was often truant. Sometimes his anger and frustration culminated in fights between himself and white students. He was subjected to the discipline of white teachers and administrators.

The school authorites punished Charles by petitioning the juvenile court to declare him an "unruly child". They forced his aunt to swear out an unruly petition against Charles by threatening her with a $100 a day fine for every day Charles missed school under Georgia's strict compulsory education laws.

The charge of being an "unruly child" is called a "status offense", because the child is not charged with committing any criminal act, but is prosecuted and punished because of his ambiguous state of being. Neither the child nor his guardian is given notice as to what behavior constitutes unruliness. The law is applied differently from county to county and by judge to judge. Although the United States Supreme Court has

held that similar adult status offenses, such as being an alcoholic or a drug addict, are unconstitutional, it has never ruled on the constitutionality of status offenses applicable only to children.

The judge told Charles that he had a right to an attorney, but did not offer to appoint one for him, although the law requires that he do so. But, possibly this judge was not familiar with that law. After all, Rural County, Georgia, unlike its urban neighbors, has no full-time juvenile judge, because Georgia has no uniform system of juvenile courts. The Rural County Superior Court judge, who has no special knowledge, training or expertise in juvenile law, sits once a month as juvenile judge. So it is easy to see how this judge might not have known that in 1967, the United States Supreme Court ruled, in the case of In Re Gault, 387 U.S. 1(1967), that children are entitled to the same rights to counsel as adults, including a court-appointed attorney. But Rural County has not fully implemented the Gault decision by providing either a public defender or appointed counsel for children. Charles and his aunt did not understand that they had a right to an attorney. Nor did they understand the necessity for an attorney, not could they afford one, so Charles, like many children before and after him, went unrepresented.

The judge ruled that Charles was an unruly child and placed him on probation. The conditions of his probation were that he attend school and church regularly. Rural County had

no trained juvenile probation workers to work with Charles. Georgia has not implemented uniform statewide probation services. Without effective probation counseling, Charles quickly lapsed into his previous behavior patterns, and missed school and church regularly.

Charles was then arrested for violation of probation. He was incarcerated in the Rural County jail because the county has no separate juvenile detention facilities. The only method of separating Charles from adult prisoners was by use of solitary confinement. Charles was immediately suspended from school (prior to any hearing to determine his guilt or innocence). He was denied the right to bail, and, therefore, remained in solitary confinement in the county jail waiting for the once monthly session of the juvenile court.

The judge revoked Charles' probation, and his status as an unruly child, and ruled that he was now a delinquent child. Georgia law provides that any child once adjudicated unruly who disobeys a court order, can then be held as a delinquent. Unlike unruly children, a delinquent child may be sent to a state Youth Development Center without a prior finding that he or she is not amenable to alternative methods of treatment or rehabilitation. Rural County had no alternatives to incarceration anyway, so Charles was committed to a Youth Develoment Center two hundred miles away from his home and family, for an indeterminate sentence.

At the Youth Development Center, Charles was mixed with

juveniles convicted of everything from theft and robbery to rape and murder. He was subjected to homosexual assaults. He was never given a psychiatric diagnostic interview or psychological counseling. The academic school at the Y.D.C. was worse than the segretated one Charles had attended in Rural County. Charles was denied access to the vocational training program at the Y.D.C., which was extremely limited anyway, because he was not yet sixteen. In fact, the only effective training which Charles received at the Y.D.C. was from his fellow inmates - in criminal skills.

When Charles was released from the Y.D.C., he found he could not get a good job or get into a decent school because the Rural County juvenile court and the Y.D.C. both regularly release their records to prospective employers, trade and technical schools, universities, law enforcement agencies and the armed forces. Effectively barred from pursuing any socially acceptable occupation, Charles was well on his was to a "career" in crime. After receiving the "individualized treatment" of Georgia's juvenile justice system, he was well equipped for a criminal career.

THE PROBLEM

The ACLU Foundation of Georgia is deeply concerned about Charles Doe and all the children who are harmed by the Juvenile Justice System of our state. We shall now describe some of the specific problems which children confront when they become en-

tangled with the law.

I. JUVENILE COURTS ARE OVERCROWDED WITH CHILDREN WHO SHOULD NOT BE THERE IN THE FIRST PLACE.

One-third of the children processed through the juvenile justice system are detained for status offenses, and over eighty-five percent of the children detained in Georgia are held for reasons that would not warrant arresting an adult under similar circumstances. About ninety percent of the girls at the Atlanta Youth Development Center are committed for status offenses, and similar figures hold true for the girls at the Macon Youth Development Center. According to officials at the Macon Y.D.C., many girls are committed on unruly petitions taken out by their parents who are angered over the inter-racial dating of their daughters.

Another distinct group of children with which the court is unfortunately dealing are those who are emotionally disturbed or retarded. Georgia law provides for the committment of a child only if he or she is in need of treatment or rehabilitation. Children who are severely emotionally disturbed or retarded are supposed to receive a different treatment. Yet children are not entitled to a psychiatric diagnostic interview prior to disposition in Georgia juvenile courts. Thus, there is no way of telling whether the child's problem stems from severe emotional difficulties. Out of the 7,476 children processed by the Fulton County Juvenile Court in 1971, only three were sent to a State Mental Hospital, and none to a treatment facility for the mentally retarded. Children with mental illness are

thus regularly denied their right to treatment in Georgia.

II. JUSTICE IS APPLIED UNEVENLY THROUGHOUT THE STATE.

The quality of juvenile justice in Georgia varies from county to county, court to court, and program to program. The Georgia Legislature enacted a new Juvenile Court Code in 1971, but it has not implemented a uniform statewide system of juvenile courts. Out of 159 counties, only five (Fulton, DeKalb, Cobb, Bibb and Ware) have separate juvenile courts with appointed full-time juvenile judges. The other 154 counties have part-time juvenile judges. The primary duties, interest and training of these judges are usually in other fields, and they cannot or will not devote the energy required to understand the children whom they must judge. Legislative proposals for such a statewide system have been defeated, due to the opposition by local politicians and part-time juvenile court judges.

The conditions of probation placed on children also vary from county to county in Georgia. In many counties probation is administered by trained personnel of a Court Services Unit of the State Department of Human Resources. But a child in a county with an independent juvenile system often has his or her probation administered by the county which, as in the case of Charles Doe, amounts to no probation services at all. The

philosophy of some Georgia judges towards rehabilitation of children in trouble is open to some criticism. In Dougherty County (Albany), for example, children are placed on probation to the Judicial Service Agency where they receive "Emotional Maturity Instruction" from a booklet entitled "Wisdom From The Aramaic". Teenage probationers in Dougherty County periodically take the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory Test. Those who fail to improve their scores have been sent to a chiropractor for spinal realignment as a remedial measure.

The Supreme Court's Gault decision extended the due process rights to counsel and cross-examination to children. But there has been little implementation of the Gault decision in many rural counties, as illustrated by the case of Charles Doe. For example, if Charles had lived in Fulton or DeKalb counties, he would have been represented by a public defender or a court-appointed private attorney. Whether a child's rights will be protected, and the nature of punishment he or she will receive, has little to do with the offense, but depends on where the case is heard.

III. THE CONDITIONS IN MANY OF THE INSTITUTIONS TO WHICH JUVENILES ARE SENT BY THE COURTS ARE DEPLORABLE.

The State Department of Human Resources administers six short term regional Youth Development Centers, which house

children detained by the courts prior to their trials, and four long term Youth Development Centers where children are committed by the juvenile courts. In addition, six counties have their own independent juvenile detention centers which also serve as holding facilities for surrounding counties. In December of 1972, the Presiding Juvenile Court Judges of Fulton and DeKalb Counties complained of overcrowding and homosexual attacks in their respective county detention centers. But in many counties, children are kept in the county jail, and often, as in the case of Charles Doe, are separated from adult prisoners only through the use of solitary confinement, if at all.

Treatment and education are practically non-existent at many of these facilities. Only one of the State's long term Youth Development Centers has a state-accredited academic program, despite an average stay at the centers of eight to nine months per child. The state's short term Regional Y.D.C.'s have a very limited academic program because children are rarely detained there for long periods of time. However, ACLU Foundation of Georgia cooperating attorneys are currently challenging the incarceration of a 15 year old boy for 14 months in the Augusta Regional Y.D.C. without a sufficient academic program. Psychiatric and psychological care is woefully inadequate at the state Youth Development Centers. Doctor to patient ratios often exceed

one to 400.

The vocational training programs at the Youth Development Centers need to be strengthened. At the Macon Y.D.C., for example, the vocational program consists of instruction in business education (typing and office machine instruction), cosmotology, home economics, horticulture, food service and laundry. According to the Center's annual report, "... the laundry provides laundry services for the Macon Youth Development Center and also on-the-job training for those girls interested in this type of work."

IV. ONCE A CHILD IS RELEASED FROM THE COURT'S CUSTODY, HIS RECORDS HAUNT HIM THROUGHOUT HIS LIFE.

Children are often barred from technical schools and colleges because of their juvenile records which are regularly released by the Y.D.C.'s and the juvenile courts. Georgia law gives juvenile judges and administrators wide discretion to release records.

V. THERE IS A LACK OF ALTERNATIVES TO INCARCERATION FOR THE MANY CHILDREN WHO COULD BE BETTER SERVED IN OTHER FACILITIES AND PROGRAMS.

Effective alternatives to probation or commitment to a Youth Development Center are rare in Georgia. A variety of community based projects, including group homes, day centers, and intensive treatment centers, were instituted in 1972. But

only 400 to 500 juveniles were treated in these projects in 1972; almost 6,000 children were committed to the Youth Development Centers. Georgia needs to develop more alternatives to incarceration. e.g.., halfway houses, group homes, foster homes, and youth service bureaus to handle the children now being shipped to the Y.D.C.'s.

THE CHILD ADVOCACY PROJECT

The American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Georgia, Inc., proposes to attack the problem of Georgia's juvenile justice system with a Child Advocacy Project, utilizing a threefold plan of action: litigation, coordination, and education.

LITIGATION

The Child Advocacy Project will bring lawsuits in many of the following areas:

A. Right to Treatment

Primary attention will be given to developing new case law on children's right to treatment. Several courts have already held that involuntary civil confinement without treatment constitutes cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the Eighth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Specifically, the Child Advocacy Project will bring cases to establish the following rights:

1. Right to psychiatric diagnostic interview prior to the juvenile court's dispositional hearing;
2. Right to psychiatric care for severely disturbed and mentally retarded children detained by the juvenile courts;
3. Right to vocational training for all children in Y.D.C.'s, and not just those over fifteen years of age, as is the present practice;
4. Right to an accredited educational program for all detained children;
5. Right to decent living conditions at juvenile detention centers (primary attention directed towards the Bibb County Detention Home).

B. Due Process

In the area of children's due process rights, we will, of course, try to force all Georgia juvenile courts to implement fully the Gault decision, and we will also seek to expand due process rights in the juvenile courts in the following areas.

1. Status offenses: the Project feels that status offenses are ripe for constitutional challenge, and will direct primary attention towards that effort.
2. Conditions of probation: the Project will attack outrageous conditions of probation such as re-

quiring children to receive religious instruction.

3. Solitary confinement - we will challenge the use of solitary confinement in juvenile detention centers.

4. Court records - we will seek to insure the privacy of juvenile court records.

5. School authorities - when necessary, the Project will sue to prevent abuses of discretion by school authorities, such as suspension prior to an adjudicative hearing in juvenile court, unconstitutional searches inside schools, and abuses of academic freedom.

6. Uniform juvenile courts - the Project will consider a suit to force the state to establish uniform, statewide juvenile court systems and procedures.

The above list of lawsuits is not meant to be exhaustive, but is merely suggestive of the type of litigation that the Project has in mind.

The American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Georgia, Inc., is uniquely equipped to provide an effective statewide effort in this field. The American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia has chapters and cooperating attorneys in all parts of the state who are willing and able to aid this project. The

Project's staff attorneys in Atlanta will direct the litigation efforts. Some of the major cases will be handled directly by these attorneys, but many cases will be channelled to cooperating attorneys. From this group of attorneys, we will form a Cooperating Attorneys Committee, whose members will handle various cases assigned to the Committee by the Project office. The staff attorneys will be available to give aid and direction to the cooperating attorneys. Attorneys for this Committee will be drawn not only from the existing list of ACLU of Georgia cooperating attorneys, but also from new sources as well. One such source is the Juvenile Law Section of the Georgia Bar Association's Younger Lawyers Section. In addition, Professor Lucy Henritze, of the Emory University Law School, has volunteered to organize the statewide graduates of her Clinical Juvenile Law program for service in the Child Advocacy Project. Committees of law students will be formed at the state's three major law schools: Emory in Atlanta, Mercer in Macon, and the University of Georgia in Athens. These law student committees will aid cooperating attorneys in the preparation of their cases, and do investigative work to lay the foundation for future litigation.

In addition to ACLU cooperating attorneys, the general lay membership of the ACLU of Georgia will take an active role in the Child Advocacy Project. Committees of ACLU of Georgia members will be formed to investigate conditions and programs of juvenile

detention facilities all across the atate. Members will support Project litigation by doing research, compiling statistics and lining up expert witnesses. In addition, membership committees of the Project will play a major role in identifying problems and setting priorities for Project litigation. We have already received an incredibly enthusiastic response from our members who are interested in working with the Child Advocacy Project.

The Child Advocacy Project will also play an integral role in the National ACLU's Juvenile Justice Project, directed by Ms. Rena Uviller. The National Project has developed a nationwide network of lawyers and lay people who are knowledgeable about and active in the area of juvenile justice. The National Juvenile Justice Project has an active nationwide docket of about 65 cases, and Ms. Uviller assists ACLU lawyers throughout the country in preparing their cases. The National Project keeps in regular contact with ACLU affiliates in every state, alerting them to new developments in the field and monitoring their activities so that work is orchestrated and ideas shared. ACLU attorneys form the single most experienced and knowledgeable group of lawyers in the juvenile field in the United States, having argued such landmark juvenile cases as the previously mentioned In Re Gault, and In Re Winship, 397 U.S. 358(1970), which held that juveniles, like adults, were innocent until proven

guilty by proof beyond a reasonable doubt.

The Child Advocacy Project will work in close alliance with the Georgia Chapter of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD). The NCCD is organizing a statewide Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency which will conduct studies, research and investigation of the juvenile justice system in Georgia, and press for needed reforms. It will support our Child Advocacy Project by identifying problems susceptible to solution through lawsuits, researching these problems to lay a factual foundation for the lawsuit, and providing expert testimony at trial. Project attorneys will also work closely with attorneys for the Children's Defense Fund, whose work emphasizes legal issues in education. The Child Advocacy Project will work with other groups also, such as the National Council of Jewish Women, who do invaluable research in juvenile justice; The Bridge and The Link, organizations doing family and children counseling in Atlanta; and the Atlanta Street Academy, which provides storefront schools for dropouts and children from juvenile courts.

COORDINATION

The Project and the National Council on Crime and Delinquency Task Force will cooperate to coordinate services and agencies that aid children in Georgia. A primary goal of the NCCD

and the ACLU Foundation of Georgia in this area is the formation of a Youth Services Bureau, which we define as follows:

> The Youth Service Bureau is an independent public delinquency prevention agency established to divert children and youth from the juvenile justice system by: (1) mobilizing community recources to solve youth problems; (2) strengthening existing youth resources and developing new ones; (3) promoting positive programs to remedy delinquency breeding conditions.

The Cooperative Youth Services System project of the Atlanta Public Schools is attempting to provide such a service for the City of Atlanta. The ACLU Foundation of Georgia is one of the cooperating agencies in their project. In addition to the City of Atlanta, the Child Advocacy Project will help the NCCD to develop a statewide central clearing house of information, ideas and services available to children with legal problems. Juvenile court workers will be given complete access to our resources to aid in their disposition of individual children. The clearing house will act as a link between the juvenile court and available community resources. No such service is available in Georgia today.

EDUCATION

The final function of the Child Advocacy Project will be to educate citizens as to the problems existent in Georgia's juvenile justice system, and to press for needed reforms. The Project's staff attorneys will conduct seminars for interested

attorneys, students, juvenile court personnel, mental health workers, vocational training instructors, civic groups, and other interested citizens. Staff attorneys will organize and meet regularly with standing committees of mental health professionals, vocational rehabilitation workers, and juvenile court personnel to receive feedback and formulate new plans.

PROPOSED YEARLY BUDGET

Staff	
Directing Staff Attorney	$12,000
Staff Attorney	10,000
Research Assistant and Secretary	7,000
Student Law Clerk	4,800
Litigation Expenses	4,000
Travel	4,000
Payroll Tax	200
Insurance	300
Office Expense	
Rent	2,400
Telephone	1,000
Postage	500
Supplies	500
Answering Service	300
Library	1,000
Miscellaneous	1,000
FICA and Employee Benefits	1,800
TOTAL YEARLY BUDGET	$50,800
TOTAL TWO YEAR BUDGET	$101,600

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AFL-CIO

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Democracy in Education
Education for Democracy

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

DAVID SELDEN

AFT 189

AFT

October 24, 1973

Susan Ellen Holleran, Secretary
Workers Education, Local 189
1619 Roxanna Road, NW
Washington, D. C. 20012

Dear Sister Holleran:

This is in answer to your letter of October 16th, appealing for a change in policy in regard to identification of the author of a letter appearing in the September American Teacher. In previous correspondence with the author of the letter, I have made the mistake of indulging in some tongue in cheek statements; therefore, let me try to deal seriously with the matter of the anonymous letter.

The American Teacher is a "house organ" published to advance the interest of the American Federation of Teachers. What is printed in the American Teacher is a matter of judgement, in the first instance by the Editor, and in the second upon review, by the President, or his representative. No member has a right to have his letter printed and, in fact, every month there are a number which are not printed.

As I informed the author of the letter, I was opposed to printing it at all, with or without attribution, mainly because I felt many AFT members would be offended by our using American Teacher space to publish a letter written by an employee of a rival organization. The Editor said that he had nothing in the galleys to substitute for the letter in question, and he suggested as a sort of compromise that the letter be run but without identification as to source - which was done.

At any rate, there is little or nothing which can be done about this now, and I do not intend to use American Teacher space for the purpose of identifying the writer.

Fraternally,

David Selden

David Selden
President

DS:cd
opeiu 2
aflcio

FINANCES - ACLU OF GA. - 11/6/73

ACLU of Ga.

DEBTS

Xerox SRO ACLU	- $284.50
Cases	
Hoster	- $15.00
Davis	- $271.00
Salary, Morris 10/16-11/15	- $234.40
Office & Travel	- $474.81
Printing (Bill of Rights invitations)	- $230.00
Postage (bill of rights @ 8¢)	- $120.00
Loans for ad	-$1,565.00
TOTAL	$3,195.06

ASSETS

Checking account balance including:	-$1,251.86
*$1,094.50 in fund appeal donations (we've also received $674.00 in renewals and new memberships which has gone to national)	
*$284.00 in pre-ad donations	
*$111.00 in our share of the ad response (total received from newspaper ad is $222.00)	
Due- October Income Shares estimated at	- $650.00
TOTAL	$1,901.86
TOTAL DEFICIT	$1,293.20

Instant Analysis

Neither the Xerox bill nor the bill for the Davis case need to be paid any time soon. So our actual working deficit is $737.70

The ad cost $2,112.06. National ACLU agreed to cover half the expense. National has gotten back $111.00 (50% of the ad response) and we have gotten $111.00 from the response. In addition we got $284 in pre-ad donations. So our loss on the ad, if no further donations are received is $661.03. At this point we can pay back the loans at the rate of 58% to cover our loss from the ad. If we did that our actual working deficit would be approximately $76.

NE Plaza — "Pekin"
Chinese (Mandarin)
Peachtree Shopping Center
— Jenny Chang

Tennessee

Abe Venable

Alex Street

Sidney

Mary

Jack Ruffin Augusta

Bill Ryan Augusta

Atl. Open Housing Coalition

Roger — Ac. Fr. – Stud Rts

Bob – Free Speech (absenteeism & housing)

Student Rights

Miss. } all ready
Fla. } to publish

#2000T to publish (3 color)

Ala. –

No financial help

How distribute — only where they can get support

Slemian similar to one in St. Louis —

S.C. didn't really know where 20T went

North ACLU will have papers back

Amnesty Conference - w/ ACLU
40 people

Pardon Conference w/ Ga Council
200 people

1973 Cases

CLOSED

(1) Reasor v. Butts County Schools - School board "deterrent" policy required female students to drop out of school until the following school year if they marry. Case closed after school board rescinded policy. Cooperating attorney was Charles Marchman.

(2) Matthews v. Massell - nation's first challenge to the mis-use of federal revenue sharing funds by local officials. Won at the District Court level, City of Atlanta did not appeal. Cooperating attorneys were Jerry Cohen, David Webster, Fred Aman, and Stuart Eizenstat.

(3) City of Atlanta v. Grover Harrison - Traveler at the Atlanta airport arrested for drunkeness while experiencing epileptic seizure. Case was dismissed. Cooperating attorney was J. Van Lloyd.

(4) City of Atlanta v. Councill - Elderly woman arrested at airport for public drunkeness. Case dismissed. Cooperating attorney was Gale Mull.

(5) Carolyn Eubanks v. City of Atlanta - Atlanta police arrested news vendor selling a radical newspaper. Charged with profanity and violation of safe streets and sidewalks ordinance. Case was lost in Municipal Court. No appeal will be taken unless police harassment resumes. Cooperating attorney was Jerry Talansky.

Jt. Membership with Ga Council - esp. Smaller places
Exchange membership lists -
Leonard Bordin - Nov 19th

ACLU of Georgia - January 1, 1973 through August 31, 1973 Cases

ACTIVE

(1) Armour v. Nix - School desegregation suit asking for metropolitan wide integration across county lines for Atlanta. Hearing set for September 26, 1973 before District Court. Cooperating attorney is Margie Hames.

Filed for Bill to disqualify -

Bell now seems to be developing full record LDF (Fulton & AH. should be consolidated) rather than Metro —

(2) Sapp v. Renfroe - Compulsory ROTC at Decatur, Georgia High School. On May 15, 1973 U.S. District Court Judge Moye ruled in favor of the school board saying that in view of the increased permissiveness of society a little military training was beneficial. Cooperating attorney Elizabeth Rindskopf will appeal after she receives copy of the decision.

Ken Clark assisting. (C.F. Pauley) Ford Fd. assist with Calif. Group -

(3) Community Action Group v. City of Columbus - Case arising from a series of civil rights demonstrations in Columbus in 1971. Unfavorable ruling from the Fifth Circuit. Petition has been filed to reconsider and consider the case en banc. A petition for certiorari has been filed at the Supreme Court of Georgia on the contempt charges arising from the case. Cooperating attorneys are Margie Hames and Al Horn.

Fourteen Same Family interest

Hearing in Jan. Probably -

(4) A. J. Burnham v. The Dept. of Public Health - Attack on Georgia's mental health system. Unfavorable ruling at the District Court. Currently on appeal to the Fifth Circuit in conjunction with similar Alabama mental health suit. Attorney Jack Drake of Tuscaloosa is handling both appeals Cooperating attorney is Tom Harper.

(5) City of Atlanta v. Robert Dixon - Student was arrested while trying to transfer buses at his regular bus stop in front of Department Store where employees were holding a labor demonstration. Charges dismissed at police court. Cooperating attorney Joe Bankoff has asked the police department to destroy arrest record, plans suit if they do not comply.

(6) In The Interest of: Ronnie Lee Davis, et al - Juvenile authorities in Macon, Georgia are attempting to take five children away from their mother because she is a lesbian. Cooperating attorney is Charles Marchman.

(7) Robert Pratt v. J. D. Henderson - Warden of the Atlanta Penitentiary and the U. S. Bureau of Prisons are arbitrarily denying inmate right to marry. Class action suit will affect entire U. S. prison system. Cooperating attorney is Mary Joyce Johnson.

(8) Faraca v. Clements - Racial discrimination against a mixed couple by the Georgia Retardation Center where they had applied for a job. Scheduled for trial this fall. Cooperating attorney is Fred Cavalli.

(9) Ines Hoster v. West Georgia College, et al. alien dismissed from teaching position in state college because of state policy giving preference to citizens. Carter Tate

(10) Payne, et al v. Bloodworth, et al. suit attacking conditions and due process in the Bibb County Jail in Macon, Georgia. Cooperating attorneys are Bob Steele, Sid Moore and Jeff Jacobson.

(11) Nellie Washington, as next friend of Terry Washington v. Harold Clack. habeas corpus (juvenile detained for 18 months in institution without any educational or rehabilitative programs after adjudication).

Ruffin (Augusta) Atty

WRFG—

File

American Civil Liberties Union
22 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

November 9, 1973

BACKGROUND STATEMENT ON PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO ACLU CONSTITUTION CONCERNING PROCEDURES FOR FORMULATING AGENDA AND RULES OF THE BIENNIAL CONFERENCE

On September 29, 1973 the national Board of Directors approved several amendments to the ACLU Constitution concerning procedures governing the formulation of the Biennial Conference agenda and rules. Under the ACLU Constitution, the amendments must be approved by a two-thirds vote of the electorate (members of the national Board and members of the affiliate Boards). The text of these amendments is as follows (deletions from the present language are in brackets and additions to the present language are underlined):

Section 8: OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

(C) The Biennial Conference Committee shall be responsible for overall planning and conduct of each Biennial Conference.

(1) It shall act as an arrangement committee in respect to the Conference, receiving from affiliates, the National Board, the National Advisory Council, and other interested parties suggestions and proposals in respect to the program, agenda, and structure of the Conference.

(2) It shall establish and propose for adoption by each Biennial Conference an agenda and such rules as it considers necessary or appropriate.

(3) It shall be composed of seven persons, and shall be appointed by the chairperson of the Corporation, with the advice and consent of the National Board; provided that no more than three shall be members of the National Board of Directors, and one shall be a member of the National Advisory Council. The remaining three members shall be recommended by the immediately preceding Biennial Conference. Provided that no member of the Committee shall be appointed for more than two consecutive terms and also provided that no more than three members shall be appointed for a second consecutive term.

(4) The terms of the members of the Committee shall expire following the Biennial Conference, on the date upon which their successors are designated.

Section 10: BIENNIAL CONFERENCE

(A) A conference shall be held biennially at a time and place to be fixed by the National Board of Directors, provided that at least each second time it shall be held in a city other than that of the national headquarters (preferably in rotation among the main geographical sections). Affiliate Board members, other duly authorized representatives, and professional employees of ACLU or affiliates may attend the Conference, and speak at the discretion of the chair. Delegates entitled to vote and to speak shall be as follows: all members of the National Board and National Advisory Council, and further delegates selected by affiliates, the number of which shall be determined according to the following formula:

(Note: Formula omitted)

In voting at a Biennial Conference, no delegate shall cast more than one vote; no proxy votes shall be cast or counted; and no affiliate shall have authority to bind or impose any form of unit rule upon its voting delegates. A roll-call vote shall be taken and recorded in the minutes at the request of ten or more delegates.

(B) The Conference may consider any matter of concern to the Union, and may make binding recommendations thereon to the National Board of Directors. [A roll-call vote shall be taken and recorded in the minutes at the request of ten or more delegates.]

(1) The Biennial Conference Committee shall circulate to the affiliates and the National Board of Directors the agenda and the rules it will propose to the Biennial Conference no less than 120 days before the Biennial Conference. Should any affiliate board or any ten members of the National Board propose, no less than 45 days before the Biennial Conference, any addition or amendment to the agenda or the rules as circulated, the Committee shall consider the proposal and either accept or reject it. In either case, the Committee shall promptly notify the affiliates and the delegates to the Biennial Conference of the proposed addition or amendment and of the action the Committee has taken in respect to each such proposal.

(2) The Conference shall, at its first meeting, consider the agenda and the rules proposed by the Committee. Adoption of any addition or amendment proposed 45 days or more before the Biennial Conference, if moved by any delegate and seconded, shall be by a simple majority vote of the delegates voting, a quorum being present (a quorum being a majority of registered delegates).

Adoption of any addition or amendment not previously proposed and not included in the notice to the affiliates and the delegates, if moved by any delegate with ten supporting delegate signatures, shall be by a two-thirds vote of the delegates voting, a quorum being present.

(3) The adoption of the agenda and of the rules shall be by a simple majority. Once adopted, the agenda and the rules shall not be amended or suspended except by a two-thirds vote of the delegates voting, a quorum being present.

(C) The substance of any binding recommendation made by the Conference shall be considered adopted by the National Board of Directors unless the Board shall within 18 months from the time such Conference shall adjourn at a meeting thereof decide otherwise by a majority vote of those present, a quorum being a majority of its actual membership, such vote to be taken by name and so recorded in the minutes. Such a decision not to adopt such a Conference recommendation shall then be submitted for referendum vote. Participants in the referendum shall be members of the Board of an affiliate . . . .

* * *

Constitution Committee Report

The Constitution Committee developed its recommendations primarily in response to the problem, which has frequently faced Biennial Conferences, of last minute addition of topics to the agenda by delegates at the opening Conference session. The Committee noted that although these topics often present issues of great interest and urgency, many Conference participants have been concerned that the quality of discussion may be hampered by the lack of advanced notice and advance preparation by all of the delegates.

During its discussions, the Constitution Committee noted that the proposed amendments to Section 8 closely follow the existing structure and functions of the Biennial Conference Committee, and would merely give to these constitutional status. It was felt that because of the importance of the Biennial Conference, it was appropriate to give the Biennial Conference Committee constitutional status.

The Constitution Committee's formulation differed from that adopted by the Board in only one substantial way: In paragraph (C)(3) of Section 8, three members of the Biennial Conference Committee would be members of affiliate boards (appointed after seeking suggestions from affiliates), three would be members of the National Board of Directors, and one a member of the National Advisory Council.

With regard to the proposed changes in Section 10, the following points were noted. 1) The change concerning a roll call vote in Section 10(A) is a matter of editorial tidiness in moving the requirement from Section B to Section A. 2) The first sentence of subsection (B) differs from the existing language in that it specifies binding recommendations. The Committee thought it to be understood that the Conference may make horatory recommendations to the Board on any subject, and that the only power of the Conference which requires constitutional force is the power to make a binding recommendation. 3) The timetable set forth for the development of an agenda, and for the consideration of agenda proposals by the Biennial Conference Committee (subsections (B)(1) and (2)), is designed to assure that issues proposed for discussion immediately before the Conference, without sufficient time for the delegates to prepare themselves and for the affiliates to consider the issues, could be added to the agenda only by a two-thirds vote of the delegates, rather than by a simple majority. It was thought that any such late proposal which could command a two-thirds vote was probably an issue upon which the delegates felt themselves ready and prepared to act, and probably represented a subject of widespread concern. Otherwise, the proposed amendment would require that any subject upon which the Conference could adopt a binding recommendation would have to be on the agenda far in advance of the opening session.

The proposed amendment would permit delegates at the time of the Conference to place upon the agenda by a simple majority vote any issue which was proposed more than 45 days before the Conference, even if the Biennial Conference Committee had decided not to place it on the agenda. Thus, while the Committee would be given wide powers of discretion in shaping the agenda, it would not be able to block any subject upon which the delegates felt strongly. 4) The suggestions concerning adoption of the agenda in Section 10(B)(3) were made simply to round out the procedure for consideration of the Conference agenda and rules. After proposing various methods for shaping the agenda, it was thought necessary to include in the Constitution a specific provision for adoption of the final agenda and rules. The provision tracks Robert's Rules of Order. 5) The proposed amendment in Section 10(C) concerning the word "binding" follows the change proposed in Section 10(B) (See 2 above).

* * *

Board Discussion

In presenting the Constitution Committee report to the Board, David Carliner noted that the function of the Biennial Conference Committee and the preparation of the Conference agenda are not presently referred to in the Constitution, but that they should be because of their importance.

Jon Johnston, Chairman of the Biennial Conference Committee, offered the Committee's proposed substitute amendment to Section 8(C)(3) providing that no more than three members of the Biennial Conference Committee shall be members of the National Board of Directors, that one shall be a member of the National Advisory Council, and that the remaining three members shall be recommended by the immediately preceding Biennial Conference. He noted that this would give each Biennial Conference a role in the planning of the next Biennial Conference. He did not consider it necessary that the three members to be chosen by the Biennial Conference be members of the affiliate Boards. The procedure for electing these three would be as follows: names would be recommended by a plenary session of the Conference and election would take place by mail ballot after the Conference.

David Carliner opposed the Johnston amendment on the grounds that delegates to the Biennial Conference are not necessarily members of affiliate boards and may be less informed than affiliate board members. He further opposed it because it would permit staff members to serve on the Committee.

Paul Meyer proposed an amendment specifying that the three members chosen by the Biennial Conference be non-staff members. He asserted that the organization should maintain a proper delineation between people who make policy and the people who are hired to carry it out. George Slaff opposed this suggestion, stating that staff members should not be disqualified from important policy making bodies. They can contribute as much as national or affiliate board members, and the Biennial Conference should have input from the entire organization since it is the most democratic of ACLU bodies. He further noted that some affiliate executive directors are members of their own boards. The amendment was withdrawn.

The Johnston substitute amendment carried by a show of hands. Section 8 as amended carried by a show of hands.

Jon Johnston proposed two amendments to the proposed Section 10(B)(2). A quorum would be defined as a majority of registered delegates. Secondly, a delegate moving the adoption of any addition or amendment to the agenda not previously proposed and not included in the notice to the affiliates and the delegates, would be required to have ten supporting delegate signatures. Both amendments were approved by a show of hands.

Marvin Schachter suggested eliminating the 45-day limitation on proposing additions or amendments to the agenda or rules as circulated, and eliminating the two-thirds majority required for the adoption of any addition or amendment not previously proposed and not included in the notice to the affiliates and the delegates. David Isbell argued against the proposal, noting the need for advance notice and preparation. He further asserted that an urgent issue will command the necessary two-thirds vote to be put on the agenda. Mel Strauss noted that the Constitution Committee proposal was a breaking device to keep items most in the news at that time from dominating the Biennial Conference agenda. Marvin Karpatkin asserted that the Committee's proposal was undemocratic. Others argued that it was simply a matter of adequate preparation and was in no way intended to be undemocratic. The Schachter proposal was defeated by a vote of 33-17.

Section 10 as amended was carried by a show of hands.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
22 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

November 16, 1973

Instructions For Voting on Constitutional Amendment

1. Vote on the proposed amendments to the ACLU Constitution by filling out the ballot.

2. Indicate the capacity in which you vote. Electors are (1) members of the boards of affiliates, voting individually, who shall each cast "as many votes as there are members of the affiliate divided by that affiliate's actual board members;" and (2) members of the national Board of Directors "voting individually and each casting as many votes as one-third of the membership of the Union divided by the actual membership of the National Board of Directors." An affiliate board member who is also a member of the national Board of Directors "may choose in which capacity to vote, but shall not vote in more than one capacity." Constitution and By-Laws of ACLU, Section 7 (c) (1) (ii) (a) (b).

3. Place the ballot in the enclosed unmarked envelope.

4. Deposit the unmarked envelope in the larger addressed envelope.

5. Return ballots by mail -- postmarked not later than December 16, 1973.

BALLOT

(See accompanying memorandum for texts of proposed constitutional amendments.)

Section 8(C)(1), (2), (3), (4).

The proposed amendment would establish a Biennial Conference Committee responsible for the planning and conduct of the Biennial Conference, including the framing of rules and agenda. The Committee would be composed of seven persons, no more than three of whom would be members of the Board, and at least one of whom would be from the National Advisory Council. The remaining three members would be recommended by the previous Biennial Conference. Members could serve no more than two consecutive two-year terms.

I approve the amendment ☐ I disapprove the amendment ☐

Section 10 (A).

The proposed amendment moves a sentence specifying the procedure for roll-call votes by the Conference from its present place in Section 10 (B) to Section 10(A).

I approve the amendment ☐ I disapprove the amendment ☐

Section 10(B).

The proposed amendment would add the word "binding" to the procedure for Board consideration of Biennial Conference recommendations.

I approve the amendment ☐ I disapprove the amendment ☐

Section 10(B)(1)(2)(3).

The proposed amendment establishes the procedure by which suggestions for the Conference agenda shall be received and circulated by the Biennial Conference Committee, the schedule to be followed by the Committee in formally proposing the agenda, the procedure by which delegates to the Conference may propose and adopt amendments to the agenda, and the procedure by which the Conference shall formally adopt its agenda.

I approve the amendment ☐ I disapprove the amendment ☐

Section 10(C).

The proposed amendment would add the word "binding" to the procedure for Board consideration of Biennial Conference recommendations.

I approve the amendment ☐ I disapprove the amendment ☐

Name of Affiliate _____

National Board member (check) _____

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
22 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

November 16, 1973

To: ACLU ELECTORATE (Members of national Board of Directors and Members of Affiliate Boards)

From: Alan Reitman

Re: CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Enclosed are explanatory materials and a ballot for a series of proposed amendments to the ACLU Constitution concerning procedures governing the formulation of the Biennial Conference agenda and rules.

The following materials are included:

1. Instructions for voting.

2. Background statement on the proposed constitutional amendments.

3. Ballot on constitutional amendment.

Please note that the ballots should be placed in the single unmarked envelope and deposited in the larger addressed envelope. Please have your ballots postmarked not later than December 16, 1973.

ACLU of Georgia is totally committed to an integrated - really integrated - school system, and believes that goal can only be achieved by a metro-type approach - a multi-county system.

The Board voted to consider how to best achieve that Metropolitan system. Legal solutions such as intervention in the Atlanta suit now before the court, a separate law suit or other means, are under consideration.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF GEORGIA
88 Walton Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MEMO TO: Board of Directors and other interested persons

FROM: Gene Guerrero

RE: Informal luncheon to discuss harassment of civil rights leaders in North Carolina. Friday, July 27, noon, ACLU of Georgia office, 88 Walton Street, N.W.

Although it seldom makes the front page anymore, harassment of civil rights activity continues in the South. Sometimes its a series of isolated incidents. Often though, coordinated attacks in the style of the mid 1960's are mounted on civil rights movements. A good example of this was the series of demonstrations in Columbus, Georgia after black policemen protested racial discrimination. There, the ACLU of Georgia defended a number of persons who were arrested during that movement.

In the last two years local and state officials in North Carolina have attempted to stop the active civil rights movement in that state. In Charlotte, three civil rights leaders were convicted of burning down a stable. The stable was the scene of a civil rights protest in 1967. In 1968 the stable burned. At the time, no mention was made of arson. Then, four years after the fire three civil rights activists were arrested. One was sentenced to ten years and another got twenty. Jim Grant who has worked for VISTA, SCLC, SCEF, and the AFSC was sentenced to a total of 35 years despite the fact that he was in Philadelphia, Pa. the day of the incident. Grant is now in the Atlanta Penitentiary.

In 1971 a series of demonstrations were held by the black community in Wilmington, N.C. A group called the Rights of White People began vigilante attacks on the black community. Local authorities made little effort to stop the attacks and three civil rights leaders were arrested. Rev. Ben Chavis, an SCLC board member and staff member of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, was charged with burning down a grocery store. Then he and Ms. Mollie Hicks and her daughter were charged with accessory after murder after a young man guarding a house in the black community was shot. This summer just before the trial on the latter charges, the offices of the leading black newspaper in Wilmington were firebombed.

Ms. Hicks and representatives from the defense committee in Charlotte will be in Atlanta this week to discuss the state-wide pattern of repression in that state. The meeting Friday will be an informal discussion in the ACLU seminar room. Bring a sandwich if you wish to eat lunch and feel free to invite anyone you know who might be interested.

88 Walton

the keystone on which all programs for a decent society must ultimately depend is the sovereignty of the individual as defined in the constitution and the bill of rights

CIVIL LIBERTIES: THE CRUCIAL ISSUE

By JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

MOST MODERN CONSTITUTIONS contain promises of things that government must do for people. Our Constitution, an 18th Century product, guarantees no one such benefits as an education, social security or the right to work. It is not a welfare-state document. To the contrary, it specifies in some detail what government may *not* do to the individual. In other words, it was designed to take government off the backs of people and majorities off the backs of minorities.

It stakes out boundaries that no executive, no legislature, no judiciary may violate. The "law and order" advocates never seem to understand that simple constitutional principle. An example will illustrate what I mean. The First Amendment says that government may not abridge the free exercise of religion. Suppose a city enacts an ordinance that provides that no minister may deliver a sermon without first obtaining a permit from the Department of Safety. To exact a license before the citizen may exercise a constitutional right is to abridge that right. No minister worth his salt would knuckle under. If he defied the ordinance, he would be acting in the best American tradition. If he were prosecuted, the unconstitutionality of the ordinance would be a complete defense. The person who concludes that a law is unconstitutional and defies it runs the risk, of course, that he guessed wrong. Yet his punishment is not thereby compounded. Law and order is the guiding star of totalitarians, not of free men.

This principle of civil disobedience can be appreciated only if the antecedents of our Constitution and Bill of Rights are understood.

The ideas of freedom, liberty and sovereignty of the individual reflected in the two documents come from a long stream of history. The ideas of political freedom trace at least as far back as the Athenian model. But the political freedom of classical Greece did not guarantee private freedom, which was first emphasized by the Romans through the development of natural law. The church added the tradition of a divine order and a set of precepts based on the integrity of the individual before God; the Reformation gave the individual a choice of religio-political orders. The divine right of kings—one form of the social contract—was successfully challenged by the end of the 17th Century. Rousseau's *Social Contract* was a frontal assault.

But the single thinker who had the most direct impact on the framers of the Constitution was John Locke. Locke taught that morality, religion and politics should conform to God's will as revealed in the essential nature of man. God gave man reason and conscience as natural guides to distinguish between good and bad; and they were not to be restrained by an established church or by a king or a dynasty. Isaac Newton, who in 1687 published *Principia*, his great work, seemed to abolish mystery from the world and enable a rational mind to uncover the secrets of nature and nature's God. This parallel thought gave wings to Locke, who wrote:

> Men being . . . all free, equal and independent, no one can be put out of his estate, and subjected to the political power of another, without his consent. The only way whereby any one divests himself of his liberty and puts on the bonds of civil society is by agreeing with other men to join and unite into a community, for their comfortable, safe and peaceable living one amongst another, in a secure enjoyment of their properties and a greater security against any that are not of it. . . . When any number of men have so consented to make one community or government, they are thereby presently incorporated and make one body politic, wherein the majority have a right to act and conclude the rest.

These ideas were well known to our Colonists through the church as well as through Locke, Newton and many other writers. God, nature and reason were the foundations of politics and government; they were extolled in the Declaration of Independence and further distilled in constitutional precepts.

The foregoing is but an outline of the history of ideas behind the Constitution. They were translated into the body of Anglo-American law in a series of crucial test cases over a period of at least 400 years.

The political counterpart of heresy in the 16th Century was treason. The law of England allowed a man to be tried for treason if he "doth compass or imagine the death" of the king. This was called "constructive treason," for the accused did not have to lift his hand against the king to be guilty; all he need do was wish the king were dead. As a result, treason is narrowly defined in our Constitution: "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies . . ." and the proof required is very strict. That clause is the product of the philosophy of Madison and Jefferson. Madison wanted treason narrowly defined, because history showed that "newfangled and artificial treasons" were the "great engines" by which partisan factions "wreaked their alternate malignity on each other." Jefferson had the like view, pointing out that the definitions of treason often failed to distinguish between "acts against government" and "acts against the oppressions of the government." Madison and Jefferson are strangers to our law-and-order school, whose spokesmen go so far these days as to call dissent to our Vietnam policy "treason."

In the 17th Century, it was the practice to force citizens to make loans to the British crown, failing which the citizen would be jailed and languish there without bail. Thomas Darnel met that fate in 1627. From his prison, he applied for a writ of habeas corpus, the conventional way in those days of

testing the legality of a confinement. The case was argued before judges who were appointees of the king, serving at his pleasure. They ruled that they were required to "walk in the steps of our forefathers," that the word of the king was sufficient to hold a man, saying, "We trust him in great matters." This case resulted in the Petition of Right of 1628, which led to vesting in Parliament, rather than in the king, the authority to levy taxes; and it also established the prisoner's *right to bail.*

The legislative branch was also a source of oppression. A bill of attainder is an act of the legislature punishing individuals or members of a group without a *judicial trial.* Its vice is that it condemns a person by legislative fiat without the benefit of a trial having all the safeguards of due process of law. English history, as well as our own history between 1776 and 1787, is replete with instances where the legislature, by its own fiat, subjected men to penalties and punishments. The Constitution abolishes bills of attainder outright, both at the state and at the Federal level.

The foregoing are merely examples of how the sovereignty of the individual was, historically speaking, jeopardized by acts of all branches of Government—the Executive, the Legislative and the Judicial.

The fear of our forefathers was also a fear of the majority of the people who from time to time might crush a minority that did not conform to the dominant religious creed or who in other ways were ideological strays.

One episode that occurred in this nation just before the 1787 Philadelphia Convention is illustrative. Times were hard in 1786. A post-War depression had hit the country. The state legislatures were swept by agrarian influences. Debtors wanted relief. There was no strong central government. Only Congress, under the feeble Articles of Confederation, had national authority, and it was not in a position to act decisively.

Up at Northampton, Massachusetts, in August 1786, Daniel Shays moved into action. His armed group seized the courthouse in order to put an end to legal proceedings for the collection of debts. The example at Northampton was followed in other parts of the state, about 2000 armed men joining Shays. Courts were paralyzed. In September, Shays' men moved on Springfield and overawed the court with their claims that their leaders should not be indicted and that there should be a moratorium on the collection of debts. They also insisted that the militia be disbanded. The stakes were high, because at Springfield there was a Federal arsenal filled with artillery, guns and ammunition, which Shays planned to take. The decisive engagement took place on January 25, 1787, the Shays group being routed by militia equipped with Federal cannon.

Shays' Rebellion gave impetus not only to a strong central Government but also to checks and restraints on populism. The mercantile, financial and large landed interests were getting tired of talk of the rights of man; they were becoming concerned with the protection of their property. Too much democracy in the state governments, it was argued, was bringing bad times on the country. Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island were said to be disintegrating. General Henry Knox, in the mood of our modern law-and-order men, wrote Washington from Massachusetts in the fall of 1786: "This dreadful situation, for which our Government has made no adequate provision, has alarmed every man of principle and property in New England."

Though Shays' Rebellion was shortly put down, the populist or agrarian forces remained in control of some state legislatures and repudiation of debts remained a threat. Majorities in state legislatures ruled without restraint. The commercial, financial and landed interests moved to Philadelphia for the Constitutional Convention in an antidemocratic mood. A republican form of government emerged that, to use the words of Madison, was designed "to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority." This majority, Madison said on another occasion, might well be the landless proletariat.

Numerous barriers were written into the Constitution designed to thwart the will of majorities. As Charles A. Beard said in his monumental work *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States,* those who campaigned for ratification of the Constitution made "their most cogent arguments" to the owners of property "anxious to find a foil against the attacks of leveling democracy."

While the House was to be elected for a short term by the people, Senators (until the 17th Amendment) were selected by the state legislatures; and the President was picked for a fixed term by electors chosen by the people. Thus, a measure of assurance was granted that *majority* groups would not be able to unite against the *minority* propertied interests. Moreover, amendment of the Constitution was made laborious: Two thirds of both the Senate and the House were to propose amendments; three fourths of the states were to ratify them. A final check or balance was an independent judiciary named by the President, approved by the Senate and serving for life.

The "minority of the opulent" were also protected when it came to the Bill of Rights, as in the provisions in the Fifth Amendment that "private property" could not be taken for a "public purpose" without payment of "just compensation."

But the Bill of Rights went much, much further. It was concerned with all minorities, not only the minority of the opulent. Government was taken off the backs of all people and the individual was made *sovereign* when it came to making speeches and publishing papers, tracts and books. Those domains had "no trespassing" signs that government must heed.

Great battles have raged over those guarantees. Peaceful and orderly opposition to the Government—even by Communists—is, of course, constitutionally protected. Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes said: "The maintenance of the opportunity for free political discussion to the end that government may be responsive to the will of the people and that changes may be obtained by lawful means, an opportunity essential to the security of the republic, is a fundamental principle of our constitutional system."

American law also honors protests, whether they are in the form of letters to the editor, picketing, marches on the statehouse or rallies to whip up action. As already noted, police historically have arrested dissenters for "disorderly conduct" and "breach of the peace," often using these devices to suppress an unpopular minority. But such charges are no longer permissible at either the state or Federal level, though the law-and-order men often try to use "vagrancy" or other misdemeanors to suppress dissent or to promote racism.

Government is also constrained against interfering with one's free exercise of religion. A man can worship how and where he pleases. Government at times has preferred one religion over another, giving it privileges as respects marriages, baptisms and the like, and even putting some prelates on the public payroll. The Bill of Rights bans this practice by prohibiting the "establishment" of any religion by the Government.

It was the pride of British tradition that a man's home was his castle. Even the king could not enter without legal process. On this side of the Atlantic, British officers had ransacked homes (and offices as well) under search warrants that were good for all time and for all kinds of evidence. This led to the Fourth Amendment, which, in general, requires an officer making a search to have a warrant issued by a judge on a showing of probable cause that a crime has been committed. And the warrant must describe with particularity the scope of the search and the articles or person to be seized. Modern technology has developed electronic devices that can record what goes on in the sanctuary of a home without entering the home in any conventional sense. They, too, have now been included within the Fourth Amendment. Yet the law-and-order propagandists would brush aside

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CIVIL LIBERTIES

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the Fourth Amendment and use any short cut to convict any unpopular person.

The much misunderstood self-incrimination clause of the Fifth Amendment had a similar history: "No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." At one time in England, the oath that one takes to tell the truth was used against the accused with devastating effect. If he refused to take the oath, he was held in contempt and punished. If he took the oath and then refused to answer a question, the refusal was taken as a confession of the thing charged in the question. Thus were men compelled to testify against themselves.

A widely heralded defiance of this practice was that of John Lilburne, who was charged with sending scandalous books into England. He refused to be examined under oath, saying that the oath was "both against the law of God and the law of the land." He announced that he would never take it, "though I be pulled to pieces by wild horses." Lilburne was held in contempt, publicly whipped, fined and placed in solitary confinement. That was in 1638. On February 13, 1645, the House of Lords set aside that judgment as "against the liberty of the subject and law of the land and Magna Charta." And in 1648, Lilburne was granted damages for his imprisonment.

The idea spread to this country. The Puritans who came here knew of the detested oath that Lilburne refused to take. They, too, had been its victims. *The Body of Liberties*, adopted in 1641 by Massachusetts, afforded protection against self-incrimination either through torture or through the oath. The high-handed practices of the royal governors who believed in law and order and who sought to compel citizens to accuse themselves of crimes also whipped up sentiment for the immunity. A majority of the colonists, therefore, as part of their programs for independence, adopted bills of rights that included the immunity against self-incrimination. Later, it was written into the Fifth Amendment and into most state constitutions.

The immunity has been broadly interpreted. It extends to all manner of proceedings in which testimony is taken, including legislative committees. It was early held by the Supreme Court to give immunity from testifying not only to acts or events that themselves constitute a crime or that are elements of a crime but also to things that "will tend to criminate him" or subject him to fines, penalties or forfeitures. As Chief Justice John Marshall put it at the beginning, immunity protects the witness from supplying any "link" in a chain of testimony that would convict him. Yet in spite of this long history, the law-and-order propagandists denounce the decisions that forbid the police from using coercion to obtain confessions from people in custody.

The protection against double jeopardy, the right to counsel, the right to confront the person who accuses one, the guarantee against cruel and unusual punishment—these all have a similar specific and detailed history of abuse by government. Each reflects a clear and calculated design to prevent government from meddling with individual lives.

The law-and-order people say that "criminals" and "Communists" deserve no such protection. But the Constitution draws no line between the good and the bad, the popular and the unpopular. The word is "person," which, of course, includes "aliens." *Every* person is under the umbrella of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights purposely makes it difficult for police, prosecutors, investigating committees, judges and even juries to convict anyone. We know that the net that often closes around an accused man is a flimsy one. Circumstantial evidence often implicates the innocent as well as the guilty. Some countries have the inquisitorial system, in which the criminal case is normally made out from the lips of the accused. But our system is different; it is accusatorial. Those who make the charge must prove it. They carry the burden. The sovereignty of the individual is honored by a presumption of innocence.

• • •

The principle of *equality* entered our constitutional system with the Civil War amendments, which banned discrimination based on race, creed, color or poverty. So today we stand for both *liberty* and *equality*. The Russians who protested the 1966 Ukrainian trials came out strong for *liberty*: "The highest saturation of material goods, without free thought and will," creates "a great prison in which the food rations of prisoners are increased." Whatever continent one visits, he finds man asserting his sovereignty—and usually receiving punishment for doing so. There are few places in the world where man can think and speak as he chooses and walk with his chin held high. Yet in spite of our commitment to both, we are confronted with tremendous internal discontent. Some are in rebellion only to obtain control over existing institutions so that they may use them for their own special or selfish ends. But most of the discontent, I think, comes from individuals who clamor for sovereign rights—not rights expressed in laws but rights expressed in jobs and in other dignified positions in our society. We face civil disobedience on a massive scale.

Civil disobedience, though at times abused, has an honored place in our traditions. Some people refuse to pay taxes because the money raised is for a purpose they disapprove. That is *not* a permissible course of conduct; for, by and large, the legislative branch has carte blanche to prepare budgets and levy taxes. It would paralyze government to let each taxpayer exercise the sovereign right to pay or not to pay, depending on whether he approves of the social, economic or political program of those in power. The same is true, in general, of most other laws imposed on the citizen, whether it be observing a speed law or obeying a zoning ordinance or a littering regulation.

Gandhi's much-publicized civil disobedience was quite different. It expressed a universal principle. Gandhi had no political remedy to right a wrong. Disobedience of the law embodying the wrong was his only recourse. Colonial India, like Colonial America, was under a foreign yoke. Regulations were often imposed from overseas or taxes exacted by the fiat of the colonial ruler. The subject had to submit *or else*. "Taxation without representation" was one of the complaints of both Sam Adams and Mahatma Gandhi. Our Declaration of Independence stated the philosophy—all men are created equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain "inalienable rights." Governments derive their just powers from "the consent of the governed"; and whenever a form of government becomes "destructive to those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." Thus, the right of revolution is deep in our heritage. Nat Turner did not get the benefit of our Declaration of Independence. But he moved to the measure of its philosophy. These days, some people are caught in a pot of glue and have no chance to escape through use of a political remedy. Civil disobedience, therefore, evolves into revolution and is used as a means of escape.

Revolution is therefore basic in the rights of man. Where problems and oppression pile high and citizens are denied all recourse to political remedies, only revolution is left. Sometimes revolution with violence is the only remedy. Violence often erupts these days in Latin America and Southeast Asia, where feudal and military regimes hold people in a vise, making it impossible for them to be freed from oppression by the political processes. In some nations, a trade-union organizer is considered an enemy and is shot. So is a person who tries to organize the peasants into cooperatives. In those extreme situations, there is no machinery for change except violence.

We have had civil disobedience accompanied by violence, the bloodiest one

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CIVIL LIBERTIES

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being the Civil War. Prior to that, there was the widespread rebellion under John Adams against the Alien and Sedition Acts, which made it a crime to utter any false or malicious statement about the nation, the President or Congress. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions called them a "nullity," because—by reason of the First Amendment—Congress may pass no law abridging freedom of speech or press. Those laws expired under Jefferson and for years the country reimbursed the victims for the wrongs done.

The Embargo Act was a self-blockade, in the sense that it forbade the departure of any ships from American ports to foreign countries. Jefferson tried in vain to enforce it, and it was repealed in 1809.

In World War One, there were about 300,000 draft dodgers, in spite of the fact that Congress passed a declaration of war.

Some of those episodes were accompanied by violence and many people were fined or imprisoned for their misdeeds. During those crises, the majority clamored for conformity. The minority, impatient at the existence of laws they deemed unjust, took matters into their own hands and did not wait until the power to correct the abuse at the polls could be exercised.

Today the dissenters, both black and white, claim that the changes needed to admit the lower fourth of our people into an honored place in our society are being thwarted. There is a growing feeling that the existing political parties are not likely instruments of change. The colleges' and universities' administrations, in general, walk more and more to the measure of traditional thought and have lost their revolutionary influence. The Cold War flourishes, diminishing our overseas potential and making the military the most potent force in our lives and in our economy. The puritan ethic—hard work and industry will guarantee success—is not valid in a system of private enterprise that is less and less dependent on labor. For many, the only recourse for employment is in the public sector; yet blueprints for an expanding public sector are hardly ever in public view. Racial discrimination takes an awful toll, as partially evidenced by the fact that the average annual income of whites who go to work at the end of the eighth grade tends to be higher than the average annual income of blacks who go on to college and enter the professions.

The crises these days are compounded because the *real* dissenters from the principle of equality in our laws and in the Constitution are often the establishment itself—sometimes a municipal, county or state government; sometimes slumlords allied with corrupt local machines; sometimes finance companies or great corporations or even labor unions. That is to say, these existing institutions often ask minorities to conform to practices and customs that are unconstitutional. People are apt to overlook the fact that those who make such a request are the offenders, not the vociferous minorities who demand their rights.

Rebellion by members of the establishment against full equality cannot be met with apathy and inaction, for that is the stuff out of which violent revolutions are made. Blacks and whites must join hands in momentous programs of political action. Those who put law and order above liberty and equality are architects of a new fascism that would muzzle all dissenters and pay the individuals in our lower strata to remain poor, obedient and subservient.

Unprecedented civic action is needed. When my friend Luis Muñoz Marín first ran for governor of Puerto Rico, he actually drafted and had printed and circulated the precise laws he would have enacted when elected. He was elected and the laws were passed. Those who march need specific proposals in their hands—proposals to put an end to a particular injustice. India, when dealing with the explosive problem of the untouchables, required about 15 percent of all matriculating students and about 15 percent of all government employees to be drawn from those ranks. While the maximum age for taking examinations for government service was generally 24 years, it was increased to 27 years in the case of the untouchables. And this once-abhorred group also has a certain minimum number of seats reserved for it in the national parliament and in the state legislatures.

We need to think in terms as specific as those in dealing with our own minorities, whether black or white. No one today is on the side lines. We are all caught up in a tremendous revolutionary movement. It starts with a demand for equality in educational and employment opportunities. It extends to a removal from our laws of all bias against the poor. It embraces a host of other specifics that will, if faced frankly and adopted, make a viable and decent society out of our multiracial, multireligious, multiideological communities—and both preserve the sovereignty and honor the dignity of each and every individual.

"They're really up tight this year. I got mugged in New York, demonstrated against in Chicago, shot at in Texas and arrested for vagrancy in Seattle."

ACLU-Ga

PROPOSAL

It is proposed that a consolidation of the school systems of the five county Atlanta metropolitan area be sought in the United States District Court. A petition to intervene in the present Atlanta school desegregation case (Calhoun v. Cook) would be filed simultaneously with a separate action. The intervention should be made in the Calhoun case in response to a directive by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals that the district court make findings of fact and conclusions of law on the question of consolidation. Judge Smith in the Calhoun case hearing recently stated that he thought the "metro issue" should proceed by separate suit. The intervention would provide the vehicle for the Court to direct that we proceed by separate suit and remove several technical problems which could arise if no intervention is attempted.

The plaintiffs would be black and white parents (some would be ad valorem tax payers). Depending on the funds available, plaintiffs might be limited to poor parents so that we could proceed in forma pauperis. This could be important in requesting that the burden of preparing detailed integration plans be the duty of the State, counties, and cities.

The defendants would be the State, Cobb, DeKalb, Fulton, Gwinnette and Clayton Counties and each City or other school district therein.

The relief sought would include a destruction of the artificial city-county boundaries for school purposes, thus creating a base for school desegregation plans metro-wide. It would seek to have the Court order desegration of the metro system under a plan to use the present "neighborhood school" facilities and to develop a long range plan for educational parks, specialized schools, and many other new concepts in education.

September 30, 1966

Mr. Walter Simcich
Research and Education Director
International Woodworkers of America
1622 North Lombard Street
Portland, Oregon 97217

Dear Mr. Simcich:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

The focus of the pamphlet is on an individual's rights when confronted with police action. It is designed for use with low income and/or minority groups. Some unions are considering the pamphlet for:

(a) Local union education classes.

(b) A more general distribution to their members.

(c) Something they can offer other community groups as an expression of interest in mutual concerns.

The pamphlet was prepared by a committee of lawyers for the A.C.L.U. of Georgia and the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

I can supply sample copies for distribution to interested locals either through your office or mine. Although, we would prefer to recapture our costs (15¢ per pamphlet), we will make them available to any local who actually plans a distribution. In some instances, within the South, we can see that educational programs built around the pamphlet are provided.

Please let me know of your further interest in Know Your Rights.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Elwood Taub
Research and Education Director
American Federation of State,
County and Municipal Employees
(AFL-CIO)
1155 - 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Elwood:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

The focus of the pamphlet is on an individual's rights when confronted with police action. It is designed for use with low income and/or minority groups. Some unions are considering the pamphlet for:

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. John House
Education Director
United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum
and Plastic Workers of America
(AFL-CIO)
87 South High Street
Akron, Ohio 44308

Dear John:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unkons or educational programs.

The focus of the pamphlet is on an individual's rights when confronted with police action. It is designed for use with low income and/or minority groups. Some unions are considering the pamphlet for:

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Carroll Hutton
Education Director
U.A.W. (AFL-CIO)
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48214

Dear Carroll:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

The focus of the pamphlet is on an individual's rights when confronted with police action. It is designed for use with low income and/or minority groups. Some unions are considering the pamphlet for:

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Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

September 30m 1966

Mr. Reginald C. Bigsby, Secretary
International Molders' and Allied
Workers' Union of North America
AFL-CIO
1225 East McMillan Street
Cincinnati, Ohio 45206

Dear Mr. Bigsby:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Please let me know of your further interest in Know Your Rights.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Anthony G. Weinlein
Research and Education Director
Building Service Employees'
International Union (AFL-CIO)
900 17th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Tony:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Alex Bail
Research and Education Director
Retail, Wholesale and Department
Store Union (AFL-CIO)
132 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear Mr. Bail:

I thoguth you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

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Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Charles Cogen, President
American Federatuion of Teachers
716 North Rust Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Dear Mr. Cogen:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.
Education Director
United Steelworkers of America
(AFL-CIO)
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222

Dear Fred:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Emory F. Via

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Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Philip M. Valley
Research and Education Director
Hotel and Restaurant Employees
and Bartenders International Union
AFL-CIO)
6 East 4th Street
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

Dear Mr. Valley:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Emory F. Via

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Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Thomas F. Miechur
Research and Education Director
United Cement, Lime and Gypsum
Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)
7830 West Lawrence Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60631

Dear Mr. Miechur:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

A FOAM BOND

September 30, 1966

Mr. William Elkus
Education Director
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of
America (AFL-CIO)
15 Union Square
New York, New York 10003

Dear Bill:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Gus Tyler, Education Director
International Ladies' Garment
Workers' Union (AFL-CIO)
1710 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

Dear Gus:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Morris Pizer, President
United Furniture Workers of
America (AFL-CIO)
700 Broadway
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mr. Pizer:

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Richard W. Humphreys
Research and Education Director
International Union, Allied
Industrial Workers of America
(AFL-CIO)
3520 West Oklahoma Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53215

Dear Dick:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Vincent F. Morreale
Education Director
International Hod Carriers'
Building and Common Laborers'
Union of America (AFL-CIO)
905 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Morreale:

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Lawrence J. Ahern
Research and Education Director
International Chemical Workers
Union (AFL-CIO)
1659 West Market Street
Akron, Ohio 44313

Dear Mr. Ahern:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. Holgate Young
Education Director
Communications Workers of
America (AFL-CIO)
1925 "K" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Hoagy:

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hj

Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. William Gary, Director
Civil Rights and Minority Affairs
International Unkon of Electrical,
Radio and Machine Workers (AFL-CIO)
1126 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Gary:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

October 3, 1966

Mr. John Brumm
Education Director
International Association of
Machinists and Aerospace Workers
AFL-CIO)
1300 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear John:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

October 3, 1966

Mr. W. O. Kuhl
Research and Education Director
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers,
Iron Shipbuildbers, Blacksmiths, Forgers
and Helpers (AFL-CIO)
8 th at State Avenue
Kansas City, Kansas 66101

Dear Bill:

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

October 3, 1966

Mr. John D. Nicola
Research and Education Director
American Bakery and Confectionery Union
(AFL-CIO)
1120 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Nicola:

I thought you would like to knwo about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is avaalable for local unions or educational programs.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

October 3, 1966

Mr. Alfred Wickman
Education Director
Oil, Chemical and Atomic
Workers International Union
AFL-CIO)
Post Office Box 2812
Denver Colorado 80201

Dear Al:

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

October 3, 1966

Mr. Russell R. Crowell, President
Laundry and Dry Cleaning International
Union (AFL-CIO)
212 Wood Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222

Dear Mr. Crowell:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

October 3, 1966

Mr. Sal Maso, President
The Wood, Wire and Metal
Lathers International Union
AFL-CIO)
6530 New Hampshire Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20012

Dear Mr. Maso:

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Emory F. Via

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Enclosure

October 3, 1966

Mr. James E. Wolfe
Research and Education Director
International Union of United Brewery,
Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery
Workers of America (AFL-CIO)
2347 Vine Street
Cincinnati, Ohio 45219

Dear Jim:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

October 3, 1966

Mr. LeRoy Johnson
Education Director
United Packinghouse, Food and
Allied Workers (AFL-CIO)
603 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Mr. Johnson:

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Bia

hj

Enclosure

September 30, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car
Porters (AFL-CIO)
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

October 3, 1966

Mr. John A. Condon
Research and Education Director
International Longshoremen's
Association (AFL-CIO)
17 Battery Place
New York, New York 10004

Dear Mr. Condon:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

October 3, 1966

Mr. Helmuth F. Kern
Education Director
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and
Butcher Workmen of North
America (AFL-CIO)
2800 North Sheridan Road
Chicago, Illinois 60614

Dear Helmuth:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

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(c) Something they can offer other community groups as an expression of interest in mutual concerns.

The pamphlet was prepared by a committee of lawyers for the A.C.L.U. of Georgia and the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

I can supply sample copies for distribution to interested locals either through your office or mine. Although, we would prefer to recapture our costs (15¢ per pamphlet), we will make them available to any local who actually plans a distribution. In some instances, within the South, we can see that educational programs built around the pamphlet are provided.

Please let me know of your further interest in Know Your Rights.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

Enclosure

October 3, 1966

Mr. William Pollock, President
Textile Workers Union of America
99 University Place
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mr. Pollock:

I thought you would like to know about the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which is available for local unions or educational programs.

The focus of the pamphlet is on an individual's rights when confronted with police action. It is designed for use with low income and/or minority groups. Some unions are considering the pamphlet for:

(a) Local union education classes.

(b) A more general distribution to their members.

(c) Something they can offer other community groups as an expression of interest in mutual concerns.

The pamphlet was prepared by a committee of lawyers for the A.C.L.U. of Georgia and the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

I can supply sample copies for distribution to interested locals either through your office or mine. Although, we would prefer to recapture our costs (15¢ per pamphlet), we will make them available to any local who actually plans a distribution. In some instances, within the South, we can see that educational programs built around the pamphlet are provided.

Please let me know of your further interest in Know Your Rights.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

bj

Enclosure

October 5, 1966

Mr. Al Gross
American Federation of State,
County and Municipal Employees
Room 103
1627 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Al:

Enclosed is a copy of the pamphlet Know Your Rights, which we discussed over the telephone. With in reason, it is available for distribution to union members either as part of a class (With which the ACLU of Georgia would be happy to offer assistance), or for a more general distribution, or other useful purposes.

leave for Abbie

If you would like sample copies to send out to your locals, I can make them available to you. And if you are interested in any further distribution, I would be happy to discuss it further.

Let me know what you think. Sorry to have missed you by phone; thanks for returning the calls.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Enclosure

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION of MACHINISTS
and AEROSPACE WORKERS

MACHINISTS BUILDING, 1300 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

Office of the
GENERAL VICE-PRESIDENT

Area Code 202
232-6309

October 7, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks for letting me see a copy of the pamphlet "Know Your Rights". It is well done, and certainly should be useful in many situations.

However, I feel that a decision on whether and how to use it among at least our groups in the South requires an intimate acquaintance with our local lodge officers, which I personally don't have. It is quite possible that we might find this pamphlet useful in one or two of our Leadership Schools next summer, but for a decision on any immediate distribution I would defer to our educational representative, William Clitheroe in Atlanta.

I believe you know Bill, and I suggest that if you haven't already done so that you show him a copy of this pamphlet, and ask if he thinks it might be helpful in certain lodges which he is acquainted with.

I was nice to hear from you, and I hope you will keep me abreast on things you are doing.

Cordially,

John

John M. Brumm
Director of Education

JB/mek

cc: William Clitheroe

CITY OF CHARLOTTE

NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF
CHIEF OF POLICE

October 10, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for the publications you sent me on October 5, 1966. I was not greatly shocked by the Know Your Rights pamphlet; indeed a version of it may be helpful here.

I enjoyed the meeting with you and Mr. Dyer greatly, but fear that I was not too helpful to your purpose. Perhaps in the future I can be of greater aid.

Please feel free to call upon us if we can assist the Council.

Sincerely,

John E. Ingersoll
Chief of Police

JEI:rf

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union

ALFRED L. WICKMAN
EDUCATION DIRECTOR

P. O. BOX 2812
PHONE: 266-0811
DENVER, COLORADO 80201

October 12, 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is our P. O. No. 10832 in the amount of $7.50 for which we would like to purchase 50 copies of your pamphlet entitled, "Know Your Rights."

Thank you for your prompt attention to this request.

Yours truly,

Alfred L. Wickman

Alfred L. Wickman
Education Director

ALW:jd
Enc: P. O. #10832

Filed 10/17/66

October 14, 1966

Mr. Elwood Taub, Director
Department of Education and Research
American Confederation of State,
County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO
1155 - 15th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Elwood:

Thanks for your letter and I will get other materials off to you before long.

For your proposed staff training sessions, I am sure you have your own resources and procedures in mind. However, if I can be of some assistance on matters dealing with Civil Rights or the South, I would be happy to lend a hand.

In any case, I trust that you will feel free to call on me for suggestions of materials, resource persons, or in any other way in which I may be of assistance.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

WILLIAM POLLOCK
General President

JOHN CHUPKA
General Sec'y-Treas.

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

99 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003 ORegon 3-1400

October 14, 1966
(Dictated 10/7/66)

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Please send me 200 copies of "Know Your Rights."

I assume there will be a substantial reduction in this quantity.

We know your financial position and want to pay for them but we can't go 15¢ each.

Let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

Stephen J. Remsen
sp

Stephen J. Remsen
Director, Education Dep't.

SJR:sp

Filled 10/17/66

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Communications

Workers of America

(AFFILIATED WITH AFL-CIO)
1925 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
TELEPHONE: FEderal 7-7711

October 17, 1966

File: 1.17.1

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I was interested to see your pamphlet, "Know Your Rights". We would like to initially order 500 copies. Please ship and bill to this address.

If you are in town sometime, maybe we ought to talk about ideas on introducing this pamphlet in the most effective way.

Fraternally yours,

Holgate Young
Education Director

HY:eml

15
500
$75.00
10-19-66

October 18, 1966

Mr. Stephen J. Remsen, Director
Education Department
Textile Union Workers of America
99 University Place
New York, New York 10003

Dear Stephen:

Two hundred copies of KNOW YOUR RIGHTS pamphlets are being sent to you under separate cover.

We will let you have them at one-half our cost, which will come to 7½¢ apiece. Your two hundred, then, will come to $15.00.

I take it that this will be satisfactory. Please let me know if you have a need for further copies. I would be most interested in hearing what use you make of the pamphlets and any special reactions which it receives.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

October 18, 1966

Mr. Alfred L. Wickman
Education Director
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers National Union
P. O. Box 2812
Denver, Colorado 80201

Dear Al:

Your order for 50 copies of KNOW YOUR RIGHTS has been received. They will be sent to you immediately.

I would be pleased to hear what use you make of these pamphlets and any reactions which they receive.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

October 21, 1966

Mr. Holgate Young, Education Director
Communication Workers of America
1925 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Hoggy:

I have your order for five hundred copies (500) of Know Your Rights. It will be filled immediately.

I hope, I will soon have a trip to Washington and can see you. In the meantime don't turn down any opportunities to come to Atlanta.

Fraternally yours,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Paid $75.00
11/29/66

October 24, 1966

Mr. John D. House
Acting Education Director
United Rubber Workers of America
87 South High Street
Akron, Ohio 44308

Dear John:

We have received your order for one thousand copies (1000) of Know Your Rights and the union's check for $150.00 to cover that order.

The pamphlets will be sent to you immediately. I will hold up on any others until I hear further from you.

Tentatively I will mark the week of June 25, 1967, on my calendar. Let's leave making it final until your own program has taken shape and we have had a chance to talk further.

Best personal wishes.

Fraternally,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

URW

PETER BOMMARITO, President

KENNETH OLDHAM, Vice President

I. GOLD, Secretary-Treasurer

UNITED RUBBER, CORK, LINOLEUM AND PLASTIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFL-CIO,CLC

87 SOUTH HIGH STREET

AKRON, OHIO 44308

Area Code 216

376-6181
376-6182
376-6183
376-6184

October 19, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

In accordance with our telephone conversation of yesterday, I am enclosing our check in the amount of $150 to purchase 1,000 copies of the booklet "Know Your Rights."

We will send one copy to each of our local unions. Additional copies will be sent to members of local union "Fair Practices Committees." By doing this we should still have perhaps as many as two or three hundred copies left of the 1,000. Therefore, contrary to my suggestion by telephone, I think we should wait until we determine whether local unions will be interested in obtaining additional copies. In the event we receive orders beyond the number we have on hand, we will then transmit the orders to you on whatever basis may be indicated at that time.

I enjoyed our little conversation and I hope that you will set aside the week of June 25, 1967, if possible, so that you can again be with us during our summer school at Black Mountain, North Carolina.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

John

John D. House
Acting Education Director

JDH:jjb
opeiu 339
Enclosure

October 31, 1966

Mr. J. L. Jones
Post Office Box 65
University, Mississippi 38677

Dear Mr. Jones:

At Ed Stanfield's request I am sending you one hundred (100) copies of Know Your Rights. The pamphlets cost us fifteen cents (15¢) a piece, but we will be happy to supply them to you or the Oxford Council on Human Relations at half that price. You can consider this letter a bill for $7.50.

Please let me know, if you need more copies of the pamphlet.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

WILLIAM POLLOCK
General President

JOHN CHUPKA
General Sec'y-Treas.

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

99 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003 ORegon 3-1400

November 2, 1966
(Dictated 10/25/66)

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $15.00 for 200 copies of the pamphlet. Thanks very much for the reduced price.

We are sending one copy each to our Executive Council members, Regional Directors, Joint Board Managers and staff members, all over the country.

Sincerely,

Stephen J. Remsen

Stephen J. Remsen, Director
Department of Education

SJR:sp
Encl.

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President

FRED FULFORD
Secretary-Treasurer

● INTERNATIONAL OFFICE

United Furniture Workers of America

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

700 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 3, N.Y. • GRAMERCY 7-9150

November 3rd, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I read with great interest the pamphlet, Know Your Rights, which I received from your office recently.

I would appreciate your mailing copies of this pamphlet to our two Southern Regional Directors, who will be in a better position to know just how and where the distribution would do the most good. They are:

Mr. August W. Bahr, Director
District #9 - U.F.W.A.- AFL-CIO
136 1/2 South Second Street
Memphis, Tennessee38103

Mr. James J. Fitzsimon, Director
District #5 - U.F.W.A.- AFL-CIO
4209 Woodleaf Road
Charlotte, North Carolina 28205

Note mrs for address m.d.

With best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Morris Pizer

MORRIS PIZER
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

MP/br
opeiul53

123

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS is a know-what-to-do-and-say the American Civil Liberties Union and the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS is a know-what-to-do-and-say publication, if and when you are confronted with law enforcement agencies.

This booklet advises you of your rights concerning interrogation, search and seizure, signing statements, communication with counsel or family, and the setting of bail.

If you would like a free copy of this booklet, please write **OCAW Education Department, P. O. Box 2812, Denver, Colo. 80201.**

Oil Chemical & Atomic Union News
Nov 9, 1966

Return to EFV

American Federation of STATE, COUNTY, and MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES · AFL-CIO

MADISON BUILDING/1155 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W./WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
TELEPHONE 202/223-4460

AL GROSS
International Union
General Representative

Southeastern Area Office
1627 Peachtree Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
Phone: (404) 875-4601

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DON McCULLAR
HOUSTON, TEXAS

WILLIAM J. McENTEE
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

LEE A. TAFEL
MIAMI, FLA.

RUBY WICKER
SAN BERNARDINO, CAL.

November 7, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

If you could mail be about 200 copies of Know Your Rights I will get them distributed to some of the negro leaders in some of my different locals.

Fraternally,

Al Gross

Al Gross
International Union
General Representative

AIG:de

November 9, 1966

Mr. August W. Bahr, Director
District IX
U.F.W.A., AFL-CIO
136 1/2 South Second Street
Memphis, Tennessee 38103

Dear Mr. Bahr:

At the request of President Pizer I am sending you the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights.

The focus of the pamphlet is on an individual's rights when confronted with police action. It is designed primarily for use with low income and/or minority groups. Some unions are using the pamphlet for: (a) Local union education programs, (b) A general distribution to their members, and (c) Distribution to other community groups as an expression of interest in their problems.

The pamphlet was prepared by a committee of lawyers for the A.C.L.U. of Georgia and the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

If you have locals in your district who could make use of the pamphlet, I could supply them at or somewhat below cost.

If a few extra copies for samples would be useful, just let me know.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Enclosure

November 9, 1966

Mr. James J. Fitzsimon, Director
District V
U.F.W.A., AFL-CIO
4209 Woodleaf Road
Charlotte, North Carolina 28205

Dear Mr. Fitzsimon:

At the request of President Pizer I am sending you the enclosed pamphlet, Know Your Rights.

The focus of the pamphlet is on an individual's rights when confronted with police action. It is designed primarily for use with low income and/or minority groups. Some unions are using the pamphlet for: (a) Local union education programs, (b) A general distribution to their members, and (c) Distribution to other community groups as an expression of interest in their problems.

The pamphlet was prepared by a committee of lawyers for the A.C.L.U. of Georgia and the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

If you have locals in your district who could make use of the pamphlet, I could supply them at or somewhat below cost.

If a few extra copies for samples would be useful, just let me know.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Enclosure

WILLIAM POLLOCK
General President

JOHN CHUPKA
General Sec'y-Treas.

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

99 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003 ORegon 3-1400

January 5, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

We would like to order 300 copies of the pamphlet, "Know Your Rights."

Please send 40 of these to:

Mr. Garnold L. Richards
TWUA, AFL-CIO, CLC
1283 E. Delavan Avenue
Buffalo, N.Y. 14215

and the balance, 260, to this office.

The bill for the entire quantity, $22.50, should be sent to this office for payment.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Sylvia Pushkoff

Sylvia Pushkoff, Secretary to
Stephen J. Remsen, Director
Department of Education

sp

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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TRUSTEES

WILLIAM F. MILLER
JUNE CLARK
JOHN G. THOMAS

January 9, 1967

Miss Sylvia Pushkoff, Secretary to
Stephen J. Remsen, Director
Department of Education
Textile Workers Union of America
99 University Place,
New York, N.Y. 1003

Dear Miss Pushkoff:

Our supply of "Know Your Rights" has been depleted. However, we have referred your request to the Georgia Office of the American Civil Liberties Union.

They have agreed to fill your request and will send your office the bill.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

cc: Mrs. F. Robins

DON'T SAY IT — WRITE IT

TO Mr. Emory F. Via DATE February 9, 1967

FROM UNION OFFICE, LOCAL # 218 SUBJECT KNOW YOUR RIGHTS

Dear Brother Via:

This Local Union would like to have about 250 copies of the enclosed book. If there is any charges please advise.

Very truly yours,

E. L. Abercrombie

E. L. Abercrombie
Executive Secretary-Treasurer

ELA/ig
OPEIU-21
enc

call Florence Rob

400 copies
10¢

Ask Melvin (400) from Florence

2/22/67

25

February 22, 1967

Mr. John H. Wheeler
302 Formosa Avenue
Durham, North Carolina

Dear John:

Through an unexplainable error and much absence from the office, a copy of my statement in Charlotte never got to you. I am sorry.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

442 Cooper Avenue
Johnstown, Pa. 15906
March 10, 1967

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Also put on the min wage list for "What's in this Kit"

Gentlemen:

Just a few Weeks ago I received a Booklet from the U. S. W. entitled "Know Your Rights". We of the Greater Johnstown A. F. L. - C. I. O. Civil Rights Committee would like to know if we could receive about 50 Copies of this Booklet to distribute to our Members Before forwarding Booklets please advise as to cost so we can present the Price to the Central Labor Council for approval. Thank you very kindly.

Rev. H. Dean Michaels. Sr.

Rev. H. D. Michaels, Sr.
Chairman L. U. 2632 C.R. C.
Secretary Greater Johnstown
A. F. L. - C. I. O. Committee
442 Cooper Avenue
Johnstown, Penna. 15906

JOHNSTOWN, PA.
MAR 1 3
'67

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

GIVE
RED CRO
FUNE

5¢
U.S. POSTAGE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

FYI
See reply to
ACLU Dr. Franklin Johnson

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA

LOCAL 6546

RECORDING SECRETARY:
JOSEPH ROLEK
221 VINE STREET
CANONSBURG, PA. 15317

R.D. #4 McDonald, Pa.
March, 16, 1967

Dear Sir:

Would you please forward me a quantity price list on the booklet, (Know your Rights). Thank you very much.

Sincerely
David L. Johnston
Chairman (civil rights)
USW Local 6546

Answered

March 29, 1967

Rev. H. Dean Michaels, Sr.
Greater Johnstown AFL-CIO
Civil Rights Committee
442 Cooper Avenue
Johnstown, Pa 15906

Dear Rev. Michaels:

We can supply you with 50 copies of the booklet, "Know Your Rights", for $5.00. Generally our bulk rate is 10¢ per copy for over 100 copies.

Please let us know if we can help you out.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

March 29, 1967

Mr. David L. Johnston, Chairman
Civil Rights
United Steelworkers of America
Local 6546
R.D. #4
McDonald, Pa.

Dear Mr. Johnston:

We can supply you copies of the booklet, "Know Your Rights", for 10¢ a piece if your order is for 25 or more copies.

Let us know if we can help you out.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

AFSC

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE INC.

160 North Fifteenth Street,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
Phone 215-563-9372

HENRY BEERITS
Chairman

HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman

BRONSON P. CLARK
Executive Secretary

May 12, 1970

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul Anthony:

Believing that you share with us a continuing and troubling concern for changing our national priorities so as to create a system in which all our people can flourish, we are eager for you to see a new AFSC publication, MAN & THE ECONOMY: THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF ECONOMIC PATTERNS. This document has grown out of our long and often frustrating field experience in promoting change in the objective situation in which men exist, and out of our conviction that social policies and programs can succeed only if the individual, not his institutions, stands at the center of all programs.

In MAN & THE ECONOMY we offer recommendations as to major national commitments in employment, housing, education, guaranteed income, health, justice and conservation, programs built upon principles which stress the individual as the recipient of services and the source of control.

MAN & THE ECONOMY is published as a stimulus to discussion and action. We seek your comments, your suggestions for further distribution, your support for those recommendations and principles which you find you can support, and your suggestions for moving forward toward an economy which serves man.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor

Eleanor Eaton
Community Relations

Hold fury
You might want
500 or 5000!

How goes
everything?

EE:rw
Encl.

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGION

Date August 10, 1970

To: Hayes Mizell, David Jacobs, Bill Rosser, Janet Wells, Andrew Marrisett, Tom Gilmore
Lousie Moody, Rims Barber, Bob Valder, Frankie King, Frances Porter, Rev. Corder,
Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Bradely, Bob Mants, JOYCE MILLER

From: Winifred Green

Subject: Emergency School Aid Funds for non-profit groups

Enclosed is a very poor copy of the regulations for the ESA money. You will note that they have been signed by the Commissioner, but not the Secretary. This means that they are subject to change, but folks in Washington say this is probably it.

On Thursday I met with Sidney Gardner, Director Center for Community Planning, Office of the Secretary, Dept. HEW, Washington, D. C. 20201. Area Code 202 962-8975. Mr. Gardner is in charge of the non-profit part of the funds. He seems like a good guy as feds go and was open to discussion about how the funds will be used. He has seen the Educational Resources Center proposal and thinks it is good.

He says that the grants for non-profit will be in two catagories: 1. research and demonstration (these will be large and cover more than one district and 2. individual grants to one district. The question of whether a district is eligible if the LEA is not eligible has not yet been decided. Non-provit groups proposals will be subject to the governor's veto.

They are thinking now of eight types of proposals that they will consider. They are:

1. Remedial and tutroial projects-they would hope different from Title I
2. Community Relations and Information-such things as a Rumor Center, publications and programs to promote dialogue between the community and the school.
3. Monitoring and Evaluation
4. Student Programs (extra cirricualr
5. Parent Involvement
6. Comprehensive planning-this one is for CAPS and Model Cities
7. Activities of the bi-racial committies and this can include staff
8. Grants to Black Universities to provide services for LEA and private groups

Also enclosed is a list of meeting times and places for explanations about the money. I have not yet been able to find out where in these cities. Dr. Bunche in Atlanta claims he doesn't know. I suggest you call Jerry Brader's office in D.C. Area Code 202963-5836

I HAVE just LEARNED that PRESIDENT has til TUESDAY at midnight to veto this & he may do so!

CC: BWM
WH
TOM GRAY

Phylis McClure

Attendance - Wednesday, October 7, 1970

HEW CONFERENCE

Committee:

Winifred Green
Rim Barber
Leon Hall
David Jacobs
Eldridge McMillan
Emory F. Via

Eldridge McMillan ✓	Southern Education Foundation 811 Cypress Street, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia 30308
Mrs. Emily Y. Barefield ✓	Florida Council on Human Relations 4300 N.W. 12th Avenue Miami, F;orida 33127
Dr. John A. Griffin ✓	Southern Education Foundation 811 Cypress Street, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia 30308
Mrs. Patt Derian ✓	Mississippi Council on Human Relations 2249 Twin Lake Circle Jackson, Mississippi39201
Mr. Rim S. Barber ✓	Delta Ministry 721 Nelson Street Greenville, Mississippi38701 Ministry: Box 457
Rev. Francis X. Walter ✓	Selma Inter-Religious Project P.O. Box 2628 Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401
Mrs. Louise Moody ✓	Selma Inter-Religious Project P.O. Box 2628 Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401
Mrs. Victoria DeLee	
Miss Frankie King ✓	Lee County Headstart P.O. Box 1632 Auburn, Alabama 36830
Mrs. Nancy Spear ✓	Lee County Headstart P.O. Box 1632 Auburn, Alabama 36830
Miss Sallie Hadnott ✓	626 Easy Street' Prattville, Alabama

Mrs. Alberta Murphy	
Mr. David L. Jacobs	American Friends Service Committee Chairman 450 A Belsaw Avenue Mobile Project Mobile, Alabama 36603
Leon Hall	SRC, Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Mr. Jon Shils	c/o R F K Washingron, D.C. 20036
Miss Winifred Green	American Friends Service Committee 52 Fairlie Street Atlanta, Georgia 30308
Miss Joyce Miller	American Friends Service Committee 275 Straight Street Macon, Georgia
Mr. David Abel	Amrerican Friends Service Committee 401 Columbia Building Columbia, South Carolina
Miss Beverley Gaines 3080 Botany	Southern Education Foundation 3008 BotanyStreet Charlotte, N.C.
Mr. Hayes Mizelle	American Friends Service Committee 401 Columbia Building Columbia, South Carolina 29201
Paul Gaston	SRC-Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Miss Francis Porter	Alabama Council on Human Relations P.O. Box 409 Auburn, Alabama 36830
Emory F. Via	SRC-Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Mr. Jim Wood	SRC-Atlanta, Georgia 30303

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Participants in the discussion of a Regional Institute to encourage quality and equality in education, October 7, 1970.

FROM: Winifred Green, Chairman, Steering Committee

RE: Steering Committee Meeting

DATE: October 21, 1970

The entire committee was present for a meeting in Atlanta on October 20, 1970. You will recall that the members were Winifred Green, Chairman, Rims Barber, Leon Hall, David Jacobs, Eldridge McMillan, and Emory F. Via.

The need for further efforts to assist in school desegregation and for achieving quality education was discussed. It was agreed that some further form of cooperative organization could be useful in meeting those needs.

Funding this year seems most unlikely.

There will be another meeting of the Steering Committee probably in late November or early December to further refine our thinking about a Regional Institute. We will keep you informed.

WG/gms

YOU TOO HAVE A STAKE IN ENDING WAR POVERTY INJUSTICE

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Varieties of Human Agony

In air that can literally swarm with lead at any hour of the day or night, millions of Vietnamese civilians, who neither want the war in their country nor understand it, are caught between Vietcong mortars and U.S. rockets. The result is carnage. The number of dead and wounded runs into the hundreds of thousands annually. In South Vietnam alone, there are more than 60,000 amputees.

About six thousand of these amputees, many of them women and children, have crowded into refugee camps near the city of Quang Ngai, already jammed with hundreds of thousands of sick, wounded, and homeless people. The one general hospital for civilians in Quang Ngai, with only four hundred beds, must accommodate nearly eight hundred patients by putting up to three in a single bed and many more in litters on the floor. Since adequate physical therapy and rehabilitation for such a patient load is quite impossible, many who are discharged soon develop painful and crippling deformities.

To serve these victims of a war whose cruelty is beyond our comprehension, the American Friends Service Committee has been operating a therapy and rehabilitation center on the grounds of the hospital. Physical therapists from the United States and England attend about 70 patients a day, and Vietnamese trainees, under the supervision of AFSC staff prosthetists, construct and fit about seventy-five artificial limbs a month.

Since many of the refugees in South Vietnam are orphans, the Committee also sponsors a child day care center in Quang Ngai. Staffed by South Vietnamese women, the center furnishes eighty-five young refugees a day with a balanced diet, clean clothing, badly needed rest, and enough instruction in reading to qualify for admission to the government schools.

At these Quaker centers in Quang Ngai, two special varieties of human agony—the nightmare of dismemberment and the bewildered suffering of the young—are reached and relieved. Applied to the appalling number of civilian casualties, the two AFSC projects in Quang Ngai are a small attempt to say that some of the people here care about all of the people there—and feel bound to show it in immediate, practical ways.

You can help the rehabilitation center restore wholeness, dignity, and hope to human beings traumatically wounded in body and spirit. You can help children at the day care center to regain their health and to embark on their education at a critical time for themselves and for their stricken country.

Housing the Dignity of Man

The black community in Elizabeth, New Jersey, is frustrated and angry. Homes are being demolished to make way for urban renewal and highway expansion, but the city, caught between a rising need for services and a shrinking tax base, has not made provision for relocating displaced families in adequate housing.

Any place in Elizabeth, no matter how miserable, where a black family could live, has been taken long ago by others evicted from the renewal area, and the doomed community is ringed by ethnic neighborhoods where blacks are not tolerated. Owning almost none of the businesses in Elizabeth, under-employed, under-represented in city government, and having no effective voice in the conduct of urban affairs, these black families must abandon their homes and move on—to Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, and other ghettos. It seems the ancient paradox still holds! Foxes have holes and birds of the air have nests, but in Elizabeth—and in many American communities like it—the dignity of man has nowhere to house itself.

American Friends Service Committee workers in Elizabeth are helping the black community to form citizens' groups which can make themselves heard in city hall. Residents have met with city officials, and a grant from the New Jersey Department of Community Affairs will obtain housing for fifty large, low-income families. Efforts continue to get more funds committed for adequate relocation services.

The project's ultimate goal is to locate suitable housing for all residents of the renewal area, by arranging for financial assistance, by changing the attitudes of surrounding neighborhoods, by gaining city-wide acceptance of open housing, and by making more low-income housing available.

You can help the residents of the renewal area to learn what their rights are as American citizens and how to assert them peacefully by using techniques of community organization. The spreading cancer of ghettoization cannot be removed by a municipal bulldozer. The forlorn process by which it is always the rootless who get evicted and the poor who get poorer must be reversed if American life is to be made liveable for all Americans. Community Relations programs of the American Friends Service Committee operate in many communities across the country.

Your contribution can stimulate leadership in such communities and help to demolish the barriers between races instead of the homes of the poor.

Nigeria Postwar Relief and Reconstruction

In keeping with the Quaker concern for responding to human need without regard to the politics, race, or religion of those who suffer, the AFSC, in cooperation with the Mennonite Central Committee and the British Friends Service Council, established emergency medical care and feeding programs on both sides of the Nigerian civil war. Quaker Service doctors and nurses joined with local Nigerian staff in operating feeding stations, rural outpatient clinics, and hospitals in the parts of Nigeria most severely affected by the war.

When the fighting ended, AFSC field teams were already furthering emergency efforts to bring food, medical care, and housing to many of the refugees who streamed from areas where the final days of fighting had taken place. Using the QUAC stick (Quaker Arm Circumference), the teams are able to determine quickly which individuals are in greatest need of emergency feeding. Devised by the Quaker staff in Nigeria, the QUAC stick enables a relatively untrained person to measure a child's upper arm and height and, from predetermined standards, ascertain the degree of malnutrition.

AFSC medical and reconstruction staff, working in consultation with Nigerian national and state authorities, are currently engaged in five 24-month programs of postwar reconstruction in the war-affected areas of Nigeria: a program for assistance to children separated from their families in South-Eastern State; a program of community reconstruction and rehabilitation in the towns of Ibusa and Asaba in Mid-West State; hospital rehabilitation at Abiriba, East-Central State; rural medical rehabilitation in portions of South-East State; and reconstruction of 175 war-ravaged villages in Enyong Division, South-Eastern State. The programs are staffed by 20 expatriates and 22 Nigerians (including Ibos).

Funds for food, medical care, medicines, and the reconstruction of housing, schools, and hospitals are urgently needed for expanding AFSC service in postwar Nigeria.

Progress in Cuauhtenco

In three short years, without the upheaval that so often accompanies—and vitiates—social change, the villagers of Cuauhtenco, Mexico, have passed through a genuine revolution.

In 1966, Fidel Munoz raised eight bushels of corn per acre. In 1967, he raised forty bushels per acre, and had to store the overflow in his house. By 1969, he could purchase a machine for shelling corn and petition the governor of the State of Tlaxcala for needed improvements in his village. In three years, a subsistence farmer had entered the developing economy of Mexico by becoming a producer of surpluses; in three years, a marginal citizen had entered the political life of his country by participating in its institutions and using its agencies.

Senor Munoz' revolution began in 1966 when the leaders of Cuauhtenco invited a team from the American Friends Service Committee to come to their village to live.

After gaining the trust of the community by living with them for nearly a year, the team chose Fidel and several other farmers who agreed to try something new. In return for their willingness to experiment with new methods, these farmers were guaranteed an income that was at least equal to that produced by their previous year's crop. The team arranged for credit for fertilizer, seeds, and insecticides; and the farmers supplied the labor.

The result was a dramatic breakthrough for Cuauhtenco. Among the farmers in the experimental group, crop production in 1967 increased four or five times over the previous year.

In 1968, more farmers joined the program, and more intensive methods yielded a greater increase in crop production. In 1969, farmers from five nearby villages entered the project, and the agricultural Bank of Mexico extended credit totalling 300,000 pesos ($24,000) for the purchase of fertilizer. In spite of the adverse effects of a late rainfall, fertilized fields had two to three times the crop yield of unfertilized fields.

For these farmers, whose lives are wholly shaped by the details of planting and harvesting, an agricultural revolution is a human revolution—a radical and pervasive change in human routine and attitude. Less enslaved to the land for a meagre and lonely existence, they are now freer to expand their lives as individuals and to improve their community. They are working to get a village water supply and modern medical service to end the scourge of traditional disease.

Because the revolution at Cuauhtenco has helped people to help themselves—to transform their community by their own efforts—individual lives have been filled with hope and a new sense of personal worth.

It is this kind of peaceful revolution—a revolution of hope wrought without social upheaval—which you can help to carry forward as you join forces with the AFSC in Cuauhtenco, elsewhere in Mexico, and in other countries where the Committee is actively concerned with increasing food production, raising the standard of living, and opening the way for help in family planning.

Make Sense, not War

The American Friends Service Committee affirms the glory of persons, the unique and absolute value of each human individual. As a Quaker organization, it believes that social problems and the conflicts that divide men and nations cannot ultimately be resolved by coercion, but only by policies that are founded on justice and motivated by love. It renounces war—all war—as a process that consumes the good it seeks and compounds the hatreds and evils that lead men to resort to it. For fifty-two years the Committee has been waging a campaign for world peace.

Since the end of the Second World War, when the United States emerged as a world power with unprecedented commitments around the globe, the need to educate the American public on the issues of world peace has been urgent. With the savage escalation of the war in Vietnam, it has become critical. But to shift the direction of public thinking away from its easy reliance on force is not a challenge to be met in a day—or a year. It is a task to be worked at, in season and out, and the AFSC works at it steadily, even though its resources are meagre and its vision is fallible. It produces and distributes literature on basic and topical issues of world peace, helps people concerned with peace to be more effective in their communities, and organizes family camps and summer institutes for discussion of world issues. It works with church groups, civic clubs, members of Congress, and the business and professional community to support efforts that reduce international frictions, and it cooperates with a wide range of activities in the peace movement, including nonviolent vigils and demonstrations. A special service arranges tours, operating through ten regional offices, for speakers well-known in the fields of peace and international affairs. Peace caravans, staffed by concerned young people, travel the country, speaking to churches and civic groups.

In supporting the Quaker peace testimony, the AFSC has always recognized that responsibility for peace rests with all nations and not with any one alone. It has therefore carried its work for peace into the international arena in reconciling actions and educational efforts. The Committee sponsors international conferences, where present and potential leaders of diverse countries discuss common problems related to world peace. AFSC offices in Europe, the Middle East, West Africa, South, Southeast, and East Asia, Washington, and at the United Nations in New York conducted 16 international conferences and

seminars in 1968, involving 454 persons from 73 countries. In addition, during international crises, the Committee has undertaken special missions for the purpose of mediation and reconciliation.

The situation is plain. The world has never needed peace more—nor been riper for war—than now. The proposition is simple. Whatever may have been arguable in the past, modern war can no longer be an instrument of justice.

War must stop. It is time to make sense, not war. The brink of catastrophe is not man's natural habitat. You can help to avert human annihilation—and to enrich the quality of human survival—by contributing to the American Friends Service Committee.

Cathy Leroy/Black Star

Won't you make the Committee a vehicle through which your love and compassion are expressed? You can help relieve the suffering of civilians in Nigeria and Vietnam. You can help change the lives of citizens in our ghettos. You can help statesmen, citizens, and new generations of young people all over the world to be better instruments of peace-making . . . through the AFSC. Use the coupon today—or pass it along to a friend, after you have sent your contribution.

The American Friends Service Committee is a corporate expression of Quaker faith and practice. It is rooted in the conviction that each human life is sacred, each man a child of God, and that love, expressed through creative action, can overcome hatred, prejudice and fear. To that end, the Committee undertakes programs of relief, service and education, ministering to both the physical and spiritual needs of men. Its work is made possible by the generous co-operation of thousands of concerned persons of all faiths.

Mail to: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 N. 15th Street, Phila., Pa. 19102

I want to help in the struggle against war, poverty, and injustice.
Enclosed is my tax deductible contribution of $ _____.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip Code** _____

Thank you! As a contributor you will receive the quarterly Quaker Service Bulletin giving news of the programs you are helping to support.

It is possible to do good in the twentieth century. In an age of complex problems, it is still possible for human effort to avert catastrophe and to redeem the quality of survival. Human feeling, thought, and imagination can still relieve human suffering, still save and rebuild human lives. To do justice and to love mercy have always been possible. Today, as fanaticism deepens and inequalities widen—as the means of genocide keep pace with the motives for it—justice and mercy have become critical human imperatives.

For fifty-two years, the American Friends Service Committee has been seeking and finding ways to do good in the twentieth century. A few of the present efforts are described in this circular. They are examples of the ways in which we will continue to try to do good in a warring world, with the help of individuals whose minds and hearts are concerned with the well-being of their fellowmen.

PROGRAMS OF AFSC

International Service Refugee aid, relief, rehabilitation and resettlement in Republic of the Congo, Israel (Occupied Territories), Jordan, Nigeria, Vietnam; social and technical assistance and family planning in Algeria, Colombia, India, Mexico, Zambia.

Youth Services For young adults: One and two-year assignments in Guatemala, Mexico, the U.S. For college-age youth: work camps in Africa, Europe, Asia, Mexico, the U.S.; services to young men facing the draft. For high school students: work camps and service units in the U.S. and programs linking U.S. and overseas schools. For children: educational materials and projects.

International Affairs Seminars and conferences in Europe, Asia, Africa; international representatives in Singapore, Delhi/Lahore, Tokyo; seminars and Quaker Center in Washington, D.C.; work at the United Nations in New York, Geneva.

Peace Education Summer institutes on the Quaker approach to international conflict; family camps; weekend institutes; peace literature; conferences with mass media representatives and academic groups; discussion of crisis issues, including Vietnam; conscription and militarism; contacts with peace-concerned groups and individuals around the world.

Community Relations Work in metropolitan areas of the North and West on urban problems, particularly housing and education; work in Deep South public schools; community development efforts with farm laborers, migrants, and other rural poor; special efforts in the East Coast migrant stream; community development and leadership training with American Indians; work with released prisoners.

For these programs approximately $7,500,000 is required this year.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21218
319 East 25th Street

CAMBRIDGE, MASS. 02139
48 Inman Street

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
407 South Dearborn Street

DAYTON, OHIO 45406
915 Salem Avenue

DES MOINES, IOWA 50312
4211 Grand Avenue

HIGH POINT, N. C. 27260
1818 South Main Street
(write P.O. Box 1791, High Point, N. C. 27261)

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003
15 Rutherford Place

PASADENA, CALIF. 91103
980 North Fair Oaks Avenue

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94121
2160 Lake Street

SEATTLE, WASH. 98105
814 N. E. 40th Street

National Office
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

No. 655C—250M—8-70—G.B.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
AREA CODE 215 LOCUST 3-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

Make folder

DEAD

April 27, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory Via:

We are very pleased that you are willing to break into still another week end and be with us, at least for Friday evening, and possibly for some of our other sessions.

I enclose an agenda for the meetings. This is essentially what I reviewed with you over the phone this morning. Also attached is a not-too-up-to-date description of our current work and the latest issue of an internal publication - a dittoed newsletter by which we are trying to keep our far flung staff up-to-date on some of the issues and developments in the Community Relations Program and field.

As a result of our phone conversation, I felt very sure that we had hit upon a good idea in asking you to lead off our meeting. I'll be glad to see you again after a very long time.

Please keep track of expenses so that we can reimburse you for them, and let us hear of any fee involved.

As you may assume by the lack of a follow-up call, we have been in touch with Courtney and Penn can put you and your family up for Friday and Saturday evenings.

Sincerely

Barbara

Barbara Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Division

BWM:mt

cc: Constance Curry

for circulation within AFSC only

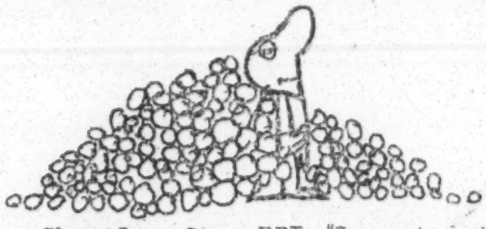
AFSC 1966

PDI #2
APRIL 22, 1966

COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM DEVELOPMENTS & ISSUES

Since the last PDI report so much began to happen we felt we should issue #2 as soon as possible. The situation in Delano altered the day PDI #1 was mailed; a minimum wage bill is coming before the House; & AFSC attended a poverty conference that took some unexpected twists. We also wanted to tell you about the Philadelphia Housing program and the report on the self-help housing conference. If you have any comments on or suggestions for PDI please send them along.

mep



THE GRAPE STRIKE. Shortly after PDI #1 went out, a memorandum from Cesar Chavez, director of the National Farm Workers Association, clarified the situation in Delano, California.

Schenley has agreed to begin contract negotiations and has legally recognized that the NFWA represents the majority of Schenley workers in Kern and Tulare counties and will be their sole bargaining agent. Schenley has agreed to begin negotiations within 30 days (of April 7) resulting in the signing of a contract within 60 days.

The NFWA has halted boycott of Schenley products but is prepared to resume it should negotiations break down. The DiGiorgio corporation, largest grower in the area, has not agreed to negotiate and will not meet with the NFWA. It has agreed to hold an election to determine if its workers want NFWA. A boycott of DiGiorgio products appears to be in the offing.

Schenley and DiGiorgio were not the only growers being struck. The NFWA is still involved in a strike of some 30 other growers. The strikers still need moral and financial support.

AFSC's San Francisco office has appropriated $11,800 to meet the human needs of the strikers. $10,300 will have been spent by the end of April and an estimated $2,400 more will be needed through the end of May. This leaves the San Francisco office in need of $900 and receptive to contributions and suggestions for sources of funds.

In addition to financial support, CRD's Rural Affairs Committee has pointed out the continuing need for education and logislation concerning America's farm workers. This is particularly pertinent now in view of the pending legislation in the House of Representatives, which is discussed in the next item.

MINIMUM WAGE BILL. A new minimum wage bill is expected to come before the full House of Representatives around April 25. AFSC's program experience has indicated a need for nation-wide minimum wage, as well as for other social legislation such as the right to collective bargaining and unemployment benefits.

H.R. 13712 will extend coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to 6.5 million additional workers, and will include farm workers. In testimony for AFSC before the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Farm Labor, Scott Nielsen, CRD staff in southeastern Pennsylvania, indicated in July, 1965, that the inclusion of agricultural workers would equalize the position of farm workers with that of industrial workers. In addition, he pointed out that many growers and farmers feel, unless there is a federal minimum wage, they cannot raise wages because competition from states paying low wages would force them out of business.

In testifying before a special House subcommittee concerning the Economic Opportunity Act, Helen Baker, CRD Executive Committee and Board of Directors member, pointed out the need to extend existing social legislation, such as minimum wage, social security and unemployment insurance, to cover the rural poor and farm laborers if the war on poverty is to be comprehensive.

In general, H.R. 13712 (the Dent Bill) will set the minimum wage at $1.40 an hour starting February, 1967. This will be increased to $1.60 in February, 1968.

Among the newly covered workers are 485,000 farm laborers. The bill provides that farms using 500 man-days of labor in any calendar quarter of the previous year must pay the minimum wage. In determining which individuals shall comprise those counted for the 500 man-days requirement, a worker who meets all four of the following conditions will not be counted: (1) hand harvest workers who (2) commute daily from a permanent home (3) are employed in a traditional piece rate operation and (4) work less than 13 weeks per year in agriculture. However, when a farm has come under coverage of the bill, all workers on his farm will be covered.

Farm workers would get $1 minimum wage in 1967, $1.15 in 1968, and $1.30 in 1969. They will get no overtime provisions and, even the $1.30 wage works out to below the "poverty level".

Arguments against this bill state it will injure business, cut back job opportunities and raise food costs. In 1965 the Department of Labor issued a report which stated that "the economy adjusted easily to the increase in the minimum wage" under the 1961 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act, and that "employment in these newly covered segments did in fact go up". Scott Nielsen and others have pointed out that field labor costs are a small part of the retail price of most farm products.

H.R. 13712 is limited in coverage. It is a weak bill. It does not touch on the right for farm laborers to bargain collectively, which was an issue in the Delano grape strike. Nor does it include piece rate workers. However, strategists fear that efforts to strengthen the bill will result in its demise. And, for all its failings, it is the first bill reported out of the committee to include farm laborers, and it is a start.

CCAP and AFSC. On April 13 and 14, the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty held its second annual conference in Washington, D.C. It was at the luncheon session of the last day of the conference that R. Sargent Shriver, director of OEO, encountered some resistance to his efforts to outline the achievements of OEO. (To quote the papers he was hooted down and jostled.) AFSC was represented at that conference and we wish to share the experience with you. Interpretation in the mass media seems unfortunately to have telescoped events, meaning that the build-up of frustration did not come through, and to have fallen into the trap of assigning the disruption to a "group of troublemakers", thus obscuring what we think the important messages of the conference are.

In March of 1965 the CRD Executive Committee decided that AFSC should become associated with CCAP. This was done after ascertaining the purpose of the organization and what the responsibilities of membership entailed. Briefly, CCAP is a coalition of organizations and individuals dedicated to eradicating poverty from the nation. It is intended to be educational and catalytic, and also to act in promoting and implementing specific policies and programs on the national, local and community levels. Organizations belonging to CCAP participate in programs on a voluntary basis. Based on the assumption that CCAP was in the nature of a "watchdog" organization which did not commit members to a course of action, AFSC joined.

Barbara Moffett, Eleanor Eaton and Maria Pappalardo of the national staff, and Florence Kite, a national CRD Executive Committee member, attended the April conference. An estimated 1000 people attended, of which approximately 300 were "poor people", from Harlem, Watts, Selma, Mississippi Delta, Appalachia, Roxbury, Mass., Chicago, etc. These people participated in forum groups whose purpose was to make recommendations to the CCAP board concerning the forum topics. These topics were economic policy and poverty, quality education and the poor, maximum feasible participation of the poor, and new pioneering roles for private agencies in the war on poverty. (The forum gaining most attention was that on maximum feasible participation.)

In addition the Wednesday afternoon and Thursday morning sessions included addresses by groups representing certain areas of the country -- Delano, California, Mississippi Delta, Appalachia, Watts, Chicago, Central Harlem. These were stirring and effective statements of needs and the shortcomings of the present efforts to meet them.

Attached is a slightly subjective time schedule of what happened which may help communicate the temper of the conference. But in addition, those of us attending the conference would like to indicate some of the implications and some of the thoughts resulting from what happened.

First of all, the poor people who attended were angry from the moment they arrived. Some of this was beneath the surface, some quite evident. This was the anger born of frustration and desperation, of programs mismanaged, of promises broken, of misunderstanding.

Coupled with this was what we feel was a lack of organization of the conference itself. There was insufficient explanation of the purpose of the conference and of CCAP, which led to misunderstanding on the part of the poor, or possibly to an intentional misinterpretation by some. There was also no way to determine who was an official representative or delegate to the conference and who had just come of their own volition.

The mood of the poor and the unpreparedness of the conference leaders to cope with their honest anger contributed to the disintegration of the luncheon at which Shriver spoke into a temporary chaos of shouting and emotional outbursts.

We feel that any "troublemakers", whether they had come for that purpose or had spontaneously joined forces at the conference, could not have held sway unless they had spoken to the deep-felt mood of the crowd. The poor showed lack of confidence in OEO, and a mistrust of practically anyone who wasn't "poor". But for all that, it seemed that the majority of the poor had come ready to work for concrete goals. In this they were disappointed, which will only add another letdown for themselves and their constituents back home.

This conference has indicated to us two things -- first, the breakdown in communication, which must be based on trust, between the poor and those working to help them. No one from the CCAP board could command the respect of these people or bring the conference back to order once it had broken up.

More importantly, it appears that the OEO alone cannot "win the war on poverty". The message we felt came through loud and clear was that present governmental programs, including OEO, do not add up to a "war on poverty". The poor themselves pointed out that, in a "shooting war", the entire resources of the nation are brought into play. Such a marshalling of forces is what is needed to combat poverty. This means massive programs of relief, food distribution, creation of jobs, production of homes, and much more. And, judging from the attitude of the people, the time for discussing the problems of the poor is over. The poor felt their problems had been adequately defined. What they wanted, and what is needed is concrete action to stamp out poverty.

PHILADELPHIA METROPOLITAN HOUSING PROGRAM. This 18-month program has been operating from the national offices of AFSC since November, 1965. As a demonstration project it is attempting to develop with government agencies an affirmative policy especially in relating FHA/VA housing to minority buyers. This has involved developing close working relationships with federal agencies and new techniques in reaching buyers on a large scale through use of the mass media.

Some of the concrete aims of the project have included stirring leadership for buyer encouragement and education from within the minority community and stimulating fair housing councils to active involvement in buyer motivation.

Nate Greene directs and coordinates the program. Two field workers, Julia Robinson and Barbara Krasner, work with Nate. At present Julia is coordinating the Housing Information Service in Camden, New Jersey, and is working with Barbara on using the mass media to inform the entire metropolitan area about HIS.

Thus far the program has used posters, an advertisement in a local paper which is widely read in the minority community, spot announcements on radio stations, meetings with civic, religious, social, etc. groups. The program is deeply involved in buyer workshops and has recently established workshops in two new areas.

As another method of reaching a mass market, a fold-out brochure has been developed. Ten thousand copies have been run and staff are planning to distribute them at meetings, on a selective door-to-door basis, and through approximately 10 cooperating brokerage offices.

One new idea, which may or may not be attempted, is a Fair Housing Sunday. This could involve a white and Negro cleric swapping pulpits on a particular Sunday and speaking on fair housing to the congregation. Or, the sermon for a particular Sunday and the church bulletin cover for that day could be devoted to fair housing. Or, there could be a combination of these approaches.

All these methods of informing the minority community are of an experimental or research nature. Staff are attempting to determine, among other things, which method or methods reach the most people and obtain the desired response. The project will continue through April, 1967.

SELF-HELP HOUSING CONFERENCE. The report on the First National Conference on Self-Help Housing has been printed and is ready for distribution. A copy is attached. If you remember, the conference ended just before round-up last December and was much on the minds and in the conversation of those who had attended it.

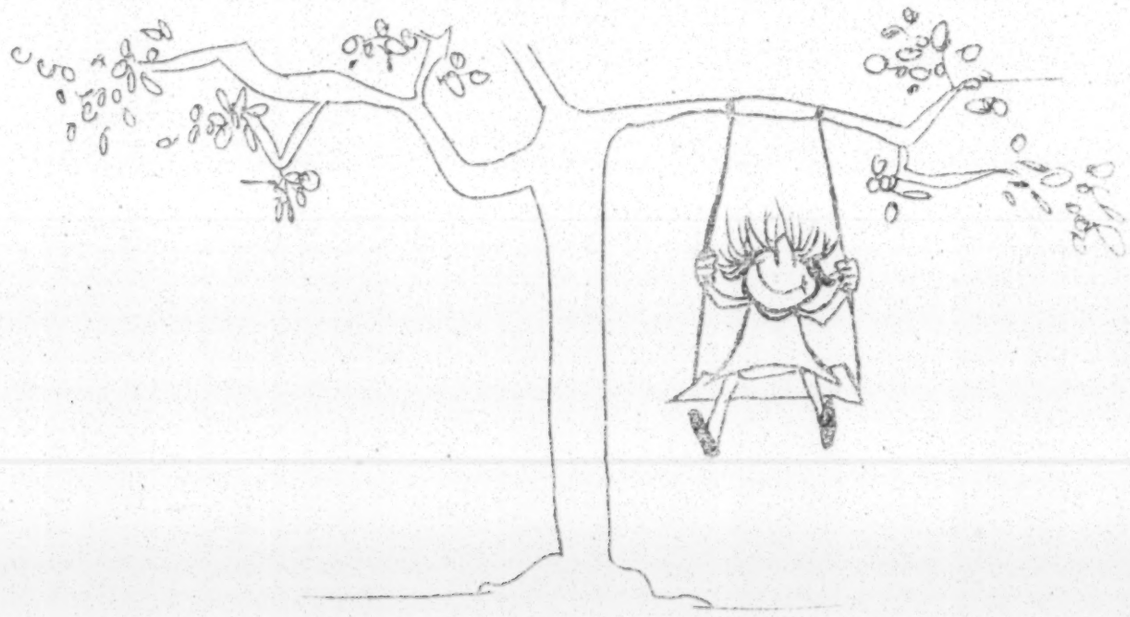
Digests of the major addresses of the conference are included in the report along with the recommendations and work shop reports. Of particular interest is Section V, "Planning For The Future". This section reports on the establishment of a permanent self-help housing organization, International Self-Help Housing Associates (acronymically, ISHHA). The formation of ISHHA was in response to a conference recommendation which was later amplified by specific and detailed suggestions from conference participants.

An organizing committee met in February and officially created ISHHA and has begun incorporation proceedings.

ISHHA is intended to serve as a center for the collection, evaluation and dissemination of information and experiences in self-help housing. In addition it will develop and encourage new techniques in the field. To implement these and other goals, ISHHA proposes to undertake specific projects such as distributing information collected from all groups working in self-help housing through a newsletter, booklets and other materials; encourage on-the-job training programs; develop programs to bring self-help housing to the lowest income groups in our society; assist federal and state government agencies in making maximum use of their resources in support of community development and self-help housing, and coordinate the search for new materials and construction techniques.

ISHHA is being directed by Mariana Alcock, CRD Committee member and Conference Coordinator, who is serving as temporary Organizing Secretary. Further information can be obtained from her at 522 Kerfoot Farm Road, Wilmington, Delaware 19803.

MSP:bs



P.D.I. #2 ATTACHMENT I

CCAP 2ND ANNUAL MEETING

A DIGEST AND COMMENTARY ON MAJOR EVENTS AND FORUM C

Wednesday, April 13

9:30 - Address by Walter Reuther

He commented on the nature of CCAP, briefly calling it a broad-based coalition united by a moral commitment, a coalition of conscience. He went on to deplore the situation of poverty in the midst of plenty, especially the social or spiritual poverty resulting from economic poverty. Reuther called for participation of the poor in American life and for the refocusing of the value system away from market place morals.

10:30 - lunch Forum C - "Maximum Feasible Participation" began its stormy sessions.

The chairman, Bayard Rustin, following a general discussion and sharing of problems, summed up the consensus as follows: (1) OEO has failed in obtaining maximum feasible participation of the poor in CAPs; (2) the poor should be paid for their participation on CAP boards; (3) the poor need technical assistance for utilizing government programs. Point #3 was shouted down. The forum felt the poor needed to get the money available, not more technicians.

Lunch - Address by Dr. Eugene Carson Blake (emphasis on fighting communism)

3:15 - Voices from the Nation Panel

Delores Huerta, speaking for a delegation from Delano, California, effectively described the organization of the grape strike.

Mrs. Unita Blackwell, a member of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party representing the delegation from the Mississippi Delta gave the first stirring speech of the day. Among other things she said, "We want the resources and money in the hands of the people. The people are tired. There's a political conspiracy to get us out of Mississippi."

The final speech was delivered by Carl Johnson, representing the Appalachia delegation.

Wednesday, April 13 (con't)

4 or 4:30 - Continuation of Forums.

Before disintegrating into suggestions, counter-suggestions, general griping, real or imagined procedural slights, Forum C managed to formulate four proposals: (1) the poor should form their own CAP type organizations and hire their own technicians; (2) OEO should not back CAPs run by the power structure; (3) in some areas there must be free elections of the board of supervisors who run the locality; (4) the board of CCAP itself should be extended to include the poor.

8:15 - Post-Dinner address by Roy Wilkins

9:00 - 1:00 A.M. Continuation of Forums.

(By this time many people not originally in Forum C had gotten wind of the liveliness of the sessions and had drifted in. As other forums ended, more joined. Anyone who felt like voting, or speaking, was allowed to do so.)

By this time, Marge King, from Syracuse, New York, had drawn up and had mimeographed close to 10 resolutions concerning suggestions for CCAP board action, and suggestions on CCAP structure and membership. She had at a previous session been asked to do so by Rustin in his capacity as chairman. She had been outspoken at previous forum session. She was assisted by other like-minded, and likewise outspoken delegates. These resolutions were gone over point by point, with many additions, amendments, etc., and amidst much verbal, and not always helpful, participation by the poor and/or their representatives.

Thursday, April 14

9 or 9:30 - More Voices from the Nation.

Delegations from Central Harlem, Watts, and Chicago's west side addressed the conference. A teenager from Chicago gave a moving and at points bitter speech on the effects of poverty, the educational system, and on the interference in the war on poverty of the war in Viet Nam.

12:30 or so Lunch

1 or 1:30 - Address by Sargent Shriver.

Newspaper reports of what Shriver said, or attempted to say are fairly accurate. Therefore, let us move on to what happened.

As Shriver rose to speak, a group of people stood, two by two, in the back and to the side of the room. There may have been twenty, some of whom were holding a paper in their hands. It is possible that these people were holding copies of the resolutions passed by Forum C and intended to give or read them to Shriver directly. There is no way for us to be sure, and at this point it is sheer speculation. At any rate,

as Shriver began detailing the achievements of OEO, shouts to the effect of "We've never seen any money" began from the standing group. This mood was picked up by some of the poor in the audience who began shouting questions and accusations. Shriver continued to read his speech, finished and hurried from the room, hotly pursued by a small group.

Note: As far as we knew, there was no question period scheduled following Shriver's address. Around 3 P.M., an OEO representative (Hyman Bookbinder), who had been in touch with Shriver indicated to the conference that Shriver had not been asked to answer questions.

A OCAP official asked that the room be cleared for ten minutes so the tables could be removed. Board members vacated the head table. For the next hour or so, the poor, or a sizeable portion of them, stayed in the room talking to reporters, each other, and anyone else who would listen. This was a vehement outpouring of anguish and frustration and anger. Other conference participants sat and listened, or drifted in and out of the room. Eventually, it is impossible to determine when, a woman from HARYOU-ACT apparently had taken over chairing the session, and had imposed a sort of order. Those wishing to speak their minds lined up at the microphone and spoke in turn. She put down disturbances from the floor.

In a while, bayard Rustin and some other Board members returned to the head table. Rustin quite politely attempted to resume chairmanship of the meeting as he had to leave for Philadelphia soon. By this time the woman from HARYOU had resumed consideration of the resolutions, which was the order of the session. Rustin had asked that he present the resolutions of Forum C before Forum B had been considered. He was refused, and he left. Dr. Blake took charge of the meeting, which then became bogged down in procedural arguments and quiet disorganization. At 4 P.M. he declared it impossible to transact business, and officially adjourned the conference. A conference participant quickly took the mike and asked that, as the tape recorders which had been used all thru the conference to record all discussions for later hearing by the Board were still operating, the conference vote unanimously to accept all recommendations so that the Board would take them into consideration, which was, we think, the intent of the conference. This was met with approval and affirmative action.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Joint Meeting

SOUTHERN PROGRAMS COMMITTEE - RURAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

Friday, April 29
Saturday, April 30
Sunday, May 1

AGENDA

Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina
Tel: 803-JA 4-4337

Friday, April 29, 1966

Meeting participants arrive in Savannah, Georgia and Charleston, South Carolina by plane, drive to Penn Community Services, Frogmore, Beaufort County, South Carolina. All participants should by now have tickets and notices from Marie Turner on travel plans.

6:30 - Dinner at Penn

8 p.m. - 10 p.m.

SESSION I - Economic and Political Developments in South

This introductory session should lay background for our meetings of the following two days.

10 p.m. Snack

Saturday, April 30, 1966

8 a.m. Breakfast

8:45 - 10:15 a.m.

SESSION II - School Desegregation Task Force

Staff report on our experience to date. Discussions of implications of experience for AFSC role in:

- public education
- problems of rural poverty
- linking government initiative and private agency effort.

10:45 - 12:15 p.m. - Coffee break

SESSION III - Migrant Leadership Training Program

Staff report on our experience to date. Discussion of implications of experience for AFSC role in:

- confronting economic power
- citizen organization
- work with OEO & government agencies
- agency power struggles

12:30 p.m. Lunch

Free time until 3 p.m.

3 p.m. - 5 p.m.

SESSION IV - Resources of Department of Agriculture and OEO to Combat Rural Poverty

Review and discussion of:

- their degree of effectiveness;
- barriers to their effectiveness;
- tools to increase their effectiveness (Title VI, community development, political action, citizen participation and organization).

6:30 p.m. Dinner

8 p.m. - 10 p.m.

SESSION V - Proposed South Carolina Community Relations Program (Seen as Phase II of the Task Force)

- has our experience this spring thrown particular light on this proposal?
- do we have any further thinking to share with SERO on its developments?

Sunday, May 1, 1966

8 a.m. Breakfast

9 - 10:45 a.m.

SESSION VI - Challenges Before the AFSC in the Rural South

11:15 - Noon

Closing Meeting for Worship

12:30 p.m. Lunch

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

COMMUNITY RELATIONS DIVISION

BASIS. AFSC work in community relations is based on our belief in the worth of the individual and his right to grow up in a social environment in which he can freely develop his God-given potentiality. We recognize how deeply each one of us is conditioned by participation in an unjust society, but we affirm our faith that with God's help, we can help men transcend the particularities of race, color and status and truly implement in the social order their yearning for brotherhood.

PURPOSE. We attempt to change those aspects of our community life which (1) deny basic rights and equality of opportunity; (2) inhibit some members of society from responsible participation in decision-making processes; and (3) assign second class status to those who do not conform to dominant cultural patterns. We look toward a truly free and integrated society, by which we mean one where the individual has the widest option, one in which differences, individual or group, are welcomed, but one in which all of these freedoms are undergirded by a sound base of equal rights, opportunity and shared responsibility.

CURRENT PROGRAM: GOALS AND SCOPE.

The goal of the Indian Program is to encourage the development of competence and confidence in American Indian communities to meet their pressing social, economic and political problems and to build understanding between Indians and non-Indians which will permit a two-way sharing of values and ideas. Scope: Current projects include Intertribal Friendship House, Oakland, California; community development work on the San Carlos Apache Reservation, Arizona, the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in Montana and on reservations in Southern California and Western Washington.

The goal of the Rural Affairs Program is to encourage and help people to develop rural communities or areas in which they can find continuing economic, social and educational opportunity and growth. Key rural problems include the unstructured character of labor-management relations in agriculture, the low wages paid the seasonal farm laborer, the exclusion of farm workers from benefits of social legislation, a high incidence of poverty, shifting patterns of agricultural employment and lack of knowledge of available resources. Scope: A ten year community development program among seasonal farm laborers in Tulare County California has manpower training, self-help housing, and employment assistance as components; a community relations program in Southeastern Pennsylvania has a focus on migrants; in five counties of Southern New Jersey a project is seeking to help the rural residents find answers to their economic, social and health problems. A special six-months developmental program, carried out in relationship with the New Jersey OEO has been another part of AFSC work in South Jersey. An experimental, one-year, Migrant Leadership Development Program ~~is proposed~~ for the East Coast migrant stream.

Now at work.
See PD/#1.

The goal of our School Desegregation Program is an integrated school system in which education is of the highest quality and in which decisions regarding curriculum, pupil assignment, use of facilities, and selection and assignment of faculty and other staff will be on a non-racial basis. Scope: Starting with a project in Washington, D.C. in 1952, we have worked in a number of areas. Current efforts include work in selected communities in North and South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama and Virginia. See Task Force - PDI #1

The goal of our Employment on Merit Program is equal job opportunity (so that employers will recruit, hire and up-grade on merit, and training facilities and membership in unions will be available on a non-discriminatory basis). Scope: Starting in 1947, programs were carried on in a number of northern cities. Currently efforts are focussed on Atlanta; and Houston, Texas. (See Housing Programs below.)

The goal of our Housing Opportunities Program is an open housing market in which members of any group may freely purchase or rent in the neighborhood in which they want to live. Scope: Staffed programs are carried on in the metropolitan areas of Washington, D.C., Boston (see Urban Affairs Program below), Los Angeles, Chicago and New York and in smaller Ohio and Indiana communities. Special efforts are being undertaken in Atlanta and San Francisco, which will seek to join the issues of housing and jobs. as Margaret Via knows -

The goal of our urban affairs work is to develop leadership and stimulate maximum citizen participation in overcoming some of the multi-faceted problems of the city; its poverty, its racial divisions and its complexity and vastness, which challenge the functioning of democracy; the crisis in its educational systems, and its housing patterns and barriers, racial and economic. Scope: Experimental programs are being carried on in Chicago, Illinois, and San Francisco, California. The Boston Low Income Housing Program (see above) has an urban orientation. Work in the Pasadena area will soon reflect an urban concern also.

The goal of our Rights of Conscience Program is to accept the individual and help him with "sufferings" grants, financial assistance for legal costs and fees, or legal counsel where he has taken a conscience-based position, to so present the legal issue of conscience to the Court that a favorable precedent on a case-by-case basis might encourage others to follow conscience and be protected when they do. Scope: No local projects. "Cases" in any part of the country. Recent emphasis on sufferings grants in southern civil rights situations.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT. The AFSC began a formal Race Relations Program in 1944. Several years later it became the Community Relations Program, the change in title reflecting the broader concerns of the group for a range of problems hindering the development of sound communities.

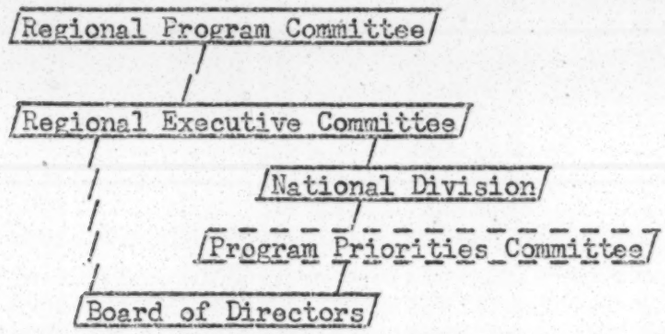
The process of program development is neither exclusively one of response to local interest nor solely a result of a national overview of the problem area. Our process seeks to combine the local and national perspectives and allow for initiatives from either direction but calls for a mutual process of working out final plans among the AFSC offices involved.

The present program is composed of national work and local projects across the country. Most field projects are guided by a local advisory committee. They are tied in directly to the AFSC regional office structure, receiving their direct supervision from regional staff and their consideration as a regional effort from the Regional Office Executive Committee.

The national office relationship to these efforts includes: (1) service, counsel and review with the goal of the qualitative development of AFSC work in this field, (2) interpretation of our experience and the issues in the field within the AFSC, with various of its constituencies, and in the wider community, (3) relating our experience to other agencies and to government, (4) setting broad AFSC policy in the field, (5) working with the Finance Department to interpret our work to sources of financial support and (6) working with the Personnel Department to apply experience gained within the program to the recruitment and selection of staff.

The National Community Relations Division organizes its Committee structure in relation to this work as follows: (1) a Division Executive Committee (Board appointed) is charged with overseeing the work of the Division as a whole (considers major issues in the field and possible AFSC responses, new program and issues and problems cutting across present program lines, assures adequate review and evaluation) and (2) national program committees (appointed by Division Executive Committee) to give ongoing guidance to the Division's work as currently organized (guide work of national program staff, counsel to field efforts, responsible for qualitative development of program in given field).

The decision-making process, looked at in the larger framework of the AFSC is represented by the following chart:



CRITERIA. Program concerns arise regionally and nationally often with a sense of urgency in either or both places. The question of deciding on the appropriateness of a given proposal for community relations attention and of deciding what priority we should give to it is difficult. Our Statement of Purpose suggests that perhaps we could be asked to deal with those problems which involve the relationship of one group to another in which real or assumed differences (racial, color, ethnic, religious, status) are the basis for denying equal opportunity or assigning second class status.

Therefore we must pay particular attention to factors which enter into decisions to take up a new effort. In April 1963, the Community Relations Division Executive Committee developed the following criteria. Not all of these criteria apply in each instance; in every case rigid interpretations and stiffling boundaries would be avoided.

1. Does the work offer opportunity to contribute to the <u>prevention or to the solution of a problem</u> and not deal solely with its symptoms?

2. Is there need for <u>our particular contribution</u>, in light of what other groups may or should be doing?

3. Does the work have demonstration value? Are its lessons transferrable?

4. Would it enhance our current work, bring new insights or quality to our present efforts?

5. Does it meet a particularly critical need or have symbolic value?

6. Does it offer an opportunity to respond to the heightened awareness or sensitivity which crises sometimes leave in their wake?

7. Do we have the necessary resources?:

   a. Sufficient committee and staff concern -- regional and national -- to ensure proper attention to the work within the total AFSC structure

   b. Experience which fits the AFSC to undertake the work or valid reasons why we should develop competence in the area proposed

   c. Access to adequate personnel to do the job.

September 30, 1965

For circulation within AFSC only

PDI #1

APR 6 1966

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENTS & ISSUES

THE GRAPE STRIKE in Delano, California. Some of you may have read or in other ways learned of the grape strike in Delano, California. (Those who participated in the Sunday morning "Mass Movements" session at Round-up heard Bard McAllister's brief report on the strike.) The National Farm Workers Association (mostly Mexican Americans) and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (mostly Filipinos), jointly struck the vineyards and grape growers in September, 1965. The basic issues involve raising wages from $1.20 to $1.40 guaranteed minimum plus 25¢ a box, better working conditions, and the right of the above organizations to serve as the collective bargaining agents of the workers.

AFSC, through the Northern California and Pacific Southwest Regional Offices, has committed $11,300 for the relief of the families involved in the strike. This means covering expenses for rent, utilities and drugs. The regional offices are seeking further funds.

In addition to the strike, a 300 mile walk from Delano to Sacramento began March 21 and will end Easter day. This penetential march, called "Peregrinacion, Penitencia, Revolucion," involves approximately 150 strikers. The walk or pilgrimage is an attempt to draw the attention of the general public to the plight of the worker, and to make collective bargaining a political necessity in agriculture. It is also a time for the workers to examine their own minds on the issues of the strike.

A further development of the strike involves a national movement to boycott grapes and grape products from the stricken area. Some AFSC regional offices, in addition to being approached for financial support, have been asked to endorse the boycott.

A special memo is being sent to the regional offices by the Community Relations Division, drafted after consultation with the two regional offices closest to the situation and after lengthy discussions with the Rural Affairs Committee. This memo suggests possible AFSC roles in the boycott and on other matters involved in the strike.

Should any of you care to learn more about the strike, the Farm Worker Press, Inc. (P.O. Box 1060, Delano, California) has published Huelga The First Hundred Days of the Great Delano Grape Strike. This book describes the background of the huelga (the word meaning strike which has become the rallying cry of the workers) and the details the personal experiences and the human elements of the strike. The Middle Atlantic Regional Office is selling the book and using the proceeds for the relief of the striking families. (We have not been able to determine if any other regional offices are doing this.)

A smaller, more concise pamphlet on the strike, Huelga, has been published by the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, 112 Eighth Street, New York 10003.

MIGRANT LEADERSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT. This pilot project in educating seasonal farm laborers in leadership training has been operating on the east coast of Florida since November, 1965. Developed by the Southeastern Regional Office and financed under Title III B of the Economic Opportunity Act, the program is designed to work with approximately 15 seasonal farm laborers, or program aides. These will be chosen from different crews working in the East Coast Migratory stream. This project will educate these workers in their rights under federal and state laws and assist them in securing those rights and services for their fellow workers.

William Channel, the director, has established an office in the West Palm Beach area, between the Rangeline and the Belle Glade section of Florida. This territory has a heavy concentration of migrant labor camps.

While AFSC's project does not attempt to tackle all the problems of the seasonal farm laborer -- inadequate income, sub-standard housing owned by growers, lack of organization -- the project will attempt to aid the workers in acquiring information and skills that will enable them to help themselves.

The first training sessions, meeting once a week, have begun. This set-up will allow the aides to use their day haul crews as a "laboratory" for the methods of leadership and selection of issues they are learning. The aides will also learn about those sections of federal and state laws, such as the Manpower Development and Training Act, Economic Opportunity Act, Crew Leader Registration Act, Social Security regulations, minimum wage laws, school attendance laws, etc., which pertain to migratory workers.

When the crews begin moving north, the program aides will receive more specific information on the communities they will be working in. Part-time community associates will be located in these areas to assist the aides, supply more detailed information, and to help individual families who may choose to settle in the community.

In addition to Bill Channel, three field workers are attached to the program -- Sam Jackson, James Pollard, and Clarence "Hank" Meyer. Since November, the staff have been meeting and establishing working relationships with crew members, crew leaders, and community people who can lead them to key people in migrant crews. This has involved working as day haul workers, picking beans and tomatoes while talking to crew members, and weekend meetings with workers in their homes and in labor camps.

Getting into labor camps has proved difficult in some cases. Bill Channel learned that, in one instance, members of the public health service were refused entrance to a camp. The camp administrators are suspicious of strangers who visit the camps too frequently. And if the visitor is white and the camp Negro the suspicion develops that much quicker. But the AFSC field workers have been able to gain the confidence of the workers and have been able to "blend in" to the camps.

The Community Action Fund in Florida has proved cooperative and, by the nature of its work in literacy, health education, food management, etc., has complemented AFSC's work. The CAF was formerly the migrant project of the Community Services Foundation, but it is now a separate organization.

One recent outgrowth of a staff-crew leader discussion has been an attempt by the crew leaders to organize and present a united front concerning working conditions and piece work rates when the farm representatives from the north come to Florida for the annual "pooled interviews". AFSC staff is endeavoring to keep the crew workers and their needs in the picture.

AFSC field workers and the community associates will keep in contact with the program aides, who will come from different crews, when they travel north. It is expected that every one involved in the program will closely report and record his experiences, which is an important part of this pilot project.

In the course of the program we hope to learn whether the program aides, after training, will remain seasonal farm workers or choose another line of work; how crew leaders will react to trained workers -- will they resent them and consider them a threat to authority? Welcome their help?; how effective will the program aides be in the various communities in which they will work, as leaders and as migratory farm workers?

LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TRAINING FOR INDIAN YOUTH. AFSC's American Indian Program has developed a proposal for training Indian youths in leadership and in community development. The purpose of the program is two-fold: (1) to prepare Indian youths for positions of responsibility in Indian communities or in urban social agencies working with Indians; and (2) to give them training to help them bridge the existing gap in communication and experience between the local reservation and the federal government and the urban, non-Indian world.

The program would involve three groups of approximately eight Indian young people, with either a college education or equivalent experience, in two years of work and learning experience. The training would include rural community development experiences in AFSC summer service project; experience working with a social agency in a city to which Indian people have relocated in considerable numbers; an intensive two-month seminar in Washington, D.C. to consider the meaning of these two experiences and to study the workings of the federal government; and a year's training in a community development project in an Indian community under the supervision of a skilled community development worker.

AFSC has found that the community development approach is effective in encouraging the development of the skills of self-determination and yet minimizes the threat to further undermining the little security left most Indian communities. The community development approach involves a strong insistence on the ability and need of all people to identify their own needs and work to meet them in ways which make sense to them.

We are hoping to work with other agencies concerned with Indian youths in implementing this program. June 1, 1966 is the proposed starting date pending full funding, which is now being sought.

TASK FORCE for School Desegregation. The 1966 School Desegregation Task Force has swung into operation. This year's program will cover those seven states involved last year (Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina) and will be extended to Arkansas and northern Florida. Work will be coordinated from Atlanta as a program of the Southeastern Regional Office.

So far, full time staff include Constance Curry, the program coordinator, and Addie Ringfield, administrative assistant, working out of Atlanta; Winifred Falls in Alabama; and Bayes Mizell in South Carolina. A third full time staff person is being sought for Georgia and part time associates are being lined up.

As last year, the task force is a joint effort of AFSC and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. An Inc. Fund staff person will supervise their work, but reports will come to the Atlanta Office and become part of the overall picture. A "panel" of AFSC and Legal Defense Fund staff will meet from time to time to review the work and make sure we are using all our resources.

In addition to last year's goal of achieving desegregation of as many school districts on as extensive a basis as possible, there is another dimension to the 1966 program. Phase II of this year's efforts involves an experimental program in South Carolina which would work toward one educational system for all, and a quality educational experience.

On March 12, 1966, a week after issuance of the new guidelines by the Office of Education, a state-wide leadership conference on school desegregation was held in Montgomery, Alabama. Sponsored by AFSC, SCLC, SNCC, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Alabama Council on Human Relations and Alabama branches of the NAACP, the conference was intended to inform citizens of their rights under the new guidelines and to identify local people interested in organizing their community for maximum desegregation. Informing citizens and using local people as part time associates are two important aims of the task force.

The Alabama conference was attended by 280 people from 64 communities and 34 counties. Representatives of the Equal Educational Opportunities Program of HEW, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, National Education Association, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., addressed the conference. They covered the new guidelines, the progress of Title VI compliance, integration of faculties, local action program procedures, and the importance of an integrated quality education.

Speaking of the new guidelines, AFSC and NAACP Inc. Fund sent a report to John W. Gardner, Secretary of HEW, last fall which included 20 recommendations for revision of the guidelines for 1966 and improvement in implementation. (Many of you picked up the report at the round-up.) This move too is an important function of the task force -- to develop working relationships with federal officials and give them the benefit of our experience in the field. We estimate that our "batting average" on this report was close to 50%. This year's guidelines show some real improvements, but there are also some major disappointments.

In a mid-March meeting in Atlanta of AFSC and Legal Defense Fund staff, the new guidelines were discussed, with special consideration of their implications for the work of the task force. As school boards are asked to act between now and the end of April on a transfer period, the importance of timing is evident.

MSFibs

AFSC

FOR CIRCULATION WITHIN AFSC ONLY - NOT FOR PUBLICATION

REPORT OF MEETING

Southern Programs and Rural Affairs Committees

Held at
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

April 29,
30,
May 1, 1966

Friday evening, April 29 - Session I, "Economic and Political Developments in the South."

Chairman, Mabel Jessee - Chairman. Southern Programs Committee

Mabel reviewed the rationale for holding this joint meeting. She pointed out the overlapping interests of the two committees in rural poverty and civil rights. Traditionally, the Southern Programs Committee holds its last meeting of the year in the South in order to have a first hand look at a situation or program of interest. Frogmore was convenient to staff from two key programs operating in the South.

One of the major purposes of the meeting was to explore in detail the experiences of staff from the Task Force and the Migrant Leadership Training Programs, drawing implications for future programs and American Friends Service Committee roles. Reviewing our thoughts on the long range roles and consideration of new initiatives rather than direct guidance of program are the appropriate roles of these committees. In particular, Session V would ask the committees to contribute to the further development of the South Carolina Program (Phase II of the Task Force operation), proposed by the Southeastern Regional Office.

Courtney Siceloff, director of Penn Community Services, reviewed the history of the Sea Islands and the development of Penn. Then he introduced Joe McDomick, a community development worker at Penn.

Joe explained that getting people organized to act is what he considers community development. Staff make daily visits to each of nine communities, offering assistance on problems ranging from helping people file for social security to helping them fill out birth certificates. They also try to keep abreast of new federal programs and pass this information on to the people. The daytime visits are supplemented by evening meetings so working people can also be contacted.

Currently, staff at Penn are working on three projects: writing a proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) for day care centers; preparing to approach the Farmers Home Administration (FHA) for the financing of a water system; and introducing the concept of self-help housing to the communities.

Following a round of self-introductions (a list of participants is attached), Mabel Jessee asked Emory Via, who is with the Southern Regional Council, to share his thoughts on what's happening in the South - economically, politically, and socially.

Emory began by saying that, not only was he not an expert on these aspects of the South, but no one else was either. The proliferation of data indicating the constantly and rapidly changing scene effectively hinder the development of experts.

First off, the South is not, if it ever was, the "Old South" of wealth, mansions and content Negroes. Nor is it any longer "poor" in the same way, though it is still the poorest region in the country. There are and there have been many Souths. In the 1930's it was the practice to divide the South into geographia sub-regions - the mountain areas, piedmont, plains, and coastal lands. It is true that these sub-regions developed along different lines. And this has influenced the current situation in these areas. But the South has changed and is still changing. The question is, what is the direction of this change? Is the change a positive, "good" one?

Perhaps it is an optimistic view, but some changes may indicate a positive shift. The tradition of democratic institutions is growing. Negroes are beginning to be included in most important areas of life, except employment. True, this is mainly a move from exclusion to grudging token inclusion, but it is a move.

Emory felt that the handicapping mores of the South have been breached permanently. The economy is on an upward trend. It is possible that the negative aspects, the violence, are the South's last gasp of defiance before accepting the inevitable. And, though it may not seem much of an improvement, the South no longer lynches people, but rather kills them by other means. This is a qualitative change.

Only 10 years ago, Negroes felt they could not tell anyone how they felt, what their life was like. Even to talk to sympathetic people outside their own community of such things was a matter of secrecy and jeopardy. Today, Negroes know they can get press coverage, that civil rights groups will not only listen but do something to help. They feel freer. Where once there was submission, now there is smoldering resistance. But, can this change be directed to good ends?

In the area of race relations, the South <u>is</u> a distinct separate region. The rest of the country recognizes this, and the South recognizes this distinction. But, again, this may be developed into a positive element.

The Southern "liberals" were presented with a strong challenge to their liberalism in 1954 when, by law, it was made clear that all things public should be desegregated. In some areas of the South, such as Tennessee and Kentucky, this brought about grudging acceptance. In other areas, like South Carolina, the reaction was to delay as much as possible. And in places like Mississippi and Alabama, there was all-out resistance.

Today there is a general malaise. Violence is still a part of the reaction to desegregation. And there are new forms of Negro discontent combined with disagreements within the Negro community. White and Negro poor lack economic and personal security and leadership. The poor whites, who outnumber Negroes, lack even the new hope of the Negroes, having no organization, no "movement" to champion their cause. Their only hope is the hope of resistence. The legal aspects of discrimination may be remedied, but the problems are not solved.

There are strong economic forces at work in the South. And these are the real actors in the drama. There are few examples of a small group which could act as a causative force in society. But such groups as the AFSC can have something to say about the character and the pace of change.

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Briefly, Emory cited some of the changes in economy of the South: 1) population shifts. Almost all the Southern states have experienced heavy losses in Negro population, both numerically and proportionally, except for Louisiana and Florida. There has also been a loss of white population, though fewer states show it. In 1940, 77% of all Negroes in the U.S. were in the South. By 1960, the proportion was about 50/50. People move to economic opportunity, or are chased out. But they move. And this also affects the areas to which they move;

2) the patterns of urban growth in the South are spread out, but are mainly concentrated in the piedmont and coastal areas; 3) the South has become a part of the national scene, of the national economy. This is recognized by Southerners and by the rest of the country too; 4) the concept of a "cash crop" has disappeared. Cotton is no longer King; 5) industry has increased and diversified in the South, even though the average number of persons at the poverty level is still higher than that of the country generally. There has been a three-fold increase in the value added in the economy. But this is spread over 11 states, and is not as good as the upsurge in the North. Textile is still the key industry. (North Carolina, because of the dominance of woodworking and textile industries ranks 50th in the Union in average hourly wage and is least organized by labor having only 7% of the organizable work force organized).

To go back for a minute to cotton. What happened? There was the onslaught of the boll weevil; market shifts; introduction of mechanization and new strains of cotton. The combination of all these helped dethrone cotton. And the same end may be in store for tobacco. This has left many of the one-skill workers without jobs. The most vulnerable appear to be the cotton choppers, with either no cotton to chop, or with their job absorbed by machines.

The politics of the South, too, have been influenced by many factors - reapportionment, the death of the poll tax, increased Negro voter registration. In addition, the concept of forming coalitions is developing in many areas.

The Negro is beginning to realize the power of his numbers. He is running for political office, being wooed by politicians. Yet they are not a solid front. There is fractionalization of Negro leadership when the issue is not strictly one of race. And racism, as a political issue, is lessening in elections.

(In Alabama, 85 Negro candidates are running in primaries. In Florida the most conservative candidates have appealed for the Negro vote. An unemployment insurance bill and a wage compensation bill have been passed in Virginia. Both are weak, but an improvement.)

What are the implications for AFSC? There are no simple solutions, for both the long range and the short range needs of the poor and the Negro must be met. While only 15% of the South's population will be on farms in the future, as opposed to the 50% now there, those who choose to stay will need help. The unskilled and uneducated need economic assistance now. But they will also need skills, skills so they can work now and skills which will retain their usefulness in the future. Where do you start, where do you concentrate your efforts? AFSC must try to meet both needs - the long and the short. And we must continue the job of building bridges between class, color, culture - between people.

Saturday morning, - Session II, School Desegregation Task Force
Chairman, Mabel Jessee

Constance Curry, director of the Task Force based in Atlanta, reported on the overall effort. Staff waited through February for issuance of the new guidelines by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. When they finally appeared the Task Force staff felt that many loopholes had been filled. Then the staff set out to hold state-wide meetings to inform parents and interested citizens about the guidelines.

The first state-wide meeting was in Montogomery, Alabama, March 12; the next in Georgia, March 17. The parents and others attending, mostly rural people, were interested, serious and they left the meetings to go home and organize for compliance.

The Civil Rights Commission, along about this time, began holding state-wide meetings. They invited the task force to participate. These meetings included leaders and officials of the states and localities in the morning sessions, and concentrated on parents and interested citizens in the afternoon sessions. These were held in Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi and Virginia. AFSC also held a state meeting in Florida, which is not organized, has been generally ignored and is still in the grip of fear.

Additional meetings are planned for North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. These will be mainly to discover how things are going because, presumably, the deadline for filing compliance plans will be past. Often, the reaction of state officials and local superintendents has been - what is the minimum we can get away with, the minumum amount of compliance.

At all these meetings, AFSC's desegregation packets have been handed out. And, from what staff have been able to observe, they are read and used. Around April 1, field operations were started in Alabama where program associates began door to door recruiting. (There are six associates in Alabama, two in Mississippi, five in South Carolina, three in Georgia, and one in Virginia, one in North Carolina, none in Louisiana.)

Connie commented that, working in the field, she was able to see many of the problems which Emory Via mentioned. How can the families be helped after they suffer reprisals for integrating schools? What is our responsibility, beyond family-by-family aid?

Winifred Falls picked up from here with the Alabama story. One hundred and fifty people had registered for the Montgomery meeting, and 300 showed up. They represented 37 of the 67 counties in Alabama. Wini felt the message is getting through. The people have read the guidelines and understand them. They also are aware of the importance of education. One man, a cotton chopper, said that soon there wouldn't be any more cotton chopping to do and his kids needed an education so they could get good jobs. (This poses, of course, the next question: how good is the education, even desegregated, going to be? And what are the jobs of the future?)

Alabama has six part-time associates: Mrs. Annie Williams, who put her own children in formerly all-white schools and got 19 other children to do likewise in Wetumpka County. She carries her children's school work with her to show parents the advantages of the desegregated schools; Mrs. Carrie Peavy, whose home

was burned down, ostensibly from spontaneous combustion, after her children desegregated a school; Mrs. Annie Braxton in Demopolis, who is also running for tax assessor. She combines campaigning and working for school desegregation. The Braxtons suffered no reprisals until they attended a PTA meeting. After that, both she and her husband lost their jobs; Mrs. Lewis Black, who has had experience with credit unions; Mrs. Lillian McGill, who is with the Lowndes County Christian Movement; and Miss Claire McMeans, also in Lowndes County.

The Economic reprisals suffered by parents are only part of the picture. Wini pointed out the subtle and not so subtle, reprisals within the schools. One senior girl and her family and friends, was anxiously awaiting the school annual. She was looking forward to the book as something she would always have and could be proud of. When the book came out, the caption under her picture was a snide comment to the effect - I pay my money and I take my choice. Another picture had an equally offensive comment. This, on top of the usual insults and name calling throughout the year, was to be her reminder of high school.

Some of the HEW officials in the field, the compliance officers, are incompetent or so new to the job as to be useless. "There is already some disillusionment with the Federal Government." There are also some who are hard working, forceful, know their job, and welcome the kind of help AFSC can offer, the kind of pressure we can facilitate.

But the guidelines must be enforced successfully. "If HEW doesn't show commitment this year, the superintendents will laugh in their face from now on."

Moving on to South Carolina, Hayes Mizell said that the state was more "genteel" than other areas of the South. There was no "movement" here, neither was there wide spread violence. There are five associates, and one other worker, who is attached to Penn in South Carolina.

Of the 108 school districts in the state 90 have filed desegregation plans, and seven are under court order. Staff are working in 31 of South Carolina's 47 counties, holding mass meetings, talking with community leaders, and canvassing door-to-door.

South Carolina communities lack, or we have not yet discovered, secondary leadership. At present, the few leaders in the Negro community are too deeply involved in politics or political education to devote much time to school desegregation.

Often staff find that they reach the parents too late, the transfer slips have already been sent, opting to return to the old schools. In most cases, the choice has been left to the children.

Hayes identified Dorchester County as one of the tough areas. In a section called the "Club House" the people organized and got 60-70 children to transfer. After getting a general runaround from the superintendent, they filed a complaint. Hayes thinks they have a fair chance of getting action.

Although there are still some who maintain the "never" attitude, South Carolina officials generally use delaying tactics, with the excuse that "they're trying" and need time.

In Beaufort, the situation is a bit more optimistic. Frieda Mitchell, program associate, pointed out that the Beaufort area has two military bases, which means the presence of many servicemen's children and military teachers. Some teachers and a principal have been cooperating.

There have not been economic reprisals or intimidation in the County. But there seems to be a lack of educational awareness - a realization of the value of education per se. (South Carolina repealed its compulsory school attendance law shortly after the Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. Board of Education). A complacency, born of tradition in part, exists among Negro parents who are content to let their children choose the schools they want to attend.

Saturday morning, - Session III, Migrant Leadership Training Program
Chairman, Mariana Alcock, Chairman of the Rural Affairs Committee).

William Channel, director of the OEO-financed project, gave a brief description of conditions in which migrant laborers live and work. Last fall, when a frost put pressure on growers to get the crops harvested quickly, and when vegetable prices doubled, wages for the pickers were cut. The cost of labor seems to have no connection with produce prices or profits, and are determined more or less along supply-demand lines. Any consideration of whether a worker can support himself and his family also seems to be irrelevant in the eyes of the grower.

Housing for migrant laborers is terrible and expensive. The units often are those built by the federal government in the 1940's which were given to local authorities. They, in turn, let them to growers or grower dominated housing authorities. The workers pay $7 - $8 a week for these, or, as they move north into houses which should be condemned, $15-$17 a week. Bill feels such conditions will continue to exist as long as growers control housing and as long as the workers agree to live there.

The project is designed to get people to do something, to get people mad. The aides in the program move around in the fields, talking to as many people as possible, getting many people mad at once. Also, Bill recognizes that if only one or a few people get mad and file complaints, they can easily be fired.

The aides are people from crews who are being trained and informed of the laws, their rights, and situations in different areas and states. They will help spread the word to their fellow workers while they are in the field. The program has three field workers who are responsible for five crews and see one migrant aide once a week.

When the crews move north, community associates will back them up. Most camps are isolated and often there is a tacit or a paid agreement between growers or crew leaders and the local law. As long as the workers don't come into town and cause trouble, the law will look the other way when anything illegal goes on in camp. But, if officials know there is a community resident who knows what is going on, who knows a complaint has been filed, they may not be so ready to look the other way.

Bill mentioned the tyranny of the machine, in particular the potato grader. Work time is determined by an electric clock rigged to the grader. One man worked from 7 a.m. to 1:30 a.m. the next morning, at $1.25 an hour. His pay was $4 because the grader ran for under four hours.

At the start of the project, Bill wondered how the program would be affected by the attitudes of the crew leaders, who were more or less considered as much an "enemy" as the growers. But many of the leaders turned out to be helpful and willing to cooperate. And they, too, needed assistance.

Early in April, as the result of a discussion between one of Bill's field workers and a sympathetic crew leader, and following three informal meetings, about 145 crew leaders formed the United Agricultural Workers of America, and elected Ed King as president. A lawyer from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has volunteered his services to help them draft a charter. There are approximately 400 crew leaders in the organization and next fall they intend to accept laborers, which has been a major concern of AFSC staff. The United Steel Workers have been attending meetings and appear intent on taking over the UAWA. However, they know little about the problems of the crew leaders, the pickers, or farming in general.

Every year, under the Annual Worker Plan, farm labor personnel from the Bureau of Employment Security - the State Employment Offices, represent the growers in Florida. They sit at tables while crew leaders move from one to the other. This year the leaders presented these representatives with price lists. At first, the representatives said they had no power to bargain, but later, after about 10 days, they asked to see the lists again. In part this is because the growers fear a shortage of pickers.

In one case a Michigan grower came down to Florida to search out the crew leader he had had last year. After looking at the price list, which is an increase for both the leader and the pickers but is still modest in its demands, the grower said okay. In fact, if the crew leader could get his men up immediately, the grower would pay by the hour for weeding and such for a few weeks until the strawberry crop was ready. Then, he would pay by the hour for the first picking, which is apt to be small and pay 10¢ (5¢ for the pickers, 5¢ for the crew leader) over the asking price. Further, if the single men in the crew would stick around, they could harvest the fall crop of apples.

Such success is encouraging. But, in part, it is due to the demand for pickers. Next year, Bill feels the going will be much rougher, because the growers, especially the citrus growers, will be ready. And the United Steel Workers are trying to move in, with the danger that, not knowing what the situation really is, they may call a strike that is easily broken. Then the union will move on but the strikers will be out of a job and more disorganized than before. This has happened in California, and Bill feels it must not happen in Florida.

When it comes time to move North, AFSC field workers will follow three crews which are going to North Carolina, New Jersey and New York. One field worker will go directly to New Jersey. Some of the crews go directly to New York, others will hit North Carolina and then to New York.

As an overall impression, Bill said he found working under OEO somewhat restrictive and lacking in flexibility, but so far he has been able to live with it.

<u>Saturday afternoon</u>, - Session IV,
Chairman, Percy Baker

Elizabeth Herring began the discussion of government resources available for low-income people. Dealing primarily with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, she commented that a certain amount of rigidity has set in, and there is quite a bit of jurisdictional in-fighting. The problem is how to get such an institution to focus its resources on the individuals who need them.

Secretary Freeman set up Rural Areas Development Committees and Technical Action Panels. The Farmers Home Administration representative in the area is always the chairman. These public advisory committees often consist of the same people and there is a lack of new philosophy. But they do recognize the need for a catalyst on the local scene to get some action out of federal agencies.

The Rural Community Development Service, headed by Robert Lewis, has been established under the Johnson Administration. This has two kinds of staff. One component is the Field staff, headed by Jim Wood. They are supposed to stir things up and work with other agencies - USDA, HEW, Labor. The other component is the Program Development Staff, under George Bickle. They are working on the problem of matching funds, stressing that labor can count, trying to help people establish viable co-ops. These two components are attempting to meet the needs of the people.

Continuing the discussion of government resources, Clay Cochran presented the case from his experience in the Office of Economic Opportunity. Clay, who had done a special paper on the way in which OEO could help meet the needs of farm laborers, said that OEO has neither the money, the staff, nor the organization to really carry on a war against poverty. He felt that the Rural Community Action Program had been developed by people with a metropolitan background who did not understand rural organization. The organizational basis is therefore on a county or multi-county unit which is unworkable. The Rural Task Force of the OEO has been stripped of its authority to do much and it is not expected that it will make a great contribution unless new life is injected into it. Title IIIB is restricted by the limitation of the wording and by lack of staff and lack of funds.

In talking about the problems of OEO, Clay said that Sargent Shriver was suffering from the fear syndrome and it was a real question as to how he would emerge.

Clay pointed out that the Labor Department survey of three Mississippi counties showed unemployment at 65%, 68% and 70%.

The need to coordinate all the different agencies is recognized, but the only coordinating ability in the OEO is the CAP and pressure at higher level by Sargent Shriver. However, an attempt by Sargent Shriver to coordinate other agencies was slapped down by the President. Now the RCDS has a Presidential mandate to coordinate. Clay said he wasn't sure what was going on nor was he sure that anyone else knew either.

Clay pointed out the services are not going to be any good to the poor unless the poor, black and white together, can be enabled to expose maladministration and put pressure on the right place. Elizabeth Herring raised the question as to whether the Task Force experience might not be applicable to other fields of interest and stressed the need for continuing groups to keep the heat on if these resources are to be useful. Clay said that it was too bad the word "vigilante" had such bad overtones because what is needed is a person who would help people to take advantage of the resources. There are plenty of resources. The Civil Rights Advisory Committee to Secretary Freeman is unfortunately mostly window dressing in Clay Cochran's opinion. He is a member of that committee. He felt that the congressmen are the key to community action programs.

To date very little money has actually been spent in the South. $32 million in the 11 southern states. If you subtract the $12 million that has gone to Atlanta and the "Star" program in Mississippi, that means $20 million in 11 states and only $6 million for the rural areas of those states which averages 35¢ a head. In

discussing Head Start it was pointed out that Head Start by and large is all segregated unless the whites have been persuaded to come in. The same thing is happening to MDTA. Elizabeth Herring pointed out that we are beginning to see the big issues on which we must work. 1) The ability of the Appropriations Committee to kill programs and 2) the interpreting of the law to suit those in power.

Al Ulmer was then asked to describe the Southern Regional Council's Community Organization planning project of which he is the staff.

1. They are surveying existing self-help and community organization efforts including credit unions;
2. they will provide consultants to groups for help; for example, someone has gone to Wilcox County on housing and the co-op for a three month period;
3. they will seed small groups interested in starting program, i.e. production coops;
4. they will hire low-income persons to do organizational work, getting a church or civic group to pay half of the cost. An example of this, a man who has just been hired to organize chicken workers. The SRC hopes for more consultants, paid and volunteer.

In response to a question, Al Ulmer described the work of the National Sharecroppers Fund's Rural Advancement Project in the South. Jac Wasserman is in Atlanta, Art Emery (Tenn.) who is working on oil co-ops, the Rev. Hagen (South Carolina), Lavert Taylor (Florida), Louis Black and James Mayes (Miss.) make up the staff. Their job is filling the gap between the services and the individuals. On an individual basis their work has been somewhat successful, but not much has been done on a community basis.

There was some discussion of training programs for rural people and citizenship. Constance Curry urged that we train groups in the community who can support others. Al Ulmer discussed the problem of splitting the community by the choice of the person that you pick. People ask "why him." The value of interchange of training of people is important because many people are fearful of speaking in front of their neighbors. It was suggested that the Georgia program of training secondary school teachers could be adapted to meet these needs.

<u>Saturday evening</u>, - Session V, South Carolina Community Relations Program
Chairman, Courtney Siceloff

Before beginning discussion of the South Carolina program, Courtney asked Connie to follow-up a bit on the task force. She said that by May 15, HEW was supposed to have a record of the number of children transferring in each district. If the percentage of transfers is not enough, there might be another transfer period. More attention would likely be concentrated in areas where complaints have been filed. HEW has said that this year is a test of performance.

Following this brief addendum, Courtney began on the topic of the evening by describing South Carolina. This state has the highest rate of selective service rejects; a high dropout rate; a high rate of adult illiteracy; only 1.5% of Negro South Carolinians are in desegregated schools; private schools are being continued and new ones set up; all but three school districts eligible have signed form 441B. There is a good compliance officer in South Carolina and the courts are setting standards in accordance with HEW guidelines. Soon there will be a new state superintendent of education, as the old super is retiring.

State tuition grants for private schooling has stopped. A bill instituting a $21 million adult education program through grants is awaiting the governor's signature. There has been little wide-spread intimidation, and the state's political structure has been changed through reapportionment. A bill reinstituting compulsory education has been proposed, but it excludes many districts. One other big issue is free text books for elementary schools.

Hayes Mizell added that there is a lack of dialogue on issues. Perhaps the old guard is dying off and a change is due. Industrial development is steaming ahead, and this may be a factor in the drive for adult literacy education, so that people can at least read enough to run machines.

Rationale for Phase II of the Task Force includes these points: AFSC has been in South Carolina and has established a foothold; the social conditions are conducive to establishment of such a program; the state is of a manageable size. Of particular challenge in South Carolina is the fact that the resistance is led by what Ed Peeples called the "gentlemen". A gentleman doesn't say "never", he is not an easily identifiable enemy. But progress is impeded nonetheless. The phenomenon of gentlemanly resistance is apt to become more common in the South. Working in South Carolina offers us a chance to learn how to handle such a situation.

Sunday morning, - Session VI, Challenges Before AFSC
Chairman, Mariana Alcock

In a brief meeting following Saturday evening's session (and in the midst of the evening's party), the chairman of the two committees and Barbara Moffett and Eleanor Eaton met to consider what questions, concerns and ideas had been identified in the first five sessions.

Barbara reported that this informal steering committee wanted to ask the group to consider minuting our sense of the vitality and timeliness of the Migrant Leadership Program and the need for it to continue. The OEO funding is for one year only; this grant will have to be renewed or private financing sought if the program is to continue.

The committees were united in the following minute:

> The Committees expressed their appreciation of the excellent report on the Migrant Leadership Education Project given by William Channel, director, and requested staff to inform the SERO Executive Committee and the Community Relations Division Executive Committee of their conviction that this program (1) is vital, timely, and relevant; (2) requires more than 12 months to develop and consolidate the projects initiated this year; and (3) should be continued on a multi-staff basis, though not necessarily in its present specific form. Should OEO funds not be available for continuation, the Committees recommended that other financial support be sought.

Following this action, Barbara Moffett summarized some of the points which had been made throughout the week end:

1. The task force has put before us several large problems, both immediate and long range. One long range concern is the abolition of the dual school system and the establishment of one system of quality education for all. In attempting

this in South Carolina, our experience will be applicable in many areas, and not have significance only in the South. Our public education system as it now exists is being challenged throughout the country.

2. The fact of crushing rural poverty presents us with the challenge of division programs which may speak to immediate needs but not be unrelated to long range problems and trends. The need for economic security, shelter, is immediate and has not been adequately met on a large scale.

We have developed some program approaches aimed at immediate needs: the immediate need for community level action and government prodding in school desegregation; the need for articulate and organized farm labor. We find small ways to support people who suffer from reprisal; but our help is given within the framework of overwhelming poverty. And our programs are carried out in the larger framework of great uncertainty about the future of rural areas, the jobs of the future, etc. How do we relate our short range and long range views? Do we have some program frameworks already set up within which new ideas could be tried out? How about Mississippi, where we have a broadly defined Community Relations Program, where we know of housing and other needs, as well as school desegregation and merit employment opportunities for progress?

3. What is our relationship to government resources? Some of our programs are OEO-financed. The task force has provided counsel, has attempted to push HEW for results, to "keep them honest." We feel a concern with the quality and training of government field staff.

4. How does AFSC operate? In various programs we help people get power to change their situation, to affect the direction of their lives. This may be done by helping them develop skills, giving them the chance to develop self-confidence, helping them identify issues. We do not agree with an "enemy-oriented" approach in principls. In South Carolina we are faced with a challenge of demonstrating that we can concentrate on issues, not on enemies, as Saul Alinsky claims the poor must concentrate if they are to gain power. For in South Carolina, there are gentlemen, not enemies. In Florida we have found ourselves in tune with a movement and have accelerated its pace and perhaps influenced it. Are there other such places? In the Task Force we have developed a technique. Can it be transferred to other areas?

Ed Peeples had been asked to begin discussion with comments. He said that the problems of desegregation are giving way to the problems of integration. Some schools which were all white are now all Negro. This is also true of neighborhoods. The next step must be integration.

Even bearing in mind Emory's prediction of 15% of the population being on the farms, the urban migration will ultimately level off and we will need to consider how to create vital non-urban communities - small towns and farms.

Concerning our work with federal agencies, we seem to put less faith in the possibility of constructive change in the Department of Agriculture than we do in HEW or OEO. Is there any chance that Secretary Freeman, perhaps through the use of key legislators, could be interested beyond window-dressing in civil rights?

Ed expressed a concern that the concept of the individual being responsible for his environment still persists in the minds of some bureaucrats. Perhaps there is a role for AFSC in educating this concept out of existence.

We must ask ourselves if Saul Alinsky's techniques have any relevance to AFSC work. They are part of this generation's concept of community organization. But with the "surrender of the enemy and the rise of the gentlemen," there would be nothing to push against.

How about the use of community decision-making studies in which mapping out decision-making patterns might cut down the time needed to produce change?

Clay Cochran, who was asked to comment too, suggested that the problem is how to get federal agencies to function as they are meant to at the local level. Perhaps creative, resourceful people could be used in local communities to "police" federal agencies in terms of their functioning or not functioning, more or less in the role of public defender. The result of this would be not what such a person was able to do but what he could find out and what he could create. He might coordinate private groups, and certainly documentation would be part of the role.

Elizabeth Herring reminded us that the makeup of rural areas consisted of three non-farm people to one, and the trend towards a diversified economy was growing. But, whatever the distribution, there will be people living in rural areas and on farms in the years ahead.

Yet many rural people have moved to urban areas. Ed Peeples asked what AFSC's role might be among such people.

Eleanor Eaton asked if we were accepting the trend away from the farm and proceeding from this base, or should we perhaps work against or dispute this trend. Perhaps what is needed is the preservation or creation of a real choice between urban or rural life, that is, make each a place where people can live and work.

Lou Schneider suggested that the real question is "Where would you live if you could afford it?"

Clay asked if the growth of megapolis was inevitable. Has anyone, lately, formulated a theory concerning the inevitability of megapolis? Besides that, what have the great American corporations been up to? Do they have a planning role in creating a better urban-rural balance?

If we were to wait for industry to move to the rural south, Al Ulmer felt that by then the people would be gone. The problems of Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia are no land, no credit, inadequate food supply. Regional planning may be needed. And there should be a guaranteed income through supplements.

Bill Channel raised the question as to whether or not family planning was an area in which we should move. Elizabeth Korty and Mary Calderone, two of the leading experts in family planning, are Quakers. The problem is how to bring services to people who may not express a desire to help due to a lack of knowledge. Ed Peeples felt that health related problems were a very good way of working in a community and that perhaps we could encourage the ghetto-type clinics being experimented with by the University of Kentucky? He felt that the AFSC role was important because any family planning work has to be done right and should not be confused with the efforts designed to "get rid of the Negroes." It was also pointed out that the A.D.C. is an important source of income, if you don't have much work. And, if you don't have much else, children are extremely important.

Barbara Moffett suggested that it is not AFSC's role to bring industry to rural areas. Among other final suggestions were: could the type of clinic Ed Peeples described be used by the Mississippi Community Relations Program; is there a place for a credit project designed to ease credit and make present sources available; Al Ulmer suggested we "go in and show it can be done", that a poor rural community could stabilize itself; could a modified task force approach be used on the problems of the rural agricultural poor; Louis Schneider asked "do we want to subsidize people to live at the poverty level?"; perhaps in the future a man's worth will not be based on his income; planning is necessary and choice should be substituted for change or the refugee concept.

After a few minutes of silence, the meeting was adjourned.

May 18, 1966.

Participants in the Meeting of Southern Programs and Rural Affairs Committees:

John Alcock, guest

Mariana Alcock, chairman, Rural Affairs Committee

Percy Baker, Rural Affairs Committee

William Channel, director, Migrant Education Project

John Clina, guest (Interne, Southern Regional Council)

Clay Cochran, Rural Affairs Committee

Constance Curry, Southern Field Representative

Arthur Dye, Finance Secretary

Eleanor Eaton, Assistant Division Secretary

Winifred,Falls, staff, Task Force

Elizabeth Herring, Rural Affiars Committee

Mabel Jessee, Chairman, Southern Programs Committee

Joseph McDomick, staff, Penn Community Services

Frieda Mitchell, Program Associate; staff, Penn Community Services

Hayes Mizell, staff, Task Force

Patricia Mizell, guest

Barbara Moffett, Division Secretary

Maria Pappalardo, Writing Assistant

Edward Peeples, Southern Programs Committee

Louis Schneider, Associate Executive Secretary for Program

Courtney Siceloff, our host, Southern Programs Committee

Elizabeth Siceloff, our hostess, guest

Marie Turner, Secretarial Assistant

Al Ulmer, Southern Regional Council

Robin Ulmer, guest

Emory Via, Southern Regional Council

Margaret Via, guest

May 2, 1966

Miss Marie Turner
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Marie Turner:

It was a real pleasure to meet you and be with the AFSC group at Frogmore.

The statement of my expenses is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

Please make check payable to Southern Regional Council.

AFSC

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Proposal For
SOUTH CAROLINA COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, with the provisions of its Title VI which requires school boards to submit plans for desegregation, held the hope that the responsibility for school desegregation would be placed with the proper authority, the school board. In the years since the Supreme Court decision of 1954 most desegregation procedures have placed initiative and responsibility on the shoulders of the Negro child or parent.

In the spring and summer of 1965 the American Friends Service Committee carried out a "School Desegregation Task Force" using the new opportunities afforded by Title VI to achieve as much desegregation as possible in seven southern states. We feel that we played a creative role in making the provisions of the new legislation have meaning for several thousand Negro children. However, progress once again was made mainly by the courage and persistence of Negro parents and children rather than by the positive initiative of school boards and administrators.

This year, we are again operating a "Task Force" in school desegregation, working in nine states (Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas). Progress toward the very basic goal of desegregation is painfully slow; resistance is still high, both from extremist elements and unhappily, from those officials whose responsibility it is in this democratic society to provide a sound public education to all citizens equally.

The Southeastern Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee, in planning this year's Task Force in School Desegregation, projected it as a two-phased program. Phase One would focus on implementation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, and would offer our services in interpretation of the requirements of the law. Phase Two was seen as a concentrated effort in one state to move from a dual educational system to a single system with the highest quality education possible available equally to all citizens. Our experience tells us this will require voluntary acceptance of an educational program that goes beyond the government's guidelines for desegregation of public schools.

We now propose to undertake an experimental program which would work toward one educational system which would assure quality education for all - an education up to the task of turning out citizens for a rapidly changing world. We see equalized educational opportunity as a way for many of our citizens to break out of the poverty cycle of education, jobs and housing. We see a non-segregated quality education as essential preparation for citizenship. We see urgently needed savings in financial and human resources through the elimination of costly duplications of facilities and personnel necessitated by a dual educational system.

We have chosen South Carolina as the location for this effort. The AFSC has long worked in the state with a variety of programs in the field of employment and education. The state is not as given to violent response to change as other states in the Black Belt. Industrial development offers the possibility of an improved economic situation and of job opportunity for those who are trained. The Negro Community is becoming more active in political life, indicating a determination to play its role in the affairs of the state and have an equal share in its future. The state has a cohesion and is of small enough size to develop a program with a statewide framework.

We propose to begin our program with two skilled and resourceful community relations staff who can work effectively at various levels within the state. We will build on the knowledge now being accumulated in Phase One of our Task Force - knowledge of the South Carolina scene and of potential leadership for creating a concern for quality integrated education in that state.

We will also adapt from Phase One of the Task Force the use of part-time "community associates". This technique involves the use of non-professional but competent community leaders, Negro and white, to work at the community level, bringing information to people about resources for creating quality integrated education and helping them to find practical ways to move toward that goal. The AFSC experimentation with the use of "associates" in the Task Force has proved it to be a sound approach and an effective extension of a small professional staff. The activity of a dozen such associates in South Carolina today is an indication, in addition, of the potential for community leadership in that state.

We cannot chart the course of our program in advance in any detail. Staff must be free to follow opportunity and interests for constructive work where they find them. Basically, however, we will see it as our job to involve leaders in educational, industrial, religious and civic circles at both state and community levels in an attempt to develop forces for educational advance in South Carolina. We will not undertake our work as education experts. Our expertise lies in helping leadership define the problems, mobilize themselves for action, and then in serving as a channel through which the necessary resources, including those with education expertise, can be brought into the situation at the most opportune moment.

The problem is daily being defined, our Task Force experience shows. There are, even in the midst of the unreasoning resistence to desegregation, those who have accepted the inevitability of desegregation and want to help in solving the knotty problems of creating a quality school system equally available to all. One resource they need is concerned and enlightened community leadership, white and Negro. We will give primary attention to developing such a concerned citizenry. It is increasingly recognized that education takes place in a community context and our experience shows us that no amount of educational expertise or state and federal resources can produce the needed change and improvement without a base of community concern and enlightenment.

In broad outline, then, our program can be described as follows:

1. Identification and development of leadership for quality integrated education in South Carolina. This will be carried out among professional groups in the state with education interests, among industrial leaders who see the need for a trained work force, and at the grass roots level. The community level might best be mobilized by the organization of Citizens Education Committees.

2. Serve as a channel through which the massive resources for education now available from the federal government and from educational professional groups can actually reach the community level where they are needed. The base of citizen concern developed by the activities in Point One would make this possible.

3. Development of special demonstration projects within the larger framework of the program, projects which might develop patterns that can be applied elsewhere. For example, we might locate one county where sufficient recognition of the importance of quality education for all citizens suggests that a concentration of resources be put there to develop a model plan of how the related factors of poverty, race, economic opportunity and educational needs can be tackled. If any educational plan could be developed in one county of South Carolina that effectively moved from the present dual and inadequate school system to one system of sufficient quality to meet the demands of the times, the program might make a contribution to other parts of South Carolina and beyond.

4. Continue our attention to the removal of racial barriers to quality education. This job is far from done and where desegregation is still seen by educational and political leadership as the issue, attention will not be turned to the more basic job of creating one quality school system that serves the needs of the community.

5. Train community leadership who might carry on our work after the AFSC program ends. The use of part-time "associates", referred to earlier, lends itself to this goal, for it is an in-service training program of a very basic sort, as well as an immediate aspect of our on-going work.

We ask your support for this pioneering effort. Our experience shows that such a program should be designed for no less than three years, and that it may need to continue well beyond that time. During the third year of the program, progress, needs and opportunities will be reviewed in order to make sound decisions as to the future.

BUDGET

First Year: $35,000

Staff Salaries	$21,500
Travel	1,500
Office Expense	2,500
Program Supplies	1,000
Conferences	2,500
Community Associates (stipends and travel)	6,000
	$35,000

Second Year: $37,000

Third Year 40,000

Southeastern Regional Office
May 6, 1966.

ADDENDUM

AFSC EXPERIENCE IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Since 1951 the American Friends Service Committee has carried on programs of assistance for community groups, public officials and school personnel facing the challenge of school desegregation. It has been clear from the beginning that not only must desegregation be accomplished as a matter of law and morality but that an effective system of public education cannot be developed until desegregation is successfully accomplished.

Our work has varied with the time and place of the activity. In Washington, D. C., in the early fifties we were able to work closely with school and District officials as they planned desegregation. We carried out workshops for teachers and other school personnel and brought competent educators to talk with them about the educational challenges of the process of desegregation. We were able in 1957 to carry that pattern into our newly developing North Carolina work: teachers and principals met with AFSC staff and outside resources to consider, as educators, how to desegregate schools creatively.

As this part of the program was being carried out we worked with a wide range of community groups: opinion makers such as newspaper editors, with ministers, with Negro leaders, parents and children who faced the heavy burden of "pioneering."

As resistance to desegregation hardened, with the massive resistence of Virginia and the closing of schools in Little Rock, the willingness of school officials to accept our help lessened. We kept open every possible channel of communication; but the burden at that point had been squarely placed on the Negro parent and child to accomplish a task that clearly called for the best effort of the total community, and it was to this belabored group that our supportive services went primarily.

We worked in Little Rock, at the request of a local group of white and Negro citizens who were concerned, once the schools reopened, about the nature and quality of the school experience and the fact that it had stopped at a token level. This put undue burdens on the pioneers and effectively circumvented the spirit of the Supreme Court decisions, which had called for an end to segregated education, terming it inherently unequal.

We included a school desegregation emphasis in our Baton Rouge (Louisiana) program, which was broadly concerned with community problems, including those of employment. In both these programs, we sought to reach directly, and through respected community leaders, the school boards and other officials. We had some success, but again, the burden seemed to lie with the Negro community for initiative in the process.

In the decade between the Supreme Court decisions on schools and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, we worked in communities in Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, in Louisiana, in Little Rock, and in 1955, brought our Washington, D. C. Program to an end.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
AREA CODE 215 LOCUST 3-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

May 10, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory Via:

I am enclosing a check for sixty-five dollars and sixty-four cents which covers the expenses for your week end at Penn Community Services. We did appreciate your willingness to take time from your busy schedule to be with us. It was good to get to know Margaret Via, too.

We did not have the delays coming back that we had going down and arrived in Philadelphia along with a blue million other people at 9:05 p.m!

The rough draft of the report is already completely finished and everyone is putting in his "two cents worth" so I believe before a great while we will have a very good report.

Thanks again for your help and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Marie T.

Marie Turner

mt

P.S. I have not received Al Ulmer's expense sheet as yet. It is the only one outstanding and I would appreciate receiving it. Thanks.

Memorandum AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 North Fifteenth Street Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

May 20, 1966

TO: Members of Rural Affairs and Southern Programs Committees
Attenders of Joint Committee Meeting at Frogmore, South Carolina
Held: April 29, May 1, 1966

FROM: Barbara Moffett Barbara

Attached are rather full notes on our meeting in South Carolina three weeks ago. We hope it provides an adequate record of what seemed to us a valuable week end of conferring. Maria Pappalardo has pulled this report together, conferring with other national note takers.

We have followed through on several of the action items. We put the matter of continuation of the Migrant Leadership Program before the Community Relations Division Executive Committee last week and Eleanor Eaton, in consultation with the Southeastern Regional Office, has done some preliminary talking with OEO in Washington on possible future funding. On the South Carolina Community Relations Program, Wil Hartzler of SERO and I have developed the proposal further and it is now before possible sources of support. A copy of the proposal in its current form is attached.

Things are moving rapidly in the program areas covered by both committees and you will be hearing further from appropriate staff.

BWM:mt

cc: National CRD staff
Colin Bell/Stephen Cary
Earle Edwards
Catharine Evans/Catherine Naysmith
Information Service
Division Secretaries

Return

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
AREA CODE 215 LOCUST 3-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

2/27/67

Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory Via:

Connie Curry tells me you have been very kind and have agreed to meet with our rural program staff on Monday, March 6th at the Air Host Inn. I am delighted and think we should have an interesting and useful day considering the varied experience our staff and resource people will bring.

Our staff will include: Peter Lauwerys, Director of our Department of Labor financed Farm Workers Opportunity program in Ventura County, California; Herbert Foster, Director of our 11 years old Community Development program among farm workers in Tulare County, California; Gloria Ramos, Construction Supervisor for the 55 home self-help subdivision being built in Fresno County, California; Scott Nielsen, Director of our Southeastern Pennsylvania Community Relations and farm worker program; Ed Nakawatase and Joe Anthony Melillo, two young "volunteers" in this Pennsylvania program who are working and living as mushroom workers and seeking to help other workers identify and organize to solve their problems; Dan Beittel, Director of our Mississippi Community Relations program; and finally Bill Channel, Director of our East Coast Migrant Leadership Education program and his field staff, Hank Mayer, Jimmie Pollard, Sam Jackson and Oliver Morales.

In addition of course some of the Regional Executive Secretaries who have a special interest in rural problems may be with us and we hope Constance Curry and Winifred Green will be with us for at least part of the time.

What do we want of you? This day will be the occasion when all our staff concerned with rural problems get together. It's a kind of workshop. The attached memo shows that we have identified four areas of special concern to the staff listed above. As you will see we are not asking you to make a speech. We are not planning any rigid structure. So what we want from you is perspective, experience and advice or suggestions.

The day begins at 9:30 a.m. We expect to meet until 3 p.m. with 1½ hours out for lunch. How much time can you spend with us? The whole day? It would be great if you could but that may be asking too much. So can you agree to be with definitely at the start of the day - 9:30 - 10:30 a.m. when we discuss AFSC role in relation to union organizing efforts? Bill Channel as you know is operating his p rogram among farm workers as the struggle to develop a union goes on. In California both Herb Foster in Tulare County and Pete Lauwerys in Ventura County are close to the UFWOC and Caesar Chavez. In fact Caesar spoke at an AFSC "monthly" meeting in Pasadena earlier this month.

We also want to discuss the current split (?) in the labor movement - what is taking place and the implications thereof for our programs and our work in the farm labor field.

We hope you can stay on for the rest of our discussions but will understand if you can only spend part of the day with us.

If the times don't suit you we could change the schedule around though the present agenda seems to make the most sense. If we (or Connie) don't hear from you we will assume this outline makes sense and you will be with us.

Again our thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Eaton
/s

Eleanor A. Eaton
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Division

EAE:lw

cc: Bill Channel
Barbara Moffett
Constance Curry

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 N. 15th St. Phila., Pa.

Scott
Emory Via

February 16, 1967

TO: Bill Channel, Sam Jackson, Hank Mayer, Jimmie Pollard, O. Morales, Herb Foster, Dave Burciaga, Jack Garrett, Gloria Ramos, Scott Nielsen, Ed N. Joe Melillo, Peter Lauwerys, Dan Beittel

FROM: Eleanor Eaton Eleanor

SUBJECT: Monday - March 6 in Atlanta - 9:30 - 12:30 and 2 - 3 p.m.

Those of you with whom I have talked (and that's most of you) have indicated a desire for an opportunity to meet together as a "Rural Affairs staff". Monday seems the day, especially as we can have sitting in with us for as much of the day as we want some "human" Atlanta resources.

My feeling is that the day needs some structure, otherwise we might ramble to no purpose. Therefore a tentative plan is for discussions based on different program experience as follows:

1) AFSC farm labor programs relation to

9:30 a. Organizing (including union) efforts

Bill and Herb lead off.
Emory Via, Southern Regional Council, as resource.

10:30 b. Local power struggles

Scott, David and Ed N. lead off.
Randolph Blackwell, Director, Southern Rural Action Project, resource

11:30 2) Development and use of indigenous leadership

Dan, Sam, Pete lead off.
Randolph Blackwell, resource.

3) Unmet needs and priorities in farm labor and rural field

2 —

Wes, Hank, John lead off.
Al Ulmer, Southern Regional Council, resource.

When I say "lead off" we don't mean a formal speech but enough details of specific experience to allow others to ask pertinent questions and see the relationship of one program experience to another. Resource people would not make speeches either, but bring to the discussion not only their own experience but a perspective that might be useful.

We have not officially signed up these resource people but we have asked them to save the day pending finalizing the program.

Therefore please let me know by return if this use of Monday meets your needs and if you like the suggested resources. I will have to get in touch with the resource people soon.

~~Misc Program~~ AFSC

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
AREA CODE 215 LOcust 3-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

March 23, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I am not sure if you knew that Eleanor Eaton had decided to go to Puerto Rico for a week or so to try and fully recover from her stay in the hospital. In the meantime, she has asked me to write and thank you generally for your participation in the Roundup. I am sorry that I was not able to be at all of the session, but all of the AFSC staff people there said that it was really good.

I know how busy you are and how often you are invited to participate in group things like that, so I am personally very grateful--particularly since I asked you. I don't know if Kale felt the same way, but I thought the Roundup this year was really a fine meeting--I guess, because I heard AFSC people talking about "power" in the most realistic way since I began to work with them.

I talked to Margaret yesterday and am hoping to see you on Saturday night, and will take that opportunity to thank you in person again for helping us out.

Sincerely,

Connie

In Columbia

Columbia Record 7/6/67

American Friends Service Committee Work Described

By JOHN M. PERRY JR.
Record Staff Writer

Quakers believe in "every man following his own inner light," says M. Hayes Mizell, representative in South Carolina of the American Friends Service Committee.

Mizell, himself a Methodist, is part of a new breed of civil rights worker, the human relations professional.

Too realistic to make a career of demonstrating, the human relations professionals are nevertheless concerned about racial problems. They differ in that they are highly educated and that they work within the established framework to promote integration.

Born to "moderate" North Carolina parents, Mizell was a college graduate (Wofford '60) before he knew there was such a thing as an educated Negro, he said.

That was while doing post-graduate work at the University of South Carolina. There he became involved in the Student Council on Human Relations.

From there it was only a short jump to the post of director of the Southern Student Human Relations Project.

After two years, Mizell joined the Friends Civil Rights task force in South Carolina.

Now, with a part-time secretary, a two-room office in Columbia and a $16,000 - a - year budget, he works as a go-between: the job of easing communications between Negro groups, local school officials and the federal government.

"It's really a sort of reconnaissance work, pushing and prodding various agencies and passing on information," he says.

The American Friends Service Committee is dedicated to the principle of school integration. Founded on April 30, 1917, at the height of World War I, the service committee puts into action the Quaker philosophy.

On that spring day 50 years ago, the task was finding a way for pacifists to serve during the war. With a war raging today in the rice paddies of Vietnam, that's still a service committee function.

During the half-century, though, many other projects developed: clothing packages during the depression, peace caravans during Hitler's rise, relocation of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor — and, in the sixties, civil rights projects in the South.

"There's something very basic to be learned from the simple fact of mixing bodies, but as urbanization increases, so does segregated housing patterns, and there the mixing diminishes," Mizell days.

Educators in the South fail to appreciate the advantages of mixing black and white bodies in their classrooms, he feels, and, as a consequence, put off doing so.

Apparently oblivious to the needs of the poor, they dilly - dally, offering bland rhetoric and polite assurances, he says, but little action.

"I try to communicate to them the sense of urgency which exists. Sure, they're harassed from all sides, but that goes with the job.

"A great many members of the education establishment are in their fifties and sixties. They're from another era. Now all this business of equality of educational opportunity is upon them and they don't know what to do," Mizell days.

Helping them, too, to know what to do is also part of his job, though, he says, they frequently resent it.

"They say a human relations professional doesn't understand and that I'm pushing one point of view. Of course I'm pushing one point of view, but I still understand," he says.

Despite a firm point of view, Mizell is no reverse bigot — he's white, in fact — and agrees readily that just being poor and Negro isn't a license for hotheaded behavior, as Southern conservatives sometimes characterize, with some justice, Negro poor.

"We can't hold them on some moral plateau above us just because they're materially downtrodden. They're human, too, and often the mistakes are theirs," Mizell says.

The Columbia Record
July 10, 1967

AFSC

The Roundtable
LETTERS

The Tenants Are Now Impatient

In your lead editorial of July 3 entitled, "Builders and Wreckers in S. C.," I was attacked because of statements I had made alluding to the possibility of civil unrest in the state. I had also cited the sense of urgency which exists within the Negro community. To disagree with these statements is the right of **The Record.**

However, I sincerely protest the inference in the editorial that I am one of the "white extremists" who would wreck the progress we have made in South Carolina "with a stick of dynamite or crackling words of demagogic hate." Let me make it clear that I hate no one, I oppose violence in whatever form it might take, and I oppose those who perpetrate violence on others. It is simply unfair, discourteous, and grossly irresponsible to take one brief statement I have made and then to imply that I am one of the "wreckers" in South Carolina.

I will not attempt to engage your wily editorialist in a debate. But if he insists on labeling me as a "wrecker" then let me admit that I do not apologize for my efforts to wreck the dual system of education in South Carolina, to wreck the last vestiges of years of discrimination and prejudice, and to wreck a system of education which has crippled, intellectually and spiritually, white and black alike.

It is, of course, neither for him nor myself to judge who are the wreckers in South Carolina; I am satisfied to leave that task to the historians. Let me simply say that I do not wish violence on anyone during this period of transition; indeed, my whole philosophy rejects violence, either to the body or the spirit, as a method for change or as a catharsis of personal frustration.

Your editorialist, to use his imagery, is concerned with the building but cares little for its inhabitants. My statements were merely pointing to the fact that the longer the tenants have to wait to move into the house, the more likely the possibility that they will consider the structure unworthy of their patience and sacrifice.

It may seem necessary to the contractors that they take time to build a sound structure, but what of the tenants who, in the meantime, continue to be reared in the hovel of another era—crippled for life by the disease of inferior and separate education, chilled by the whistling winds of prejudice, stifled by the stench of poverty.

There are those who would even question the stability of the structure now under construction. Longevity of preparation does not necessarily guarantee superior construction. Is this lengthy construction perhaps caused by the contractor's feeling that the tenants are not "ready" to move into the house? Does the contractor really understand what the tenant wants, or is he merely building the kind of house **he** likes?

We **can** build a superior structure only if we employ skilled and committed workmen, only if we utilize the most modern materials and construction procedures, and only if we utilize all available resources to complete the job rapidly. This is South Carolina's task, for the tenants are growing impatient.

M. HAYES MIZELL

1105 Barton St.
Columbia

Glenda -

Please share this with Bill Roberts. If you don't have a copy of the original editorial, Connie does.

Hayes

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina
P. O. BOX 1791 ZIP CODE 27261 TELEPHONE 919 882-0109

August 28, 1967

Letters to the Editor
Charleston Evening Post
134 Columbus Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

Your editorial of August 18, "Mr. Mizell For The State," has just been brought to my attention. This editorial was prompted by my remarks before the Senate Education Subcommittee which was considering amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. I was saddened by this editorial, not because of the incorrect interpretation of my position, but because it reflected the faulty logic, lack of information, and immaturity which continues to characterize Charleston journalism.

First, let me set the record straight about the American Friends Service Committee. The AFSC is not a membership organization and therefore does not have a "South Carolina chapter" which I allegedly "head" as you stated in the editorial. My correct position is given at the end of this letter.

You also charge that the AFSC "is known more for its promotion of forced integration than for its efforts in behalf of freedom." Such fantasies are easily stated but impossible to document. For the past fifty years the American Friends Service Committee has initiated a wide variety of humanitarian programs throughout the world in an effort to relieve the deprivation, despair, and alienation which damages the humanity of the individual and creates barriers between men. No AFSC program promotes "forced integration" as you charge. On the contrary, the AFSC seeks to relieve those conditions which create unstable situations in the human family and thereby threaten man's freedom. Having its roots in the Quaker faith, the AFSC is dedicated to a deep respect for the individual--regardless of his race, nationality, economic status, or political ideology.

The pace of school desegregation is also not as impressive as you would have us believe. Last year only 5.9% of South Carolina's Negro children attended desegregated schools. This year the figure is a mere 7%. I do not consider an increase of 1.1% significant progress as you do.

Your editorial also expressed the concern that "Negroes go to school to learn and not to foster the New Society." It is regrettable that such learning must take place in Negro schools which continue to lack the educational resources, programs, and academic environment which facilitates learning in desegregated schools. You did not mention that there is impressive documentation that a great many graduates of the Negro schools perform only on the tenth, ninth, or eighth grade level. You did not point out that such educational deprivation eventually necessitates the creation of state and federal job training programs--further burdening

the taxpayer and contributing to the bureaucracy which you abhor. You also chose to ignore, of course, the fact that the doctoral dissertations of two psychology graduate students at the University of South Carolina documented that the academic performance of Negro children generally improves after they transfer to the desegregated school.

You also charge that I, along with "a host of government officials, including the U.S. Commissioner of Education and more than one eminence of the federal bench," hold the view that "integration, to be worth having, must be compulsory." I have certainly never made such a statement nor have I heard such a view expressed by government officials. I would say that integration, to be worth having, must be significantbut there is no significant integration now, compulsory or otherwise.

I am, however, opposed to the so called freedom of choice system as a method for desegregating our schools in South Carolina. Besides the fact that freedom of choice is ineffectual as a device to abolish the dual school system, it forces the Negro parent and child to assume the burden of desegregating the schools. It is racist in approach and implementation. It certainly does not dissantle the dual educational structure which the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional in 1954 and which the U.S. Congress declared ineligible for federal funds in the 1964 Civil Rights Act. For the Southern Negro freedom of choice means the freedom to suffer economic or physical intimidation, the freedom to risk social isolation and academic failure, and the freedom to be denied equality of educational opportunity.

Freedom of choice, then, is a specious device which achieves only a kind of progressive tokenism and maintains a segregated education for most Negro children. Individuals have no freedom of choice so long as our society continues to cling to those institutions born of servitude and segregation. There can be no freedom of choice when such "freedom" is dependent upon the courage, inclination, and determination of the Negro to throw off the psychological and social restraints placed upon him by generations of white power. Just as the political and social events of the nineteenth century continue to distort the perspective of the Charleston newspapers, so are many Negro citizens still bound by the unpleasant memory of their recent past as well as by a conditioned allegiance to those institutions which our white society forced THEM to create. The present racial crisis in our country demands that white citizens give the necessary priority and commitment to the task of taking strong affirmative actions to eradicate the last vestiges of segregation and racism. Only then will we be on the road to assuring a meaningful freedom of choice.

It would not be fruitful or constructive to debate every point made in your editorial. It is apparent that we view our country quite differently. You implied that it wis in a state of decay and that I am somehow "furthering the process of deterioration." To the contrary, I have a deep faith in our democratic system and in its ability to respond to crises and inequities in our society. If we are in such a state of decay as you claim it is because of a sense of pride and exclusiveness which makes meaningful responses difficult; it is because of a sense of fear and negativism which editorials such as yours help to create.

You accuse me of being among those "who would sacrifice the judgement

and free choice of the individual for the allegedly superior wisdom of the state." Such is not my position, and in fact I feel that the best way of avoiding federal compulsion if for local leaders to take dedicated and sincere initiatives to deal with obvious local problems. The judgement and free choice of the individual is indeed sacred but if we are to CREATE and maintain a free society such judgement must be infused with a respect for the rights of others and, at the same time, free of the dogma which would deny those rights.

Sincerely,

M. Hayes Mizell, Director
South Carolina Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee
704 Columbia Building
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

MHM/seg

Appalachian
Personal Mountain

Skitty Bark

Dean Gary - A. U.

[Ray Marshall

[Walter Sandbach

Int'l Corp.

Jim Stern

John Wheeler

Don Crain -

[Randy Blackwell -

AFSC 50
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE INC.
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 Phone 215-563-9372

GILBERT F. WHITE
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

October 18, 1968

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Welcome back again, by phone, by letter and I hope soon to say it in person. Jim Wood said the other day that he would mention to you one of the projects that the Service Committee is now working on to see if you might have any ideas on staffing. When I talked with Jim on the phone, I was rather vague and didn't have anything in writing, but I just received some very helpful information in writing.

To give you a little background--in my travelling in several rural counties in Alabama and Mississippi in the past year, the need for industry and economic development in the black community was so very obvious and the Service Committee began to think about possible programs. We asked Tim Haworth (who, by the way, is Barbara Moffett's husband) and Charlie Van Horn, management consultants, for Edward N. Hay and Associates, in Philadelphia for their advice. Tim and Charlie said that they would like to visit some of these places before they approached any of their big industry contacts, and we made a trip to five counties in May.

Since that time, Tim has contacted Western Electric and Sperry Rand and he feels that there is definite interest in the idea of helping to establish small industrial businesses, which would be controlled by local people, but which would have certain commitments from large industries, such as technical assistance, guaranteed markets, etc. The enclosed letter from Tim to Mr. Bredder at Western Electric explains where we stood as of September 25th.

Tim has since talked further with Mr. Bredder and others and what we now need is a person to bridge the gap between interested industries and the community enterprises and leaders. The exact description of what we need in such a person in enclosed also.

Barbara and others in Philadelphia are looking for the person, because there is a great need to move rapidly while industry is interested. However, we aren't having much luck and we really prefer to have Southern advice anyway. Thus, I was wondering if you and Jim could read this material and if we could talk early next week about any ideas you might have--either on possible staff or places we could go to find someone. Could you and Jim please call me on Monday and let me know when it would be suitable for me to come over? Thank you so much for your help.

Sincerely,

Connie

Constance Curry
AFSC, Room 502
Atlanta, Ga.

cc: Jim Wood

P.S. my secretary's been sick for 3 weeks - excuse typing.

JOB DESCRIPTION: Consultant to AFSC on Development of Small Southern Industries

BASIC PURPOSE: To assure the successful establishment of small industrial enterprises in each of five counties in Mississippi and Alabama, each enterprise to be owned, managed and manned by local black people.

ROLE OF THIS POSITION: As a member of AFSC staff, to serve as catalyst, coordinator, technical advisor and initial link with the industries who will become customers of these enterprises. Particularly, to identify the need for expertise currently beyond the resources in each county and either provide it himself or find other ways of making it available, always keeping in mind the purpose of training local personnel, to provide most such expertise themselves, as soon as possible.

QUALIFICATIONS: These enterprises may well begin as cooperatives, employing about fifty people with annual sales in the $500,000 neighborhood, engaged in assembly or sub-assembly of mechanical or electronic products or components. They will require a work force eventually trained in the "semi-skilled" kinds of operations rather than the skilled trades. Ideally, the qualifications for this position are:

1. Capacity to work behind the scenes, developing and helping others to play leadership roles, with sensitivity to the racial problems involved.

2. Drive, energy, and practical problem-solving talents. Determination to "slog through" an infinite number of problems and barriers.

3. Practical background in the operation of a small production shop and its typical basic equipment (lathes, grinders, punch presses, etc.).

4. Preferably an engineer or industrial engineer with managerial or supervisory experience that includes the practical "bailing wire" approach to getting a job done under initially primitive circumstances.

NATURE OF ASSIGNMENT: We visualize about a three-year period before these enterprises can really "fly on their own". In our opinion, this position could function effectively in any of several ways:

1. As a full-time, three year assignment.

2. As a six-month (Leave of Absence) effort to get the initial work started.

3. As a consulting relationship involving nearly full-time efforts during the first six months, with gradually diminishing involvement over the following two and a half years.

BACKGROUND: (See attached letter from Timothy P. Haworth to H. S. Breddar at Western Electric Company, Inc., September 25, 1968)

EDWARD N. HAY & ASSOCIATES

Management Consultants

121 SOUTH BROAD STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19107 • (215) 546-7100

September 25, 1968

Mr. H. S. Bredder
General Purchasing Director
Western Electric Company, Inc.
222 Broadway
New York, New York 10038

Dear Stan:

It was very good of you to agree to spend a couple of hours with me next Monday morning, regarding the project we discussed briefly with Harvey Mehlhouse and Ray Herrick. A little more background may be of help to you, in anticipation of our visit Monday.

We have been asked by the American Friends Service Committee (the Quaker relief and service organization) to provide technical advice in its effort to help local Negro groups establish small industrial businesses--not in the urban ghetto, but in five of the poorest rural counties of Alabama and Mississippi. Charlie VanHorn and I visited these groups in the south during the first week in June. We returned convinced that such enterprises could succeed. We were profoundly impressed by the need, by the courage, and by the competence of indigenous Negro leadership. Most of all, we were struck by the magnitude of the opportunity these projects offer in terms of palpable impact on racial and urban problems, with very little effort on the part of industry: essentially, redirecting a portion of its purchasing power.

The lead article in the August issue of FORTUNE presents the facts extremely well:

> Today's urban slums grew from sickly roots--the southern counties in which poverty, illiteracy, and bad health are endemic... Squeezed between declining farm employment and racial and educational barriers that kept them from

> taking other jobs, 3,500,000 southern Negroes have fled north in the past generation. Their exodus has changed dramatically the ethnic composition of the U. S. In 1940 one Southerner in four was Negro; today only one in five is. Seventy-seven percent of all U. S. Negroes lived in the south in 1940; now just over half do. About 100,000 Negroes still move north each year...
>
> So far, government and business have focused their problem-solving powers on urban problems, and blinkered themselves to rural ones. But every additional migrant is another burden on the cities, and the urban crisis will not be cured, or even arrested, until the south becomes more attractive to its black population than the urban north. The slums are in large part a result of the malaise of the rural and smalltown south; the violence in northern streets is a product of frustrations born in southern fields.

Incidentally, the entire article is well worth reading (The Southern Roots of Urban Crisis, by Roger Beardwood). Our own field visits verify its facts and support its observations completely. If anything, it understates the deep desire of southern Negroes to find ways to make it economically possible to remain in their home communities with dignity. Briefly, the undertaking sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee is this:

In five Mississippi and Alabama counties there are about 46,000 Negroes living in the extreme stages of poverty (Holmes, Issaquena and Sharkey in Mississippi, and Greene and Lowndes in Alabama). They represent 77% of the total population, have a median family income of about $1,000 and an average per capita income of $467. (In 1966 the median income for Negro families in sixteen southern states and the District of Columbia was $3,422; in the rest of the U. S., median Negro family income was $5,746 a year.) During the last decade, their population decreased by about 20% through out-migration. That trend has not changed during the present decade. They own very little land, few own their own homes, and few have modern facilities and services (e.g., in Lowndes County, Alabama, there are 12,500 Negroes living in the fifth poorest county in the United States, and not one Negro home has a telephone). This is ghetto fodder.

Paradoxically, there is real opportunity here. The land is rich, beautiful, and some is available. The people have strength, a sense of community and of family. There is initiative, responsible leadership and dedicated energy. This is where their roots have been for generations, and this is their home. It is only with agony that they tear up these roots to become submerged in the faceless ghettos of the north.

As a modest start toward some economic improvement, the American Friends Service Committee proposes to assist local Negro leadership in establishing a small manufacturing business in each of these five counties. Each would be owned, operated and managed by indigenous Negroes--with annual sales of about $500,000. Each would produce products on a fully competitive basis, for which, at least during the first fews years of operation, there is a guaranteed market at a guaranteed price. This means:

A. Each such business would be owned locally, and profits generated by the enterprise would be retained locally;

B. Each would be managed by local people, so that supervisory, managerial, technical and office-supporting positions would be available to local Negroes;

C. Each would be manufacturing products for a guaranteed market at a guaranteed price during the formative stages of the business, thus removing the hazard and expense of marketing which has made other efforts to build an economic base in some southern counties less effective than they should be.

In each county land is available for purchase or, if need be, can be contributed by Negroes now owning land. Water, electricity, gas, and transportation are either available or easily obtained. Harassment and obstructionism can be expected, but we believe they can be surmounted. Able, trainable hourly labor is abundant. Responsible and mature leadership is available, interested and deeply committed, although it is lacking in business and manufacturing management experience. Some middle-management, technical and supervisory talent is available, or can be attracted to return from the north if necessary. We believe that third parties exist who would be available to assist by providing financing, technical and managerial assistance and training (this could well include government, but is not dependent on it).

The essential prerequisite for these enterprises is industry's identification of suitable products, supplies or components which it would undertake to purchase in specific quantity at specific prices, if delivered within a given time period. These products, supplies or components should initially be high volume, high labor content items requiring minimum investment in equipment by the supplier. Ideally, there should be planned progression from the relatively simple kind of operation to the more complex (Phase II), and ultimately to a fairly complex operation requiring significant investment in equipment (Phase III). The purpose is, of course, to achieve a thoroughly competitive, profitable and viable enterprise that can stand on its own feet in the marketplace within a three to five year period of time.

In total, the need is for two and a half to three million dollars in sales volume annually. The major risk to industry is inconvenience caused by delay or failure to deliver, and possible quality problems during initial phases of the learning curve.

In addition, dependent in part on the complexity or uniqueness of the product and in part on industry's interest in this project, the following would also be desirable:

A. Product specification, quality standards, design, and material content;

B. Technical assistance and advice regarding optimum production processes, layout, workflow, and equipment (and possibly assistance in obtaining equipment, including donating surplus or its own manufactured products);

C. Individual training opportunities in technical aspects of the product, its production and its testing (either by lending staff for local training, or by bringing staff to its location for training);

D. Financial assistance in such areas as provision of some materials or parts; loans to facilitate purchase of equipment or materials; partial pre-payments; possible flexible pricing to reflect the learning curve in production.

Successfully establishing such small enterprises would be a laudable contribution toward solving the problems of poverty and hunger in this most prosperous of countries. It is neither charity nor the dole: it simply involves using industry's purchasing power where it can be of real help. It attacks the problem of the ghetto at its source. It helps to preserve existing values, to conserve families and communities where they are, rather than rehabilitate those that are shattered.

Requisite energy, financial investment or risk by industry in this approach is minuscule compared to that of trying to create jobs in the ghetto.

It seemed to me that this is the kind of effort in which Western Electric and the Bell System would be deeply interested. Both corporate policy and individual interests of the people I have known in top management at Western Electric, make me think so. It was encouraging to see the immediate warmth of the response from Harvey, Ray, and you, and I am sure Paul Gorman, Don Thomas and Jim Herbert would be equally warm in their response.

I am looking forward to talking with you about this on Monday. It seems to me to be something of real promise and excitement.

Sincerely,

Timothy P. Haworth
General Partner

TPH:cam

cc Messrs. Harvey G. Mehlhouse
James S. Herbert
Donald W. Thomas

5V

Atlanta Business Education & Research Foundation

3 Chestnut Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30314
523-1327

PLACEMENT RECORD OF GIRLS TRAINED UNDER MERIT EMPLOYMENT ASSOCIATION SPONSORSHIP
SIX-MONTH TRAINING PROGRAM ENDING JANUARY 31, 1969

Ellen Smith	Retail Credit	$300.00 monthly
Anna Roebuck	Retail Credit	300.00 monthly
Lamar Kinsey	Life of Georgia	72.00 weekly
Regina Roberts	Life of Georgia	72.00 weekly
Linda Maddox	Coca-Cola Company	325.00 monthly
Emily Philpot	Coca-Cola Company	325.00 monthly
Sandra Young	C & S Bank	70.00 weekly (in training)
Robbie Cromartie	C & S Bank	70.00 weekly (in training)
Geraldine Leftwich	Lockheed-Georgia	116.00 weekly
Margaret Sawyer	Lockheed-Georgia	116.00 weekly
Audrey Culpepper	Lockheed-Georgia	116.00 weekly
Helen Hutchins	Lockheed-Georgia	116.00 weekly
Martha Dailey	Lockheed-Georgia	116.00 weekly
Beverly Newton	Lockheed-Georgia	116.00 weekly
Betty Etchison	Lockheed-Georgia	116.00 weekly
Sandra Hutchins	The Lovable Company	72.00 weekly
Gloria Langston	Rich's Inc.	70.50 weekly
Constance Moore	Mead Packaging	357.00 monthly
Joyce Boyd	Western Union	82.10 weekly
Shirley Duncan	Allstate	75.00 weekly

Atlanta Business Education & Research Foundation

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PLACEMENT RECORD CONT.

Buszeda Benham	Oxford Industries	315.00 monthly
Miriam Crawford	Eastman Kodak	98.00 weekly
Rhonda Hinton	Credit Bureau of Atlanta	70.00 weekly
Gwendolyn Arnold	Comprehensive Health Center	72.40 weekly
Beatrice Jackson	Atlanta Gas Light	345.00 monthly
Latise Scoot	K-Mart	

VOL. CLXXIII NO. 30

Anything for an 'A'

More College Students Cheat, but Professors Are Slow to Interfere

One Instructor Fears Losing 'Rapport' With Classes; Ghost-Writers Kept Busy

2/12/69

Reporter Sneaks in for Test

Wall St. Journal

By JAMES MACGREGOR
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Bill W., a 24-year-old graduate student at a large Midwest university, quit his part-time job as a $1.65-an-hour bookstore clerk during a recent examination week. But he didn't use the extra time to study. He quit because he had a better job lined up—taking exams for other students. In six days, he took five exams at three nearby colleges and pocketed $180.

The physical and mental strains of multiple exam-taking worried Bill a bit ("I was half dead when I started on my own exams," he says), but the possibility of getting caught didn't bother him at all. "With all the hanky-panky that goes on in an exam," he says, "nobody's going to notice a nice, quiet professional like me."

Bill is right about the hanky-panky. College teachers and students alike say that when an exam is given to almost any large group of U.S. college students, many are likely to be copying each others' answers, reading notes hidden in watches or fountain pens, listening through phony hearing aids to pocket tape recorders or flashing signals across the room to each other. Outside the classroom, moreover, some students get advance copies of exams by breaking into offices or bribing secretaries.

Themes and Theses

Nor is cheating limited to exam-taking. Students burrow through voluminous fraternity house files to find essays they can copy, or they hire ghost-writers to do the job. In New York, one group of recent college graduates will turn out papers ranging from a short theme on Dostoyevsky to a full thesis on Brazilian politics at fees ranging from $60 to $500.

Cheating is nothing new on college campuses, of course. But there's evidence that it's becoming increasingly common—and that attitudes toward it are changing dramatically. Professors increasingly are looking the other way when cheating occurs, arguing that much cheating is a product of the educational system, and some colleges are easing their penalties for cheaters.

A recent survey of students by the American Education Council found that 24% of the men queried and 16% of the women admitted having cheated at least once in their college careers. Another survey, conducted by William J. Bowers of Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, concluded that half of all students cheat at some point. Yet few colleges report that they discipline more than one or two students per thousand enrolled each year.

The Pressures Mount

Though comparable statistics on cheating in previous years aren't available, students and professors agree that the increase has been substantial. They explain that never before has

Anything for an 'A': More Students Cheat, but They're Rarely Punished

Continued From Page One

sor, informed some time afterward of the reporter's presence, said he hadn't realized an outsider was there until he tried to record the reporter's grade (a B-minus) and found he wasn't enrolled. Had the reporter been taking the exam for a regular student, the professor acknowledged, he could have succeeded easily without being detected.

Cheaters sometimes exhibit considerable inventiveness. Some students at the University of Rhode Island recently got advance copies of an exam by rummaging through trash barrels. At Ohio State, students bribed a janitor to let them into a professor's office. Other students have salvaged discarded stencils from duplicating machines used to run off exams or pulled elaborate midnight cat-burglar raids of teachers' office buildings in search of exams.

On occasion, of course, cheating attempts backfire. Sometimes the result is a major scandal. In 1965, it was revealed that a ring of cadets at the U.S. Air Force Academy was using stolen examination papers to facilitate cheating. The disclosure led to the departure of 109 cadets. Cheating scandals also have occurred in recent years at Duke University, the University of Tennessee, University of Miami (Florida) and the University of Maine.

Penalties Vary

The penalty for getting caught varies widely. Princeton University made expulsion mandatory for apprehended cheaters until recently, but now it will sometimes merely suspend the culprit for a year. Some other schools suspend only after a second offense, giving a first offender a failing grade and a warning.

But the penalties are rarely used. Most cheaters are never caught. And while many professors continue to condemn cheating unequivocally, a surprising number say that even when they catch a cheater they are reluctant to do anything about it. Some insist they see no reason to penalize a student further for having taken a course that doesn't interest him; others fear the consequences of turning in a cheater.

"I'd lose all the rapport I've built up with my classes," says a professor at Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland. "Anyone, teacher or student, who turns in a cheater is branded forever as a rat." An instructor at the University of Pittsburgh says he "won't take the rap for sending a kid to Vietnam."

In many cases, too, it's hard to determine just where cheating begins. "Take the kid who's groping for a formula and accidentally sees it on another paper, then can't get it out of his mind," says William Kinsella, dean of students at Case Western Reserve University's Case Institute. "Legally, he has cheated; morally, it's a lot harder to say."

Open-Book Exams

Though college administrators say they are concerned about cheating, most maintain they are helpless to do anything about it. Some hope that it will be alleviated by trends toward more open-book and take-home exams, which emphasize thought rather than memorization, and pass-fail grading systems that reduce the emphasis on grades. Others simply rely on professors to use time-honored policing methods: Seating exam-takers in alternate seats, patrolling the aisles, using essay tests that make it hard to cheat. But these methods often are impossible with large classes.

The only real answer seems to lie in creating general student opposition to cheating, educators say. They suggest that many cheaters, especially those who cheat to show defiance toward the establishment, won't do it if the student body at large, and their own circle of friends in particular, disapprove. Honor systems that give students responsibility for detection and punishment of cheating, which have long been fixtures at the service academies and older Eastern colleges, are now being adopted at many other schools as well.

Students themselves have mixed thoughts about honor systems. James B. Laughlin, assistant dean of students at Princeton, says he has detected increasing opposition among incoming students to the requirement that they turn in classmates they see cheating. Other schools are adopting rules that let a student simply inform a cheater he has been spotted. The cheater is then supposed to turn himself in.

Honor systems do work sometimes: At the Air Force Academy, officials say several students have reported themselves for accidentally overhearing others talk about tests the accidental eavesdroppers haven't taken yet.

The Pressures Mount

Though comparable statistics on cheating in previous years aren't available, students and professors agree that the increase has been substantial. They explain that never before has the pressure to cheat been so great—and never before has cheating been so easy.

Students are under growing pressure to get into college, to stay in college and to get into graduate school. For men, there's the added pressure to avoid the draft—and the war in Vietnam. Some students also claim the anti-"establishment" mood prevailing on many campuses today creates a climate conducive to cheating. While campus radicals rail at their elders for selling out to an "immoral" system, some students justify cheating as a way to outwit an institution that they say represents the establishment.

At the same time, many colleges have grown so big that it's often impossible for even a devoted teacher to keep track of what his students are doing. Ohio State University, for instance, has doubled its enrollment to almost 40,000 in the past 10 years, and a freshman enrolled there might attend classes with enrollments as high as 2,000. Such courses often are taught by closed-circuit television, and exams are frequently taken by filling in spaces on a form to be graded by computer.

Because Ohio State, like many state universities, must accept any high school graduate from Ohio, basic required courses with large enrollments become, in efefct, "ax-courses" that weed out up to 30% of the freshmen. Professors grade severely, often using a "curve" system so that each student's grade is based on his performance in relation to every other student.

The Alternatives

The result is both ample opportunity and great pressure to cheat. "If anyone cheats, everyone has to—if they don't want to see the cheaters preempt the high grades," says Harold C. Trimble, Ohio State professor of mathematics.

Students agree that the other obvious alternatives—studying harder and turning in the cheaters—are less than ideal. "More study just gives a cheater a better paper to copy from," says one Ohio State junior, "and you couldn't identify enough cheaters to make a difference in a big course."

Though cheating evidently does diminish somewhat after the first year or two in college, as students begin to take courses with smaller enrollments and to develop more interest in their studies, it doesn't end. A student at Cleveland State University says he has taken four exams for friends at other schools to help them stay out of Vietnam. "They're up against the wall in a course they just can't get through, and if they fail they'll get drafted," he says. "So I take their tests for them."

To learn how easy it is to take somebody else's test, a reporter recently strolled into a classroom where roughly 100 students were about to take a political science exam. He took a test paper and started working. During the test, two students were observed apparently copying from other papers (one wore dark glasses despite gloomy weather outside). Another was seen apparently copying from notes.

The reporter also did a little peeking himself, but no one seemed to notice. The profes-

Please Turn to Page 10, Column 1

hold for date _____

mtg. Wed. apr. 2nd

March 11, 1969

Mr. Jack Tarver, President
Atlanta Newspapers
P. O. Box 4689
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Dear Mr. Tarver:

Dr. Gerald Reed has indicated my willingness to meet with appropriate persons from Atlanta Newspapers and Operation Breadbasket to discuss affirmative approaches in the effort to get minority participation in apprentice programs.

Unfortunately, I will be out of town on Wednesday, March 19th. I would like to suggest that the alternate dates be Wednesday, March 26 or Wednesday, April 2nd at 2:00 p.m. Your choice should be confirmed when Dr. Reed's secretary gets in touch with your office.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

cc: Dr. Gerald Reed
Rev. Fred Bennett

Emory - will post you on this. Jerry

GERALD REED, D. D. S.
1393 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

Telephone 873-2771

March 6, 1969

Mr. Jack Tarver, President
The Atlanta Newspapers
Box 4689
Atlanta, Ga. 30302

Dear Mr. Tarver:

We are pleased to note your continued efforts to broaden the scope of the Atlanta Newspapers in keeping with suggestions discussed with Operation Breadbasket.

The Carl Rowan column is a noteworthy addition to the Constitution, and we cannot overestimate its significance in the continuing struggle for a sense of dignity and identity now going on in the Black community.

There remains the matter of employment in the printshop, where we have failed so far to place black employees.

Before Mr. McGill's death, he mentioned a Mr. Via in connection with the apprenticeship program. I contacted Mr. Via of the Southern Regional Council, and he is eager to assist us in securing qualified applicants for your training program.

We would like to have another meeting of Operation Breadbasket and your staff, and have Mr. Via and some of his staff perhaps, present to discuss the matter fully once again.

May we suggest Wednesday the 19th or Wednesday the 26th of this month at 2:00 P.M., whichever is more convenient for you. I will have my secretary contact your office to confirm the date most convenient to you.

Sincerely yours,

Gerald Reed, D.D.S.

Wall Street Journal Alabama EV Leroy

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, 1969

Comparing University and Corporation

By COLIN D. CAMPBELL

The author is professor of economics at Dartmouth College.

Two distinguished authors have recently criticized the organization of our universities. Jacques Barzun, former dean of the faculties and provost of Columbia University, has written that our universities are suffering from "bankruptcy, paralysis, and futility." Irving Kristol has said that "no one any longer has a clear notion of what a 'university' is supposed to be, or do, or mean."

Like most large business enterprises, universities are corporations. They have charters, and trustees who are similar to corporate directors. The trustees select the president—the chief executive of the organization. Can universities' organizational problems be attacked in the same way that business corporations typically solve theirs?

To some persons the selection of the board of trustees is a basic source of difficulty. Suggestions for change usually include selecting trustees either from the faculty or the student body. In a business corporation, this would be analogous to selecting directors from representatives of either its employes or its customers.

A Trustee's Responsibilities

Selecting trustees from the faculty could result in even more attention to research and less to the instruction of students. Also, trustees, as their title indicates, are responsible for the proper use of the bequests received from donors, just as corporate directors represent the interests of the stockholders. Since a university's resources may be used for current expenses or saved to provide further income in the future, a conflict of interest could arise: Faculty members would usually benefit most by expanding current expenditures. In addition, those faculty members elected to the board could presumably benefit their departments at the expense of others. The struggles for representation might be intense and bitter. Such arrangements would probably factionalize the faculty and involve them in time-consuming activities other than teaching and research. Decisions on how to distribute the institution's resources among its various activities are probably best made by an executive who is responsible to an outside group of trustees, rather than to the faculty.

Some of the problems with student trustees would be similar. Consider the question of raising the tuition. Students might prefer to have increases in operating costs paid for by consuming the university's endowment—but this would not be in the interest of future students.

Students' concerns are usually matters decided by faculty committees rather than trustees. Also, students lack experience for the kind of financial and legal decisions that trustees make. Trustees, like corporate directors, usually meet only once a month. They do not, and probably should not, take part in setting up the curriculum, selecting the faculty or administering student discipline, just as corporate directors do not plan production processes or hire employes.

University trustees and corporate directors are usually selected in quite similar manner. Some university charters provide that trustees be self-perpetuating. In the "modern corporation" with its large number of stockholders and no one stockholder having a controlling interest, directors are also self-perpetuating even though stockholders go through the motions of voting. In other universities, an alumni committee nominates candidates for trustees, and those receiving the most alumni votes are selected.

Professor Barzun believes that excessive diversification is the source of much of the disorganization in higher education. Universities have become research centers, with an assortment of institutes financed by both the Federal Government and private foundations. They also organize technical assistance teams for foreign countries, participate in faculty exchange programs with foreign universities and administer programs to assist underprivileged urban groups.

Some universities have ceilings on student enrollment to avoid excessive size and disorganization, yet many new non-teaching activities have been added, and in these universities the shift away from strictly educational functions has been most rapid. Only about half of some university budgets are now used for instructional purposes.

Diversification has some advantages, but it undoubtedly creates strains on management. The "multiversity" loses the economic advantages of specialization. In business organizations, competition and the profit motive prevent carrying diversification too far: Inefficiencies would lower profit and induce owners and managers to simplify the organization. In non-profit institutions, checks on excessive diversification are undoubtedly weaker. Current atttudes of most educators favor expansion and growth. As Dr. Barzun has emphasized, universities are expected to participate in the solution of social problems. Nevertheless, decisions to expand into new areas must be approved by the trustees, and where errors have been made the fault is theirs.

The Limits of Power

Professor Barzun also believes university administrators are ineffective because of their limited power over the faculty. This is blamed partly on "tenure," under which a faculty member cannot be discharged except for misconduct or failure to perform his duties. Both government agencies and business organizations face similar, but less rigid, limitations. Lack of control over the faculty is also blamed on the highly competitive market for professors. Most administrators are unwilling to try to influence their better faculty members because they fear that this might cause them to move elsewhere. Business firms have similar problems. Wherever labor markets are competitive and persons are free to choose where they wish to work, an employer is under pressure to provide pay and working conditions similar to those found elsewhere. However, the market protects universities also in their role as employers. Faculty members need not be paid any more than they can get elsewhere.

Both universities and business corporations still retain their most important technique of controlling employe performance—determining salary increases. A dean can reward those who support his policies and penalize those who do not. The resulting power of deans and department chairmen is substantial—despite the claims about the preponderant power of the faculty.

To the leaders of the student power movement, the principal reform needed is student participation in the organization. This proposal is neither realistic nor practical. Taken seriously, it would mean including students in the deliberations and voting of at least a dozen committees. In most universities, the important decisions concerning selection of faculty, courses offered, degree requirements, requirements for the major, student discipline and student admission are made by its faculty committees. Serving on these committees takes time and is difficult. Much of the work is routine and unexciting. That students would be willing to take on such duties is hard to believe. Many full-time students would not be able to do committee work.

Student committee members would not be subject to the same kind of organizational discipline that faculty members are. If student representatives did not perform their tasks conscientiously, the administration could do

subject to the same kind of organizational discipline that faculty members are. If student representatives did not perform their tasks conscientiously, the administration could do little about it. In contrast, the overall evaluation of a faculty member's performance is based in part on his contribution to such committees.

Of course, students are the persons served by universities and they should be given the best kind of education possible. But to improve education, student participation is probably no more necessary than consumer participation would be in the management of a business firm. Consumers typically get the kind of goods and services they want even though they have no voice in the management. This is because firms that produce those goods most desired are most successful.

Attracting Students

To survive, a university must attract a sufficient number of students. Unfortunately, the competition between private universities that must charge tuition and state universities where the tuition is nominal does not operate effectively. Even if state universities had less to offer, they would probably attract some students away from the private universities.

Significant competition also exists among the various academic departments. Faculty committees may formally decide what courses are to be put in the catalog, but unless students are willing to enroll in them their decisions wil not mean much. There are few institutions that can afford courses or professors who cannot attract a reasonable number of students. If a department becomes unattractive, enrollment drops, students shift to other majors, and the department will be required to reduce its staff. The typical department will almost always react by improving its offerings.

The principal way to improve the quality of education is to induce students to want better education. This is not an easy task, but it is one of the purposes of Mr. Kristol's suggestion that all students pay the cost of their education either from their own funds or by loans from the Government. If students were required to pay the cost, one would expect them to be more discriminating about the kind of education they got.

Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.

101 Marietta Street Bldg. • Atlanta, Georgia 30303 •

T. M. Parham
Executive Administrator

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. Emory Via Date: July 9, 1969

From: Mrs. Cynthia R. Montague, Neighborhood Aide Employment Coordinator

RE: Employment Roundtable

Thank you for your interest in the Employment Roundtable meeting which will be held Wednesday July 9, 1969, at 11:30 am in the 8th floor Conference Room of Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., 101 Marietta Street N W. This meeting will afford an opportunity to exchange information and ideas on employment solutions and problems.

Arrangements will be made for a dutch treat sandwich lunch.

Looking foward to seeing you then.

CRM/ajb

Look forward to seeing you at a later date.

Cynthia R. Montague

October 20, 1969

Mrs. Barbara Moffett
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia, Penn. 19102

Dear Barbara:

I have not read the enclosed but John Lewis says we may use it if we see the need.

Yours very truly,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

Enc. - 1

file copy

March 16, 1970

Miss Gloria L. Alston
2015 Roosevelt Place
Gary, Indiana 46404

Dear Miss Allston:

I heard from your father recently saying that you were working on a paper dealing with black workers and organized labor. Enclosed is a bibliography which you may find helpful although many of these items may have already come to your attention.

I would also suggest that you scan a good labor history, one that I think is useful and readable is Thomas Brooks' "Toil and Trouble." It is available in paperback. Of course, if you are going to go very far back in history there are books other than the ones that I have listed which would be useful. The multi-volume labor history by John R. Commons and Associates would be a good source for the early days. The bibliographies in the works which I have suggest would provide leads to other early day information.

I trust these suggestions will be of some use. Please give my good regards to your father.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/km

Enclosure - 1

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

~~"Labor and the Legal Process" by Harry H. Wellington. New Haven and London, Yale University Press; January 1968.~~

"The Negro and the American Labor Movement" edited by Julius Jacobson, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc.; Garden City, New York, 1968.

"Employment, Race, and Poverty" edited by Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill; Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 757 Third Avenue, New York, New York, 10017. $7.50.

"The Negro and Organized Labor" by Ray Marshall. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, London, Sydney. $6.95.

"Employment, Race, and Poverty" edited by Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill; Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 757 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10017. $7.50.

Monthly Labor Review, A special issue on Labor in The South, March 1968, Volume 91, No. 3. United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D. C. 20212.

"Legal Restraints on Racial Discrimination in Employment" by Michael I. Sovern; The Twentieth Century Fund, 41 East 70 Street, New York, New York 10021. $6.00.

"Labor in the South" by F. Ray Marshall; Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967. $8.00.

"The Negro in the Aerospace Industry" Report No. 2, The Racial Policies of American Industry, by Herbert R. Northrup; University of Pennsylvania, The Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, Industrial Research Unit, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104. 1968. $2.50.

"Negro Participation in Apprenticeship Programs by F. Ray Marshall and Vernon M. Briggs, Jr. A report to The Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research, Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor. Published by the Department of Economics, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas. December, 1966.

Also available as a Johns Hopkins Press publication, 1967(?).

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

230 park avenue
new york, n. y. 10017
(212) mu 6-8030

593 market street - 7th floor
san francisco, cal. 94105
(415) ga 1-5484

NEWSLETTER

No. 6970-2

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING**AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK

St. Louis, Missouri - April 24, 1970
Washington University, St. Louis

Tentative schedule: Conference Opening - 3 PM (*New Modern Art Building*)
Wilton Park-style discussion seminar; Panelists:
Warden Koeppler - Chairman
Jules Moch - Old Wiltonian and former French Cabinet Minister (tentative)
Stephen Miles - Old Wiltonian and U.K. Consul General, St. Louis
Open discussion to follow
AFWP Business Meeting -- election of Directors and Officers for 1970-71

Cocktails & dinner, 6336 Forsyth Blvd., St. Louis (across from New Modern Art Building)

For information, write cohosts: *Paul R. Schratz*, Old Wiltonian - Director, Office of International Studies, University of Missouri, 8001 Natural Bridge Road, St. Louis, Missouri
Robert Rankin, Old Wiltonian - Vice President, Danforth Foundation, 222 S. Central, St. Louis, Mo.

"MEET YOU IN ST. LOUIS!"

Of interest from Wilton Park

Americans needed for Conference 119 (Feb. 1-14): The number of American participants scheduled for Conference 119, "Cohesion and Conflict within the East and within the West"-- a subject which impinges directly on the U.S. -- is small. Any AFWP Member with nominations for this Conference please write directly to Oliver G. Hayward, Director of Administration, Wilton Park, Steyning, Sussex, England.

Warden moves brain trust to U.S. for 1969-70 academic year: Dr. H. Koeppler, Warden of Wilton Park, is spending the first half of the 1969-70 U.S. academic year in the former colonies. Warden Koeppler is visiting scholar at the University of Indiana, and from that base delivering lectures at several other U.S. institutions or organizations as well (see "Of Interest from the AFWP" section for San Diego and Los Angeles visits, and the box above for St. Louis activity).

200th Wilton Park Conference Takes Place: The 200th Wilton Park Conference took place at the end of the 60's decade. Although termed the 116th officially, there had been 84 largely Anglo-German conferences between 1946 and 1957, when the present series began.

25th Anniversary of Wilton Park in June 1971: The June, 1971, Wilton Park conference will mark the 25th Anniversary of Wilton Park. Far-reaching plans for that conference are

already under way.

Rose departs Academic Staff for Thornier Problems: Mr. Michael Rose left the Academic Staff of Wilton Park, effective September 15, 1969, to become Director of Great Britain's East Africa Committee (Mr. Rose was a former British Ambassador to the Congo). Mr. H. Bryan Shepherd, T.D., B.A. has been appointed to Mr. Rose's place. Mr. Shepherd has served in the Diplomatic Service in three European posts (Copenhagen, Paris, Sofia), and three Asian ones (Hanoi, New Delhi, Singapore). He is fluent in French, and probably in Marxist dialectic as well, after Sofia and Hanoi.

Robert Sturrock tour de force in east and midwestern U.S.: Robert S. Sturrock, plaid representative on the Academic Staff, spent the summer of 1969 in the United States making many friends for the cause of Scotland. Mr. Sturrock began with 3 and 1/2 days in New York, visiting with, among others, Old Wiltonian Rudolph Berle (AFWP Regional Vice President for new York), Ward Burns (a member of the Scottish Underground of the U.S.?), Dexter Keezer, Kenneth Brown, Donald Stone and, in the New Jersey countryside, John Baker. From the Tower Suite restaurant, on top of the Time and Life building, Robert had his first real view of the Manhattan skyline at sunset and after dark (no smog that day).

Another half week was spent in Washington, which included visits with Mrs. R.G. Woolbert (AFWP Regional Vice President for the District of Columbia), Bill Brussat, Hugh Mields, and (in Maryland) Stanley Harrison and Martha Mills. Highlight of this segment was a day of lobbying on Capitol Hill -- with Mrs. Mills, Old Wiltonian responsible for foreign affairs at the League of Women Voters.

The prime purpose of Mr. Sturrock's visit was as principal speaker of a series of political science seminars at the three campuses of the University of Missouri (St. Louis, Columbia, and Kansas City). Mr. Sturrock gave a series of lectures revolving around two main elements: (1) British attitudes toward the political integration of Europe; and (2) Europe after DeGaulle. He spent many hours working with both graduate and undergraduate groups, as well as talking with faculty members at seminars and luncheon meetings. Reports from the University is that there has seldom been a more stimulating and engaging speaker in the memory of those responsible for management of the seminars.

Among those providing the social as well as intellectual support to Mr. Sturrock in Missouri were Old Wiltonians Paul Schratz (AFWP Regional Vice President for the Midwest), John Weaver (President of the University), A.G. Unklesbay (Vice President of the University), Ard Emmons and Oliver Langenberg.

There is no truth to the rumor that the Missouri administration, following Mr. Sturrock's departure, banned the miniskirt in favor of kilts.

French and German versions of AFWP under way: The "International Society of French-speaking Friends of Wilton Park", with 67 members of Belgian, French, Italian, Spanish, and Swiss nationality is pursuing a parallel course with the AFWP in those countries. The Society has an active speaking program in the various national capitals. Address: Secretary General M.P. Leotard, 28 rue de la Pompe, Paris 16e, France. A trinational German-speaking organization (Austria, West Germany, and Switzerland) has also been formed. Address: c/o Herr Karl Weishaupl, M.d.L. Mitteisstrasse 19, Munich 45, West Germany. Any AFWP members planning to travel on the continent might find these useful contacts.

Of interest from the American Friends of Wilton Park

AFWP Membership at 139 -- Thirty-nine Old Wiltonians have joined the American Friends of

119th Conference: February 1 to February 14
Cohesion and Conflict within the East and within the West

120th Conference: March 1 to March 14
The Politics and Economics of Western Defence

Wilton Park since the last newletter (No. 6970-1). AFWP membership now stands at 139. A list of 35 new active members is attached to this newsletter, and may be added to the "Active" Section of the previously-mailed AFWP Membership Roster. Four even newer: Dr. E. Wilson Lyon, President Emeritus, Pomona College, Claremont, California; David B. Arnold, Education and World Affairs, 2 Keats Grove, London NW3 England; Dr. Floyd Andre, Farmhouse-on-campus, Iowa State Univ., Ames, Ia. 50010, and Dr. Alfred Feinbach, Prof. of Government and Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 22901. The membership is double that of any previous year. This newsletter goes only to active members of the AFWP.

AFWP Grants Extended to 7: The large AFWP membership has enabled the AFWP to extend or arrange for grants to 7 individuals to partially defray the cost of travel to Wilton Park. This is the principal purpose of the AFWP Grant recipients are selected by the Grants Committee of the AFWP, the basis being that the applicant is an outstanding individual needing fellowship help for travel portions of the Wilton Park experience. Applicants must have alrea been invited to Wilton Park by the British Foreign Office. Chairman of the Grants Committee o the AFWP for 1969-70, and responsible for its success, has been AFWP's Detroit-Chicago area Vi President, Dr. Harold K. Jacobson, of the International Organization Program, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan.

AFWP Grantees for the 1969-70 year to date have included:

1. Vincent Davis, Graduate School of International Studies and Executive Director, International Studies Ass'n., U. of Denver

2. R. Berry Farrell, Program of Research & Graduate Training in Comparative Politics, Northwestern University

3. Terry A. Francois, Supervisor, City of San Francisco, and leader in San Francisco black community

4. John Gange, Institute of International Studies and Overseas Administration, University of Oregon

5. Jeffry Jenks, Program Development Coordinator, Research and Planning, Civil Rights Commission, Detroit, Michigan

6. Peter Krogh, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, and former White House Fellow

7. Frank McCallister, Dean, Labor Education Division, Roosevelt University, Chicago

Sixth Annual Meeting to be in Philadelphia: Mrs. Ruth Weir Miller, AFWP Vice President for the Middle Atlantic region, has invited the AFWP to hold its sixth annual (1971) meeting in Philadelphia. The fifth annual meeting, as indicated at the beginning of this newsletter, will be in St. Louis. It is the policy of the AFWP to vary meeting sites regionally (the fourth meeting was in San Francisco, the third in New York City).

Regional AFWP Meetings Held in New York and Columbus: AFWP President Clark W. Maser's policy of having AFWP Directors meetings held regionally whenever possible has led to two additional regional meetings since the last newsletter. A Board Meeting at the English-Speaking Union, New York City, on June 24, 1969, was attended by Chairman William C. Olson, President Maser, Secretary-Treasurer Terrence Cullinan, various Directors, and the following

121st Conference: April 12 to April 25
Protest and Dissent in the Affluent Society: problems of higher education

122nd Conference: May 10 to May 23
Development Aid: disappointments, achievements and prospects

New York area AFWP members: Rudolf P. Berle, Robert Delson, Walden Moore, Donald Stone, Max Delson, Malcolm MacIntyre, and Zygmut Nagorski. On Saturday, November 1, 1969, the Columbus meeting at Ohio State University was attended by officers, directors, and the following regiona AFWP members: Philip N. Burgess, Robert V. Cummins, Loyal N. Gould, Lawrence Herson, Paul R. Schratz, and Hans Zetterberg. An earlier regional meeting was held in Washington, D.C.

Chairman of AFWP Board Welches: AFWP Board Chairman, Dr. William C. Olson, was invited to present a paper entitled: "International Politics: The Growth of a Discipline", at the Glenygog Conference in Wales commemorating the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Woodrow Wilson Chair at the University College of Wales, December 13-17. Whether Wilton Park was considered "disciplined" or not, was not revealed.

Luncheon for Warden Keppler in New York: New York AFWP members hosted a luncheon, Septem ber 15, 1969, for Warden Koeppler as a "welcome to the U.S.A." for the Warden (see "Of Interes from Wilton Park"). AFWP members in attendance at the Overseas Press Club affair included Rudolph Berle, Kenneth Brown, Roland Bushner, Marcus Cohn, Max Delson, Robert Delson, Frances R. Grant, Franklyn Johnson, David Maceachron, Malcolm MacIntyre, Walden Moore, William Olsen, Edwin Sanders, Donald Stone, Dexter Keezer, and Kevin Salisburgy. The Swiss and Austrian Consul Generals for New York also attended the luncheon. Miss Grant made all the arrangements for the affair, a very successful one.

Warden leaves heart in San Francisco: Warden Koeppler visited San Francisco in the fall and spent time with Bay Area Old Boys. Included among the latter at a cocktail reception hosted by Merritt Ruddock of the World Affairs Council were Clark Maser, AFWP President; Terrence Cullinan, AFWP Secretary-Treasurer; North Baker; Vincent Cullinan; Louis Heilbron; Armin Rappaport (up from San Diego); and the British Consul-General for San Francisco. A later afternoon swim, barbecue, and tennis gathering for Non-Wiltonians desirous of meeting the Warden was held nearby at Old Girl(?) Madeline Russell's family estate -- Atherton's ansv to Wiston House. For the swimming session, the Warden for the first and only time during his U.S. stay shed his Wilton Park tie.

Vice President for Financial Affairs elected: At the New York regional meeting, the Board elected Mr. Donald W. Stone, Old Wiltonian and Recording and Financial Secretary, Lithographers and Photoengravers International Union, as Vice President for Financial Affairs of the AFWP. Mr. Stone will serve in that capacity until the fifth annual meeting.

Local chapter may organize in Columbus area: A local AFWP chapter may be started in the Columbus, Ohio area, following the regional meeting held in that city November 1, 1969. Othe regional centers at present include New York and Washington, D.C.

Warden to be featured speaker at UC San Diego: Warden Koeppler will be featured speaker at the foreign policy conference at the University of California, San Diego (La Jolla) on Saturday, April 18, 1970. Arrangements for the Warden's appearance are being made by Dr. Armin Rappaport, AFWP Vice President for California and the Southwest (History Department, UC San Diego, La Jolla, California).

Warden to be at regional AFWP meeting in Los Angeles April 18: Warden Koeppler will fly to Los Angeles following his UC San Diego speaking engagement (see foregoing) for an evening regional AFWP meeting, including a "brains trust" session and cocktails and dinner. Arrangements are being made by AFWP Director Walter P. Coombs, The California State College, 5670 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, Ca. 90036.

123rd Conference: June 28 to July 11
National and International Management of the Economy: incomes and productivity policies, world liquidity

124th Conference: July 26 to August 8
Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs: the rôle of governments, parliaments and the mass media

125th Conference: October 11 to October 24
The United States and Europe: political, economic and defence issues

LAST MINUTE INSERT

Old Wiltonians in California, Arizona, Nevada
and unexplored territories

Meeting of Old Wiltonians with Warden Koeppler

April 18, 1970

Beverly-Wilshire Hotel, Champagne Room, Los Angeles

cocktails (no host) 6PM; dinner 7:30 PM - $8 including tip

Respond to: Dr. Armin Rappaport
University of California, San Diego
Department of History
La Jolla, Ca. 92037

American Wilton Park to be considered: An AFWP Committee to investigate the feasibility of initiating an American Wilton Park, under the leadership of Zygmunt Nagorski, Director of Meetings for the Council on Foreign Relations, and Robert Rankin of the Danforth Foundation, is planning a meeting of influential potential sponsors of such an organization in New York City on January 27th. Mr. Nagorski, incidentally, was the first AFWP Grantee.

Wilton Park ties may be available in U.S.: Old Wiltonian Jay H. Cerf is currently investigating possibilities of having a distribution center for Chanctonbury Ring Club ties in the U.S.*For information: J.Cerf, President, Pathfinder Fund, 245 Brattle St., Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. (Ties are also available at exhorbitant prices from Wilton Park itself).

Missing Old Boy: Old Boys listed as missing in the newsletter have all been located thanks to various AFWP members' assistance. Currently missing, however: Paul C. Szasz. Last known address: International Atomic Energy Agency, Karntnerring, Vienna, Austria. Anyone knowing whereabouts please contact AFWP at either of the two addresses on the letterhead.

New York group seeks unAmerican Old Wiltonians: The New York City group of Old Wiltonians (Knickebocker Post) is seeking the names of Old Wiltonians, other than Americans, who are currently in the New York area (at the UN, for example) so that they might include them in some of the NY activities. Anyone knowing such presence please contact Dr. W.C. Olson, AFWP, 230 Park Avenue, NY NY 10017.

Outstanding German Old Wiltonian visiting U.S. May 1-15, 1970: Dr. Jurgen Frenzel, former Chief of Police of Hamburg, W. Germany, and presently the highest appointed official in Hamburg state, will be visiting the U.S. the first two weeks of May. Dr. Frenzel, a former Eisenhower Fellow to the U.S. and graduate student at the University of Washington, was West Germany's outstanding police chief prior to his assumption of his present post: a man uniquely able to deal with normal criminal problems and the youth of his area. He is among other things a rabid fan of, in approximate order, professional football, Herb Alpert, and American ice cream, in addition to being a brilliant administrator and equally brilliant wit. Any AFWP members desirous of meeting with Dr. Frenzel should address the AFWP's San Francisco office, care of Clark W. Maser.

*for the benefit of AFWP members who feel underdressed.

126th Conference: November 8 to November 21
Modern Technology and its Impact on Man's Environment

127th Conference (one week): December 6 to December 12
The present states of East-West Relations

NEW ACTIVE MEMBERS -- AFWP (Jan 1, 1970)

Name	Business Address
Adams, Professor F. Gerard	Econ. Research Services Unit University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia, Pa.
Bowen, Professor Ralph H.	Department of History Northern Illinois University DeKalb, Illinois 60115
Briscoe, Mr. John D.	Chairman, Connecticut Board of Agriculture Silvent Meadow Farm Lakeville, Connecticut 06039
Brown, Kenneth J.	President Lithographer & Photoengraver's International Union 233 West 49th Street New York, N. Y. 10019
Christoph, Professor James	Department of Political Science Indiana University Bloomington, Indiana 47401
Clark, Dr. LeMon	Physician 266 North Locust Fayetteville, Arkansas
Denman, Mrs. MacDonald	Committee on Race Relations - Urban League 2663 Union Street San Francisco, California 94123
Ellis, Mr. Charles H., Jr.	The Biswanger Corp. 1402 Walnut Street Philadelphia, Pa. 19102
Emrich, Rt. Rev. R. S.	Episcopal Bishop of Michigan The Bishop's Office 4800 Woodward Avenue Detroit, Michigan 48201
Fifield, Professor Russell H.	Department of Political Science University of Michigan Ann Arbor, Michigan

Name	Business Address
Filep, Dr. Robert T.	Director of Studies Institute for Educational Development 999 North Sepulveda Blvd. El Segundo, California 90245
Fredman, Mr. Milton	Fredman and Silverberg Attorneys at Law 3400 - 4th Avenue San Diego, California 92103
Fuller, Mr. Jon W.	Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science Davidson College Davisdon, N.C. 28036
Galgiani, Mrs. John V.	Executive Director International Hospitality Center 55 Grant Avenue San Francisco, California 94108
Gantner, Mrs. Florence E.	San Francisco City College San Francisco, California
Generales, Professor Minos D.	Department of Political Science Institute of World Affairs San Diego State College San Diego, California 92165
Grayson, Leslie E.	Howard Advisory Development Service 1737 Cambridge Street Cambridge, Mass. 02138
Hayward, Mr. Oliver G.	Wilton Park Staff Wiston House Steyning, Sussex England
Heilbron, Mr. Louis H.	Attorney Heller, Ehrman, White, & McAuliffe 44 Montgomery Street San Francisco, California 94104

Name	Business Address
Herson, Professor Lawrence J. R.	Chairman, Department of Political Science 216 N. Oval Drive Ohio State University Columbus, Ohio 43210
Huntley, Mr. James R.	Author and Consultant to the Atlantic Counsel of the U.S. 17 Beech Lane ("Treetops") Guilford, Surrey England
Kenderdine, Mrs. John D.	Director, League of Women Voters of U.S. R.D. 2 - Highground Holtwood, Pennsylvania 17532
Ladd, Mr. Edward	Investment Advisor 30 Greenwood Road Wellesley Hills, Mass. 02181
Munts, Dr. Raymond	Institute for Poverty Research 6102 Hammeraley Road Madison, Wisconsin 53211
Nichols, Mr. Calvin J.	Regional Office U.S. Office of Education 760 Market Street San Francisco, California 94102
Pietrow, Frederick Jackson	The American University Washington, D.C. 20016
Remak, Professor Henry	Chairman, W. Europe Studies Program Indiana University Ballantine Hall 338 Bloomington, Indiana 47401
Spitz, Professor David	Department of Political Science Ohio State University 216 N. Oval Drive Columbus, Ohio 43210
Sprout, Professor Harold	Princeton University Princeton, N.J.
Tarr, Dr. Cedric W.	University of Wisconsin Rock County Campus Kellogg Avenue Tanesville, Wisconsin

Name	Business Address
Turner, Professor Arthur C.	Professor of Political Science and Chairman of the Department University of California Riverside, Calif. 92502
Ulmer, Professor Melville J.	Professor of Economics University of Maryland College Park, Maryland 20742
Williams, Professor Edgar G.	Professor of Management Chairman, Personnel and Organization Behavior Graduate School of Business Indiana University Bloomington, Indiana
Wormald, Mr. Frederick L.	Vice President Association of American Colleges 1818 R Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009
Zetterberg, Professor Hans Lennart	Professor and Chairman Department of Sociology The Ohio State University Columbus, Ohio 43210

February 11, 1971

The American Society for Public Administration
Office of the Director
Minority Fellowship Program
1225 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Sir:'

This letter is in regard to your Press Release of February 4. Please send us twelve (12) copies of the Press Release, any further information you may have regarding the program, and applications for those who might wish to apply for a fellowship.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Gwendolyn M. Sapp, Secretary
Resources Development Center

file

November 9, 1971

Mr. Harry Alston
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen
2800 North Sheridan Road
Chicago, Illinois 60657

Dear Harry:

The enclosed publications can possibly be made available to the delegates to the Civil Rights Conference. I think it would also be useful to have enough copies of various issues of South Today and New South so that those delegates who are interested could pick them up. I am also enclosing a sample copy of South Today and New South. If you feel any or all of these publications would suit your and Lasley's purpose, please let me know and I will see that they are at the hotel by November 29.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

STATEMENT OF ASFC SPONSORED PEOPLES

PROTEST OF GUIDELINES CHANGES

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
WINIFRED GREEN 202 - 547-4343
GLENDA BARTLEY 404 - JA-28764

We have tried to teach our children to abide by the law. We have taught them this when all the forces of law seemed to be working against them. In 1964, our nation passed a law that would help us and our children to become the citizens we want to be, ought to be, have a right to be. That law guaranteed that our government would no longer give financial support to institutions which discriminated against citizens of the United States. Since that time, sometimes with pain and terror for our children and for us, we have, almost alone, sought to make the meaning of that law real for us and for all people in this country.

We have done what we were told to do by the agencies of government charged with enforcing the law: we have waited, we have endured, we have answered violence with nonviolence, we have sent young children through lines of hostile, hating adults. We have done all this because we believe in the law, in the education that makes useful citizens.

We are here now because we still believe in those things. But we wonder if our government does anymore.

Two weeks ago, Mr. Jerris Leonard said that giving more time to school districts that have known for 15 years they

are breaking the law did not mean that the administration was retreating from its previous stand in favor of requiring schools to desegregate by fall, 1969. He said that school districts will still be required to desegregate right away "where that is possible. The problem is where it's not possible."

We know all too well what those words mean. Where it's not possible is wherever school boards and superintendents don't want to desegregate. It's been 15 years. We know all the tricks. We know them because at one time or another all of them have been used against each of us. We know the tricks. What we want to know now is whether this is a government of trickery or a government of law.

What do we tell our children now? How can those superintendents and school boards who have tried, some of them under threat of loss of prestige and even, in some cases, their jobs, face now those who have been hostile to school integration and tell them that doing the right thing is no longer supported in Washington?

We ask that the Nixon administration tell school superintendents and school boards all over this country and particularly those in the South that there can be no more delay. If this is not accomplished now, it will not only affect us. It will affect all those who believe in law, in a government which abides by and enforces its own laws.

So we are sitting here because there is nothing left that we can do. We have done it all: the letters, the waiting,

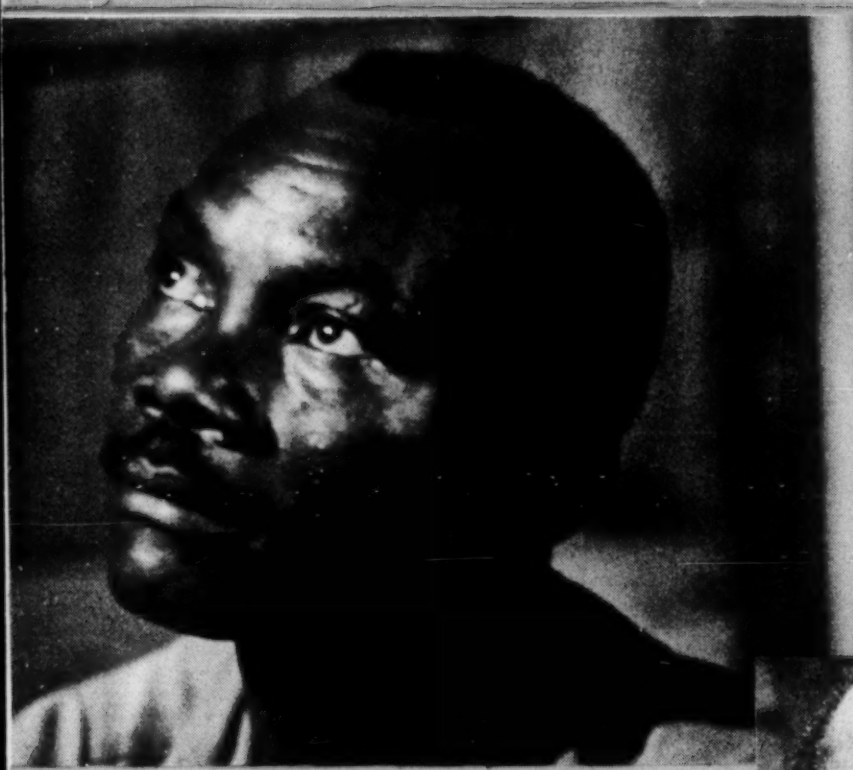
the believing. We are sitting here because, in the most profound and basic sense, we are tired.

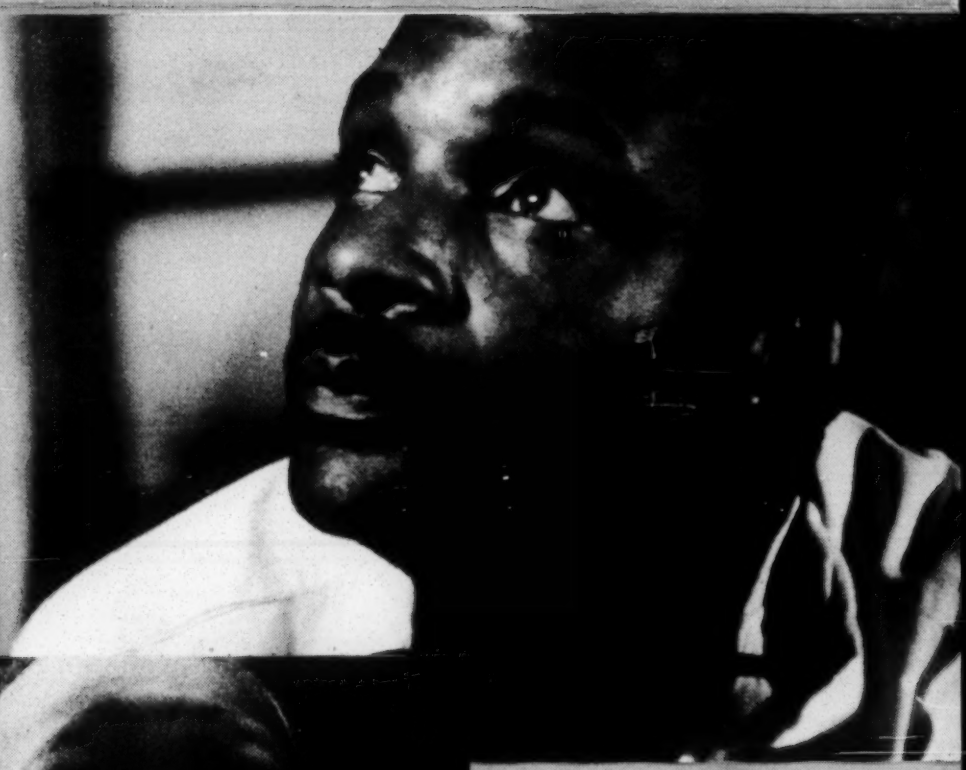
"AFSC"... *Something to the Spirit..."*

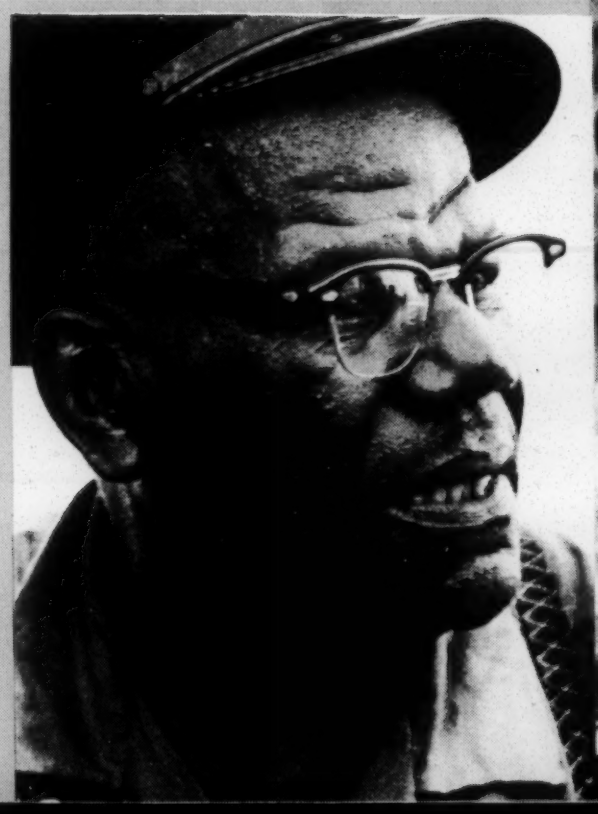
PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

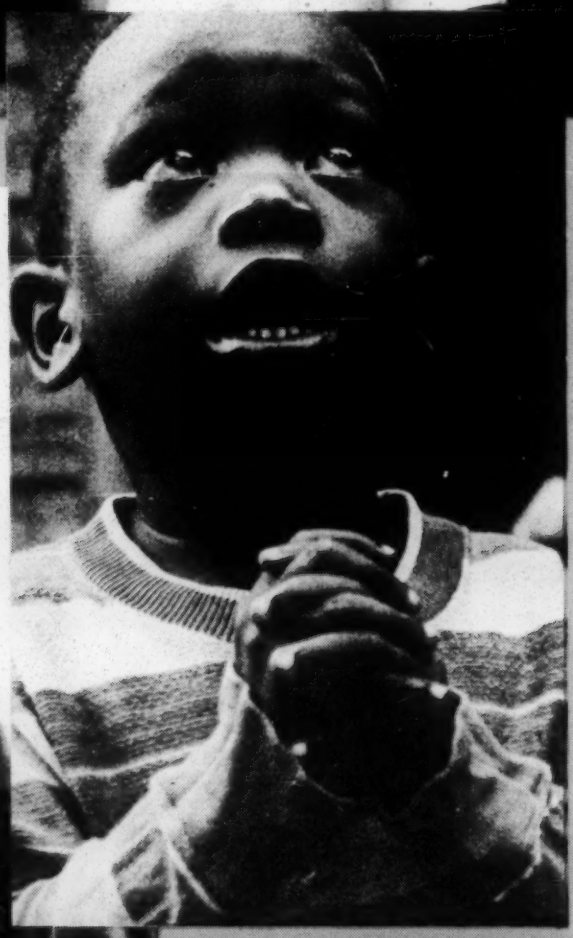
ST. HELENA ISLAND

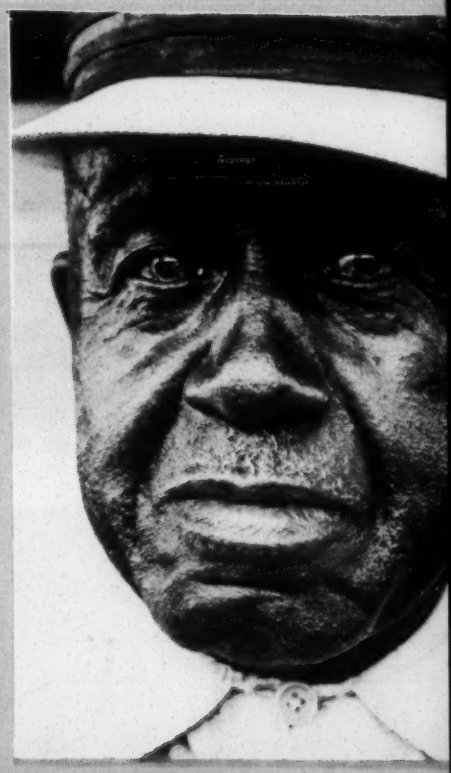
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA











"Community development is an educatio
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It is something to the spirit, not something
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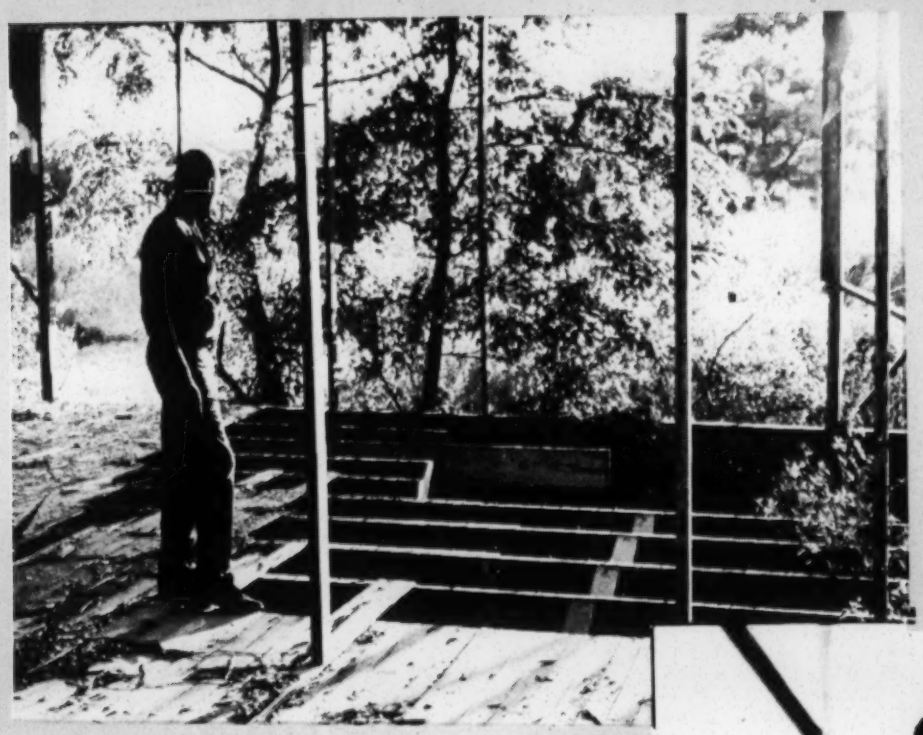

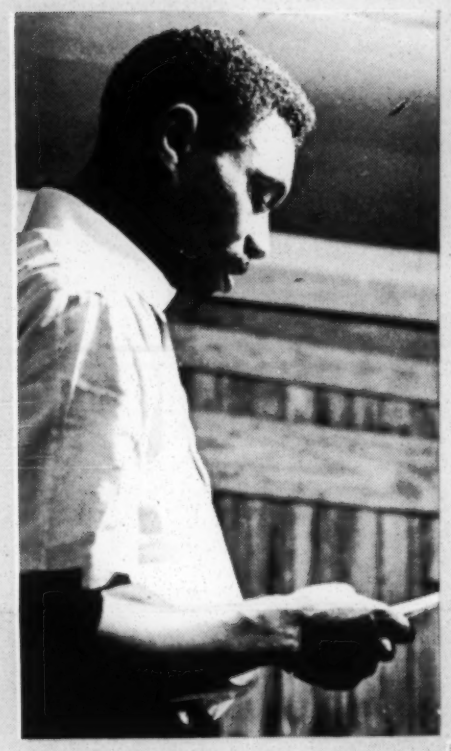

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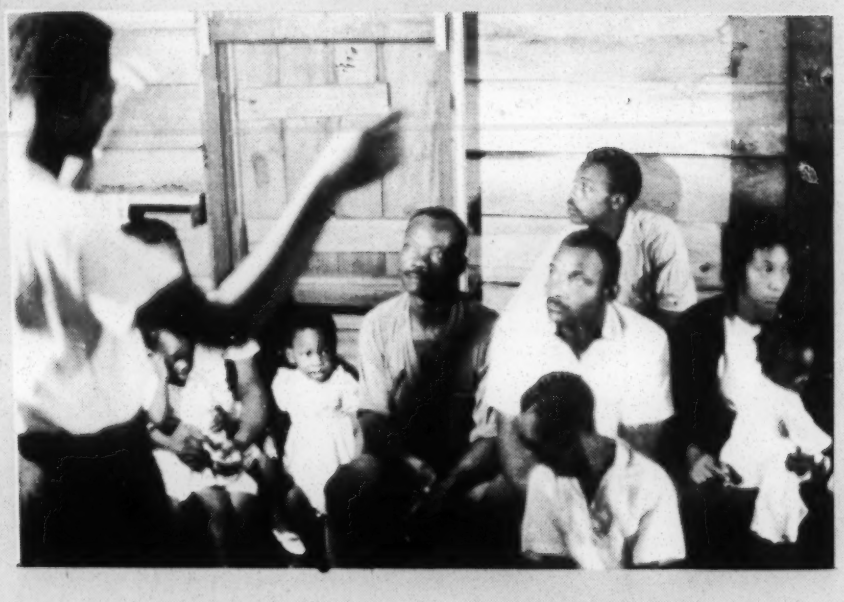

LAYOUT: MARSHALL SUDDERTH, JR. PHOTOS: DAVE DUFFIN

process . . . not better roads, better beehives, pure

material. It is not temporary, physical construc-
minds of men . . . It is these things because with
proper order."

—Fred Wale

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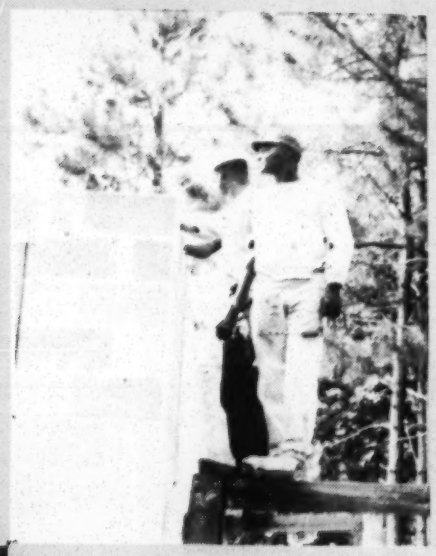


"The Goal of Community Development is:

to encourage growth of people toward dignity, self-reliance and competence,

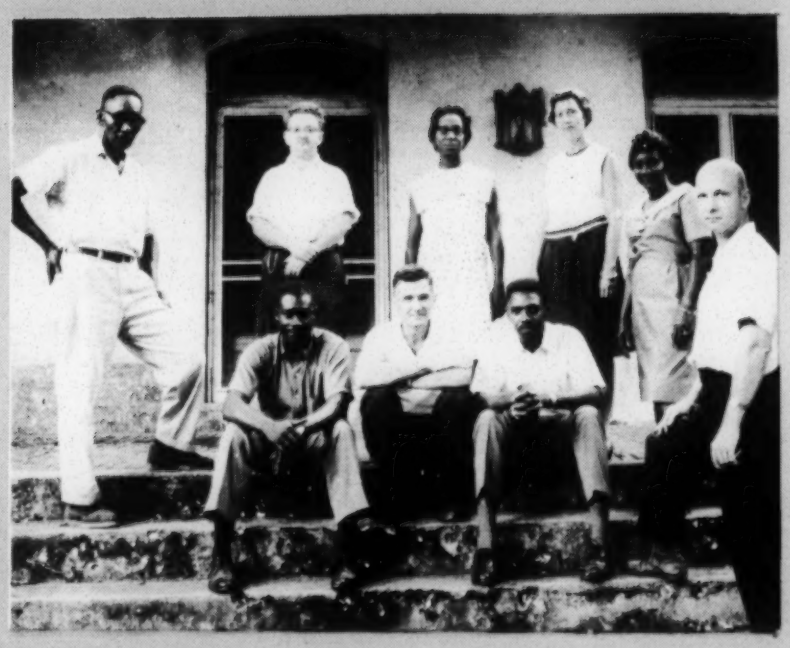
to motivate people to want to improve the conditions of their lives,

to develop a sense of community in which neighbors recognize common problems and work together as responsible, self-respecting members of society to solve them."

Julia Abrahamson

Penn

Penn Community Services is an outgrowth of an experiment in education that began in 1862 when two young women, one a doctor and the other, a teacher, came to St. Helena Island near historic Beaufort, South Carolina, to provide schooling for the newly-liberated slaves. Penn School, as it came to be known, was not only a place for formal education, but also a center for the development of occupational skills and the knowledge necessary for full participation in community life. Since 1948, when the state assumed responsibility for public education on the Island, Penn has continued to move forward as the cutting edge of community education in the region. From the state-wide influence of the conference activities to the community development phase of the program, Penn retains the spirit of the founders of the original school, encouraging the development of knowledge, self-reliance, cooperation and full participation in American life.



What Does Penn Do?

Conducts a program of rural community development in Beaufort County, South Carolina.

Hosts and often arranges a wide variety of conferences, work camps, religious retreats and local meetings at our oak-shaded grounds, providing facilities for groups of a dozen up to 150 in number.

Cooperates in negotiating with private and public agencies for non-traditional types of job openings.

Encourages active and responsible participation in government, particularly at the local level.

Provides opportunities for individuals and groups to discover new programs and receive information not otherwise readily available.

Co-sponsors a nursery school, rural library, clothing sales house and marketing cooperative.

The work of Penn, a non-profit organization, is supported chiefly by contributions. Gifts to Penn are tax-deductible.

Penn Community Services

COURTNEY SICELOFF, Director

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ST. HELENA ISLAND, FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Education

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Wil
Emery, Via

October 7, 1965

TO: FILES

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FROM: Barbara Moffett

SUBJECT: New Orleans: notes on investigation of possible AFSC role following hurricane

During the week of 9/13 we received call from national CORE office asking for help of any agency with staff or contacts in or near New Orleans. Needed to get help to poor. Said to be shocking indifference to their plight and cover-up by political leadership of extent of need.

South Central Regional Office (SCRO) meanwhile contacted by local CORE (New Orleans -- Jerome Smith, 523-7625). Barbara Moffett and Garnet Guild decided to see what SCRO resources could go to New Orleans quickly and assess needs. Wade Mackie went on 9/17. Also on 9/19 call came to Garnet Guild from Cy Harvey, SCRO Executive Committee member from New Orleans reporting deliberations of the Monthly Meeting there.

Wade and Monthly Meeting seemed in agreement as to analysis:

1. Everything in mess. More material aids from outside not necessarily the need. Real problem is overcoming inadequacies of welfare set up and leadership so that stuff could get to those who need it.

2. Undoubted discrimination in help given. Rigid segregation in refugee centers. Navigation Canal area one of worst; worse off than Desire area. Many more refugees than papers report.

3. Don't have complete list of who Wade saw, but saw Rosenberg, Associate Director, Social Welfare Planning Council, who saw role for AFSC as "assessor, evaluator, planner to meet long range needs". Come, stay for 10 days, put needs before right people, look toward future and rebuilding.

The resource needed seemed then to be, not a relief person, but someone who would have quick comprehension of how a city mobilizes resources, what the racial barriers were, quick understanding of welfare organization, government resources, etc. SCRO asked if we could help turn up such a resource. SCRO Executive acted formally on 9/25 -- having received New Orleans Meeting minute asking for AFSC resource.

In Philadelphia, following the earliest call, we had gathered Bill Channel, Allen Bacon (Community Relations Division Executive and Housing Committees) and Arthur Dye (recent New Orleans contacts, knowledge of welfare workings) to help us sharpen questions to be put to SCRO and elsewhere.

We made inquiries in Washington.

(1) National Red Cross (through good contact of Harold Snyders -- Mary Settles, RE 7-8300 -- who led us to a very defensive and unhelpful person: Bob Edson, National Director, Disaster Service). He said he was shocked that anyone felt there was a problem. Gave full recital of resources Red Cross had in situation: so many snack meals, surplus food and clothing to so many families, 6000 mops, 10 million disposable diapers, etc., etc. Were going to spend a total of 5 million dollars, have 510 staff there. "If anyone needs help in New Orleans, it's their own fault."

(2) Civil Rights Commission. Dean Betterman (202-382-5616), staff attorney with "federal programs" part of CRC. He reported that they had received many complaints of discrimination in relief services (dry ice gotten to whites; Negroes had to travel far for it; Gas masks -- in Baton Rouge presumably -- gotten to whites first; LSU gotten back into shape in quick order, but Southern University had to wait, etc., etc.). He wished for more specific documentation. He was going to go to New Orleans week of 9/28.

He described set up: all agency work coordinated by Office of Emergency Planning Executive Office. General knowledge that Office of Emergency Planning insensitive, at best, to racial implications. CRC is going to set up training programs for their staff when this emergency is over. Also make sure government assigns civil rights man along with others to such emergency efforts in future.

Questioned about Red Cross operation, he said it was of course the key agency in such situation and known for poor performance in racial matters. Had few specific complaints against Red Cross, however, but this is a part of lack of specific complaints as opposed to generalized ones.

Head of Red Cross operations in the area: George Hastings, Baton Rouge.

(3) National Catholic Welfare Conference (202-737-7474). Social Action Department. Had talked with people in area, not aware of any particular problems. No call on their special emergency resources.

Meanwhile further information from Ezra Young visit to New Orleans confirmed lack of ability of city's welfare apparatus to cope. Political overtones. Mayor up for re-election. Some of those giving out help wearing campaign buttons, etc.

I later had a chance to check this out with Small Business Administration man whom I met at Conference. (Morris W. Bush, Associate Director, CEO Assistance, SBA, Washington, D.C. Phone: 382-4987.) He had just come back from New Orleans. SBA had interviewed 8000 people. He said, "unfortunate occurrence that some of volunteers lent to their operation were foolish enough to wear buttons. Big furor; had to send them away." Man named Galloway is New Orleans SBA coordinator.

Focus of need began to be: (1) get someone in who could fill vacuum of information about misuse or misapplication of funds and perhaps act as catalyst in present operations; and (2) think in long range terms: what could emerge by way of activitywhich would enable the poor, voiceless, to get help and make use of resources. See opportunity to rebuild, not just buildings, but patterns of community which would be better than before in terms of participation of those suffering barriers of race and poverty.

RESOURCES: We turned to Bill Channel, to Arthur Dye, and to national committee resources, Allen Bacon (Philadelphia) and Frances Coe, civic leader in Memphis, member of Southern Programs Committee. None free for length of time needed. Frances wondered about resources of Tulane School of Social Work. In checking situation out she again got from reliable sources picture of need and that relief operations of Red Cross and Salvation Army likely to be highly discriminatory. Also checked with Jacques Wilmore, head of Civil Rights Commission Regional Office in Memphis. He had gotten CORE complaints. His new staff, Bobby Doktor, had been in touch with Harvey Kerns of New Orleans Urban League and his assistant, Clarence Barney. Impressed with their knowledge and role.

Each inquiry eating up time; put question back to Houston: perhaps best to use regional resources: Wade, Garnet, etc. Garnet not ready to settle for this. We said we had an idea of resource outside our national committees, staff, but also busy and might be unable to be sprung loose: Red Stephenson of North Richmond Neighborhood House, good community organization man with free-wheeling approach. Highly respected by us and in general. She said call him. We did. Red enthusiastic about opportunity for AFSC to be helpful. Went about setting up meeting of his staff and Executive Committee for early this week (10/4). On Thursday afternoon (10/7) phoned word that he had been released for week or more; could arrive New Orleans Monday evening, the 11th; stay till following Monday, 18th, when had to go on to Washington on his agency's business. Phoned Garnet, who had previously communicated with New Orleans Friends about this possibility. Allset. Now need $1000.

Red went to work immediately to explore New Orleans situation through his own contacts:

1. David Hunter. Close to Red and knowledgeable New Orleans (Stern); "agree on community organization approaches". Red asked: "what are you hearing?" Whole New Orleans situation without good leadership for a long while. Hurricane made chaos. Urged look at long range planning which would make sense. Encouraged Red to go.

2. Norman Francis, New Orleans Urban League Chairman. Red feels #1 person in knowing institutional relationships in city. He thought who came important. No publicity. City over initial shock, but tremendous problems remain -- not solving problems. Housing one of most serious.

3. Winston Lill, CAP Director.

4. Clark Corliss (Director, Special Welfare Planning Council). Got $200,000 from OEO for neighborhood development. Will enable him to put 12 people in field, use 18 VISTAS. Inclined to see AFSC role with students, summer programs.

Red, like us, does not want to stop with agency contacts. Will want to get into neighborhoods. Will seek contacts among North Richmond community who have family and friends in New Orleans.

Red has mind on long range planning. May well come up with roles for AFSC. Important we see if roles for local Friends group, who have asked us in, and make this a rewarding and involving process for them. Question before AFSC may be: what size and type of job can we respond to? Not raise expectations couldn't fill.

BWM:bs

cc: Garnet Guild
Red Stephenson
Colin Bell
Louis Schneider
Wade Mackie
CRD Staff (Philadelphia)
Arthur Dye
Roy McCorkel
Earle Edwards
Catharine Evans

~~Thelma Horo / John Saxton~~

Emory

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

November 3, 1965

TO: Garnet Guild

FROM: Barbara Moffett

SUBJECT: New Orleans Report

Red Stephenson's "visit reports" have come; those of us who have had the time to scan them are finding them exciting reading and a valuable filling out of his summary memo of October 25. (I'm attaching some spare carbons that came along, by the way, not knowing whether they were meant for us or for you. We have a copy of each.)

You are no doubt considering how best to put the report of the visit and suggestions growing out of it before your Executive Committee this coming Saturday. As we have read the summary report here, some observations occur to us and we pass them along in case you might find them helpful.

1. Red's visit seems to have accomplished its main purposes:

a. We have helpfully thought through with a wide range of people what some of the longer-range needs -- highlighted by the flood -- are and have made suggestions about what might be involved in meeting these needs. Some of these suggestions could involve AFSC work; others do not necessarily involve further AFSC resources. In any case, we can hope that Red's interviews have both strengthened those who see the issues of poverty and race and have also put concerns freshly before others. Among the concerns he shared with the leaders he saw were at least these two important ones: (1) race underlies all issues and must be faced if problems -- housing, schools, welfare, etc. -- are to be solved; and (2) more than job training, education improvements, etc. are needed on the employment front. These will lead only to more severe frustration unless there is meaningful activity for people once trained. For the moment Red proposes massive public works. There were many other parts to his message, but these struck me as two he had shared with particular force. In so doing he has made a contribution.

b. We have looked into the factor of racial discrimination in the relief and rehabilitation process sufficiently to know that race underlies everything and is a major barrier to the city's ability to identify and solve its problems. Red does not suggest a role for AFSC, however, in the immediate problems of racial discrimination in relief and rehabilitation.

2. Red has fed some helpful information into summer project planning.

We can take these into consideration in future planning for summer projects and I would gather that some further consultation has already taken place.

3. <u>There are suggestions for action which can help the New Orleans situation but may take little, if any, further AFSC investment of money or personnel</u>.

a. Bringing to New Orleans "expertise" and an enlightened point of view regarding <u>housing</u>, one of the city's crucial problems (perhaps the <u>most</u> crucial, Red may be saying). The possibility of having on O'Keefe's staff a person who could help relate federal resources to New Orleans housing needs seems exciting. The suggested role for AFSC here could be finding and interesting such a person in the job. O'Keefe expects to hear from us.

b. Stimulating <u>interracial communication</u> which goes beyond that which is achieved in Board meetings, etc. Here we note that Red found Father Twomey keenly interested in the possibilities, seeing the Institute of Human Relations at Loyola as a possible vehicle. We might help him develop this further as Red suggests.

4. <u>Red also suggests that AFSC might consider long range activity</u>.

This would include looking into neighborhood development work in the area south of the Industrial Canal and neighborhood work also in a presently interracial area such as the Carrolton Area. Both of these are interesting ideas to be studied further. Beyond them and beyond a person on O'Keefe's staff, we get the message that Red is suggesting that we begin to think of whether the AFSC has a role in the housing picture of New Orleans. AFSC could also, of course, see whether it could play a role itself in the interracial communication area, and Red has suggested that, as well as reporting on his talk with Father Twomey, which indicates an indigenous group with concern in this area.

In considering the more major and long range AFSC roles suggested we have many things to consider, obviously, including: the priority for work here as compared with other opportunities and responsibilities before the Region and the AFSC as a whole; whether we have particular competence to bring to the roles open to us in New Orleans; the possibilities of personnel and funds, etc.

From one important perspective New Orleans has a high priority: it is a key southern city in which progress should now be possible in the housing field, which affects so basically the school issue and other aspects of community life. As Red suggests, housing progress must be made in key southern cities now or they can go the way of the North, at which point our problem is all the harder to solve, as we know. We do have some areas of competence to bring to the types of roles being described, though we need to sharpen up our urban approaches and are even now just experimenting in several northern and western cities.

In short, it seems to us that Red's visit has made a contribution already, as we had hoped it would, that it opens up possibilities of AFSC making other contributions without heavy personnel or financial requirements, and that we have before us questions of whether we should begin to think of a larger continuing AFSC role in New Orleans. We'll await with interest a report of the deliberations of your Executive Committee on these matters.

BWM:bs

Attachments

cc: Red Stephenson (so that he can check us if we misread him)
Louis Schneider
Colin Bell
Thelma How/John Sexton
CRD Staff
Arthur Dye
Earle Edwards

Integration Ends Fast

NORFOLK JOURNAL & GUIDE - SAT OCT 2

Politicians' Leader Holds Whites Are Getting Meaner

by ROSEMARIE BROOKS

WASHINGTON — What happens to the usual patterns of segregation in a crisis?

In New Orleans, city of romance, Mardi Gras and back door integration, Betsy made little impact on the prevailing patterns.

At the outset the disaster was so great and unexpected in the past, this city usually escaped the storms and hurricans) Negroes and whites were harder together to the first available shelters.

AS SOON as immediate dangers subsided, this KKK infested community organized separate facilities. Medical aid was called upon, but the town officials were careful to assign Negro physicians and nurses to other Negroes. According to Mrs. Katie Whickam, president of the National Beauty Culturists League, the Negro nurses were the last to be called.

All Negroes were sent to Flint - Goodridge, the one hospital designated for them. About 76 people were injured by Betsy, most of them Negroes.

GETTING food was no problem. The foodstuffs were donated to the city the first few days. Near the border of the canal, where Poland and St. Claude streets merge, one grocer placed a "white only" sign. It was anticipated there might be little food, and this merchant, who usually sells to Negroes, wanted to be sure the white folk recieved his goods. However, the donated food caused no drain on his merchandise.

community; truth of the matter most of the stealing was done by the whites. The most flagrant stealing hit downtown merchants who failed to tape their windows or stripe merchandise from display areas.

SO ACUSTOMED were they to escaping past storms, they ignored warnings by Nash Roberts, a radio announcer. He asked the merchants to release their employees and prepare for the storm. This was around 5 o' clock.

So enamored were the merchants with late night profits, Nash's warnings were ignored. When the full force of Betsy arrived, store windows broke with no resistance. Strewn merchandise was easily picked up; many of the white residents had the practiced eye to pick up good jewelry, too, particularly diamond rings.

RESIDENTS of the stricken city found themselves far from alert. Early, approaching Betsy had destroyed electric lines. Radio and television warnings were not heard.

One woman awakened to find her arm immersed in water. Another half asleep, poorly clad, bare-foot Negro woman had to protect her life by sitting on a chair atop her stove. Her resuce was the only one photographed in the New Orleans papers.

A complaint before Betsy was the lack of efficient sewerage in the Negro areas. Since Betsy this problem and its health hazards are greater. But the complaints were ignored before the storm, and have been since.

SINCE THE 1964 civil rights act what has happened in this city of close family ties between the races?

Mrs. Katie Whickam whose [illegible]

the insight into this southrn community:

Q. What about public accomodations? For instance can Negroes swim in public pools?

A. No one has been swimming in this community since last year. The pools were closed after the civil rights act. There is a pool at the Hilton Inn for its guests. But it is classed as a private club.

many of them in the stores?

A. Not many are seen. Most of the Negroes shop in the smaller shopping centers in the area of their homes. Habit is strong, but they can shop in the large stores. Negroes with the "right" family background and money have few problems in places of public accomodations.

Q. What about the churches? The Catholic church, for example.

A. Some Catholic churches not all. Some parishes have closed the churches which attempted integration.

Q. What about restaurants?

green's (a national chain) provides an interesting example. All their stores have lunch counters for sitting except the one in the Negro neighborhood in New Orleans. But, despite the missing lunch room, there is a liquor store which allows the customers to drink as well as buy.

Q. Can they sit down to drink?

A. No. They stand. However, all other Walgreens have liquor stores in them. The Negro one fails to have the lunch counter. They do have Negro clerks, however.

Q. Is there a bi-racial committee?

A. Yes, but by the membership it is designed to accomplish little if anything.

Q. Does this committee have Negroes?

A. Yes. Those selected are ineffectual and not representative of militant interests in the Negro community.

Q. What do you mean by 'back door integration?"

A. For years illicit relationships, never sanctified by marriage or an attempt to marry, have existed in Louisiana. It is open, with both sides of the family — the white side and black side — aware of each other. The homes provided for both are not hidden. There are less of these illicit relationships now, but it is prevalent enough to halt any genuine progress in the state.

Q. What do you mean by that last remark?

A. I have served on boards and committees for years which obstensibly seek to alter the segregation pattern and /or improve conditions for Negroes. Invariably, members of the committees drop out or refuse to act. Why? Most of them are connected to important men in the community who do not want the change.

the relationships?

A. Not exactly. But often one is heard to say something like '...I would do this but father says.." [illegible] know you have a. It's frustrating. It always ends that way, however.

Q. Here (in the U. S. Senate and House of representatives) Rep. Hale Boggs and Sen. Russell B. Long are considered "converted rebels." Does this conversion show itself at home?

A. No. They have never done anything for Negroes. But they play an interesting game in Washington. Negroes can gain invitations to the White House, for instance. But just try getting federal registrars into the state!

Q. Do you mean to say there are no federal registrars in the state?

A. No. I can not imagine why not. They are needed, though the first Negroes to be registered will probably vote right out of the power structure's pocket.

Q. Do you see any progress forthcoming?

A. I wish I could. But the whites in New Orleans are getting meaner and meaner. Ever since our rights have been insured they have become meaner than ever. I wish I could see progress in New Orleans.

Q. By the way, Mrs. Whickam, how much time do you spend in New Orleans?

A. Since I became president of the NBCL, just about three months out of the year. When I do come home, all the politicians want to know how long I'm going to be around!

MRS. KATIE WICKHAM

Negroes

ud Emory

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[a cooperative project of ALES]

WHITE COLLAR WORKSHOPS

ANNUAL REPORT

1960

ANNUAL REPORT

WHITE COLLAR WORKSHOPS

1960

The growing numbers and changing status of white collar workers in America are of direct interest and concern to White Collar Workshops. As a subsidiary of the American Labor Education Service, it has pioneered in the field of programming for this group, molding and adapting its workshops and conferences to meet the changing needs of office and professional workers.

White collar workers now constitute almost half the entire labor force in this country, with trends indicating that the proportion of white collar to blue collar workers will continue to rise. The challenge of organizing the millions of unorganized white collar workers is one that the labor movement recognizes as urgent and immediate.

Looking at professional workers in today's society, White Collar Workshops saw the increased demands made on them by problems of population explosion, urbanization, school and teacher shortages, and by the growing numbers of government agencies calling for competent staff. Thus, in a conscious step, White Collar Workshops has turned special attention to professional workers, exploring areas not developed as yet in union programs.

White Collar Workshops has sought to develop in its 1960 program an understanding of our complex society, emphasizing unmet needs of people in an "affluent society", and what can - and ought - be done about them.

White Collar Workshop - July, 1960

The 1960 summer institute of the White Collar Workshops brought together a unique group of social workers and labor officials, some of the latter engaged in union welfare programs and liaison work between the unions and community groups. The five-day seminar was built around the theme: The Balance Between Private and Public Needs in an Affluent Society. This was the third annual Workshop designed to bring together social workers and trade unionists to discuss problems which they have in common, to share their views and experiences in this field of high mutual concern, and to find better ways to reach and arouse the public.

Realistically, since many of those deeply concerned with the subject matter would not be able to free themselves from their jobs for a five-day institute, the Workshop was divided into two parts. One group of delegates attended the full institute from July 13-17. During this time they analyzed

our economic situation in terms of the relationship of our economy of abundance to the satisfaction of human needs. They discussed our present-day social needs and the relationship of social services to satisfying them. How the values and attitudes in our present-day society determine action was another area explored.

A larger group then joined the initial group on July 15, for a week-end of intensive sessions on The Stake of Social Workers and Trade Unionists in Health Services. Here questions taken up included: are the costs of medical care, unemployment and retirement benefits threats to the economic security of our country? What is the nature of medical needs, and how can their costs be met? How can social workers and trade unionists cooperate more effectively in meeting social and medical needs?

The objective of the 1960 Workshop was the consideration of ways in which the total resources of the community can more effectively be used in meeting the problems under discussion.

White Collar Workshops believes that its schools should facilitate maximum thinking and discussion, and that the process of staff and student thinking together is most creative. The high caliber of discussion leaders and speakers at the school demonstrated the way in which reliable content and sound discussion methods combined to stimulate thought.

This process was enhanced, also, by the maturity of the student body, which brought to the school experiences in dealing with community problems and agencies that greatly enriched the sessions. Some of the delegates, for example, teach in schools of social work, direct health education programs at union health centers, and administer union welfare funds, and social workers in agencies were well represented, to mention a few of their varied backgrounds.

What is characteristic of our age is not change alone but the accelerated rate at which change occurs, and with a discussion of this point the analysis of our economic situation today was launched and attention focused on the question: "How does this change affect <u>you</u>?"

Douglas Dowd, Professor of Economics at Cornell University, discussed the economic necessity of utilizing our resources for social needs. Pressures push us toward a new social outlook, if we are to escape otherwise inevitable trends to monopoly and depressions.

Dr. S. J. Axelrod, Director of the Bureau of Public Health Economics, University of Michigan, helped the group analyze the present social needs and the part social services play in satisfying them. Are social security, unemployment compensation, and services such as those in public health adequate?

A faculty panel, chaired by Clara Kaiser, recently Acting Dean of the New York School of Social Work, took up ways of stimulating citizen participation in government to facilitate necessary program changes. On this

panel Dr. Axelrod and Professor Dowd were joined by Orlie Pell, former Education and Research Associate of ALES. During this session there was strong feeling that individual union health plans, for example, set excellent examples in ways of handling some health needs, but should not take over the job that really belongs to government.

Basic to this session was a frank consideration of ways that labor and social workers can develop better working relationships.

The second part of the school, for which the over-all subject was The Stake of Social Workers and Trade Unionists in Health Services, opened with Friday evening's speaker, Nelson Cruikshank, Director of the Social Security Department of the AFL-CIO, in a session chaired by Ethlyn Christensen, Director of the Bureau of Research Studies and Program Resources, National Board, Young Women's Christian Association, and chairman of the committee which planned the school. Here the entire group of delegates considered whether the costs of medical care, unemployment and retirement benefits were threats to the economic security of our country. Put another way, how should the cost of adequate medical care be distributed? How can unemployment and old age benefits be strengthened? Can our economy afford to carry the present inadequate systems?

Dr. Franz Goldmann, Associate Professor of Medical Care, Emeritus, Harvard School of Public Health, considered with the group the nature of medical needs, and how medical and related services might be adapted to social needs and uses. Later, with discussion leaders Sarale Owens, Personnel Consultant for the National Board of the YWCA, and Orlie Pell, delegates probed deeper the age-old question: What Can We Do? In addition to specific suggestions for action on the community level, the groups considered the degree of communication between unions and social workers, and the need for more understanding as the basis for more effective cooperative action on the part of the two groups.

One of the conference highpoints came with the Sunday morning panel, chaired by the Director. Six panel members included: Gerald Beallor, Jewish Family Service of New York and Treasurer of the Community and Social Agency Employees Local 1707; Myron Blanchard, then of the National Jewish Welfare Board; Andrew Brown, Director, UAW Community Services Committee; Douglas Dowd; Morris Iushewitz, Secretary, New York Central Labor Council; Dr. Lorin Kerr, Assistant to the Executive Medical Officer, United Mine Workers Welfare and Retirement Fund. This distinguished group reviewed our basic goals and objectives in meeting social and medical needs, and sought ways to improve communication between labor and social workers and to clarify the role played by the Community Services Committee of the union.

Throughout the institute, which was one of the most advanced that White Collar Workshops has conducted, there was a frank give-and-take among people carrying real responsibility in the social work field and in ten different trade unions, thinking through problems which they face in the short and long run. This institute was one of a series planned to bring labor and

social workers together, continuing the program begun in the 1958 and 1959 summer Workshops. In February, 1960, in Louisville, Kentucky, ALES initiated a conference which also carried out this idea.

Louisville, Kentucky

Practical and long range results flowing from a carefully planned and skillfully led conference held in February, 1960, in Louisville, show what can be done when social workers and trade unionists in a community have the opportunity to get together and learn to know each other.

As reported by ALES resident staff member Mrs. Marie Algor, the Kentucky section of the National Association of Social Workers for the first time co-sponsored an institute with the Louisville Labor Unions' Education Program Committee, held at the University of Louisville School of Social Work. The program centered around common concerns in preserving human values. A session in which there was a historical review of human values for which the labor movement has fought also included an interpretation of the special work of the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee, thus giving social workers a broader perspective on how labor looks at community problems. Time was also devoted to discussing methods of social work and some of its aims, which broadened labor's understanding as well.

Out of this unusually fruitful conference came suggestions for further cooperation between social workers and trade unionists: the request for an institute the following year, involving more people and exploring the impact of automation on community life; an interchange of speakers at social work and union meetings; additional contact between social work students and trade unionists; and additional interchange between the groups - increased support and participation on community boards on the part of labor, and more frequent presentation of legislative needs and other problems to the Community Services Committee by social workers. Finally, the group talked over the possibility of adding a labor representative as a staff member of the Community Chest.

Problems of Unions and Management in Social Welfare Organizations: An Evening Discussion Program

White Collar Workshops included a number of specific projects in 1960 built around gaining an understanding of problems of a social welfare nature. As a result of the interest stimulated at the summer institute the preceding year and the awareness of the common concerns of social workers and trade unionists that grew out of it, it was suggested that a meeting of a larger group of social workers than could attend the resident school would be constructive. This led to a panel discussion meeting in April, 1960, on the question: "What are the unique problems facing unions and management in a social welfare organization?"

Eighty-one participants gathered from the New York area, indicating wide interest in this subject. This was underscored by the recent strike of hospital workers against a number of private hospitals. The evening's discussion turned to the question of the right of social workers to strike, and to the differences between public and private agencies -- in particular the recognition which workers in public agencies have under city labor law. Is there a conflict among the professional's responsibilities: to the public supporting his services, to his employer agency, to the clients he serves, and to the union? This basic question was of deep concern to all.

Needs of this group of social workers, as discussed, include: the right to organize and bargain collectively, recognized in law as it is for other unions; the need for constant improvement in the quality of services offered by the professional; and access to fringe benefits, as well as a voice in determining conditions of work.

Chairman Ernest Witte, Executive Director of the Council on Social Work Education, had a distinguished panel aiding in the evening's program: Gerald Beallor, Treasurer, Local 1707, Community and Social Agency Employees, AFL-CIO; John Carney, United Community Funds and Councils of America Liaison with the AFL-CIO-CSA; Arthur Katz, Dean, Adelphi College Graduate School of Social Work; Joseph Reid, Executive Director, Child Welfare League of America; Albert Science, President, Local 877, United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO.

ALES - IUD White Collar Seminar, December 1960

Because of its experience in programming for white collar workers, and its continuing interest in white collar and technical workers, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO invited the ALES to co-sponsor a Seminar especially geared to the needs of staff and officers of unions working with office and technical workers in industry. This was held December 1-3 in New York City, attended by some 50 trade unionists from 15 unions.

In addition to specific sessions on organizing white collar workers in industry, and administering collective bargaining agreements, the conferees took a look at the sociological profile of the white collar worker, his position in our economy, and how automation will affect his job. For these problems, Professor Harold Sheppard of Wayne State University, now with the Senate Committee on the Aged and Aging, and Professor George Shultz, Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago, were the keynote speakers, providing the group with a rich fund of information.

ALES was pleased to cooperate in this White Collar Seminar, an event denoting increased recognition that the large numbers of office workers in our economy need unionization, and that, equally, unions need the white collar worker to maintain a strong and forward-looking labor movement.

In Summary

Thus it has been a busy and productive year for White Collar Workshops. Strides were made in the area of increased understanding between social workers, both in and outside of unions, and trade unionists; in education relating to union-community cooperation; and in augmenting a program for office workers in industry.

Challenges remain for the future, as they always do. There is an increasing need for closer contact and understanding between social workers and unionists who work on the every-day and practical levels in our many communities. Ways must be found for circulating more widely the clues to understanding and to action uncovered through the workshops and institutes that have been - and will be conducted.

With the experience of the White Collar Workshops over the years, perhaps it can make as unique a contribution in the development of programs for technical workers as it has already done for office workers, as well as to assist unions in their post-organizing education work with these groups.

In order to do its most effective work, continual consideration must be given to the distinctive problems of white collar workers. Several studies exploring the types of attitudes of white collar workers in contrast to those of industrial workers, their special problems and needs, are now needed. As in the past, White Collar Workshops will continue to work in areas where the need seems greatest, and where it can contribute both in service to existing organizations and in pioneering new areas of workers' education.

White Collar Workshops is particularly indebted to its loyal and active Board, to Theresa Wolfson, its chairman, and Orlie Pell, its secretary, as well as to Ethlyn Christensen, who chaired the committee which worked out the 1960 summer program, and to her committee.

Respectfully submitted,

Eleanor G. Coit
Director

WHITE

COLLAR

WORKSHOPS

1776 Broadway N. Y. 19, N. Y.

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AMERICAN LABOR EDUCATION SERVICE, INC.

ALES

ANNUAL REPORT 1960

Forgive this messy looking letter - I was too lazy to get up and hunt for second sheets!

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1776 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Telephone: CIrcle 5-9065

Director: Eleanor G. Coit

January 25, 1961

Dear Emory, Margaret and David:

The lovely card was received and I was so pleased to have it. Margaret you are doing such beautiful work - this particularly appealed to me as I've had two wonderful trips to Japan - and this reminds me so of the work of a little Japanese friend of mine in Tokyo.

Is this dry brush? A friend was here the other day looking at my cards and she asked me to inquire - she, too, was very intrigued.

Emory, I am working with the Central Body (AFL-CIO) in Duluth on a World Affairs Conference - in fact I leave here on the 31st to go to Duluth to meet with the planning committee. We had one hurried meeting when I was enroute home from New York and at that time decided that we wished to concentrate on two subjects that were much in the minds of workers in Duluth and on the Iron Range - Disarmament and Expanded Foreign Aid. They have many fears of the effects on our economy of both programs, but have much sympathy for the programs - "if the impact does not mean job losses - etc."

This means we need both a very good economist, who can discuss the impact on the economy and some one who is deeply interested in what we do in Foreign Aid. We have a wonderful person for the Disarmament Proposals - the Secretary of the UN Disarmament Commission, but he has had to accept conditionally, as the UN may at the time of the conference, April 7-8, be deeply involved in discussions that would keep him in New York. For that reason I'm also trying to discover someone who can give a thoughtful analysis of the disarmament issue as of now.

Wilbur Epstein, a Canadian, use him sometime, his quotes a person. He does not need honorarium. Just expenses. As he loves to get down the country. Also knows labor.

If you have any suggestions of economists or political scientists whom you'd like to suggest, I'd be most grateful for some news of them. It is very difficult to get people from New York or Boston up to Duluth due to the plane schedules - and the cost of transportation.

I'm going to be in Duluth, Feb. 1 - our committee will meet on Feb. 2, and I'd love it if you would write me about anyone exciting that you know about the University of Wisconsin - or anywhere else in the area - Chicago - Detroit - Ann Arbor, etc. If you do have any names for me, will you write me c/o Charles Bannister, President, Duluth AFL-CIO Central Body, 315 Providence Building, Duluth 2, Minn.?

I'd love to know how you all are, and how life is treating you. (over)

I never thanked you for helping get Harvey Abrahamson and Doc Gellin to the Schools. Also were both very fine. The Gellins me had only two people who did not measure up - this was a very good group.

I'm tapering off from work - this year, I expect only to work about two months for ALES - maybe three. Then if I can afford it, I'm not going to do anything for five or six months, and I hope from now on I'll never do more than occasionally short time jobs - come 1962 and I'll be 65 - it's wonderful.

My trip to Japan this spring was wonderful. I was there three months, almost one month of which I spent in a rice village, where I lived in a Buddhist Temple and taught "conversational English" to anyone who wished to come - and come they did, from Jr. High girls to old farmers in the village. I adored every minute of it.

My best wishes for 1961.

Bernice

Do you know anything about an economist - Kenneth E. Boulding of Univ. of Michigan? He was on the Rockefeller Panel on the Mtg. of the Amer. Econ. for Advancement of Science in N.Y. in Dec. I liked what I read of his remarks.

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[1957?]

30

HISTORY of an IDEA

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1776 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

Kirkland, Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and AFL-CIO Exec. Secretary William

M— Apprenticeship

Chicago Building Trades Promote Job Opportunities for 4,000 Blacks

AFL-CIO News 9-13-69

Chicago—The Chicago Building & Construction Trades Council is moving ahead with a four-point program to provide job and training opportunities for 4,000 more black workers in the city's construction industry.

The council announced it would open an office in Chicago's largely Negro South Side to proceed with the recruiting program despite rejection of the plan by the Coalition for United Community Action, made up of a number of black organizations in the city.

The plan was spelled out by construction unions and management in a series of negotiations with the coalition following demonstrations that closed projects here involving nearly $100 million.

The proposal, issued jointly by the Building & Construction Trades Council and the Building Construction Employers Association, offered to:

- "Endeavor to obtain employment at once" for 1,000 qualified black journeymen and asked the coalition to help recruit them.
- Find probationary employment for another 1,000 blacks with at least two years experience in a particular craft and assign them after 30 days to the equivalent of the apprenticeship rate applicable to their experience.
- Recruit 1,000 blacks with no previous training or experience for a one-month preparatory training period along the lines of the Outreach program to help them enter the existing apprenticeship programs of all crafts.
- Launch an on-the-job training program for 1,000 more Negroes who choose not to enter pre-apprenticeship training or who fail to pass the tests involved.

In full-page advertisements in Chicago newspapers, the employers and unions outlined their program and recited continuing efforts to attract black workers into the construction industry.

This is achieved through the Apprenticeship Information Center set up by the federal government and in cooperation with the Urban League under the Apprenticeship Outreach program, which has placed 459 apprentices over a 30-month period.

"We have organized bus trips for high school students to job sites," the union-industry statement said. "Want ads for skilled tradesmen are run daily. We have worked through social agencies in the black community and through the Illinois State Employment Service. We have done our best to alleviate the labor shortage in every way we know. Yet all these efforts have resulted in pitifully few black applicants—far fewer than the number we have been ready to accept into our ranks."

The Coalition for United Community Action, whose original demands were for employment of blacks eventually in 30 percent of all construction jobs, rejected the union-industry proposals as "unrealistic" and "totally unacceptable."

A spokesman for the coalition, the Rev. C. T. Vivian, indicated a central issue in the dispute was the control of hiring and training.

"We would not be in control of our own program, and we must reject it," Vivian was quoted by the Associated Press.

The union and industry negotiators advised the coalition that they would welcome its participation in dealing with recruiting, counseling and motivational problems but would not accede to demands that would put responsibility for hiring, training and construction "in inexperienced hands."

Thomas Murray, president of the Building Trades council, and Arthur O'Neil, president of the employers' association, both expressed disappointment that the coalition leaders had "summarily dismissed" the proposals. O'Neil called the plan a "breakthrough" that could add 25,000 skilled black craftsmen to the construction program in the city over the next five years.

The council said it has no hard and fast figures on the number of blacks currently in construction jobs, but estimated they account for 20 percent of the 50,000 to 60,000 peak workforce in the immediate Chicago area.

In developments elsewhere:

- The Black Construction Coalition in Pittsburgh withheld further job-site demonstrations as negotiations continued with construction employers and unions over a job and training program. The Pittsburgh plan differs in detail from the Chicago proposals, but contains similar provisions for recruiting and admitting black journeymen, for pre-apprenticeship programs and for on-the-job training. The AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights, through Dir. Donald Slaiman and Staff Rep. Robert McGlotten, provided advisory services both in Pittsburgh and Chicago.
- In Buffalo, the local building trades council, the contractors' association and the Minority Coalition signed an "affirmative action" agreement that provides for the training of 350 to 500 construction workers from the minority community in the first year. The agreement was negotiated under the auspices of the State University Construction Fund but will also apply to other area construction.

The plan also calls for the training of one worker from the minorities for each $1 million of estimated construction expenditures after the first year.

State funds will be provided for the recruitment and training programs, which envision four classifications—trainee, pre-apprenticeship, apprenticeship and journeyman trainee. Another training program for minority workers in the area, Project Justice, already has graduated 50 students who now hold journeymen's cards.

- In Philadelphia, Business Manager James L. Loughlin of the local Building & Construction Trades Council took sharp exception to frequently-quoted estimates showing a disproportionately low rate of minority employment in the various trades. Loughlin appeared before a Labor Dept. panel on the Philadelphia pilot plan announced by the department which would in effect set quotas for employment of minorities under government construction contract. He put total membership of unions in the council at about 36,000 and said a review of the individual crafts revealed that more than 11,000—over 30 percent—are blacks. Without considering the Laborers' union, which has a substantial proportion of Negro members, the remaining craft jurisdiction in the city includes about 12 percent black workers, he said.

ment barred the company or any of its employees from membership in the Trade Relations Assn. U. S. Steel had not been a member of the association for years, but the implications sent TRA scurrying.

Policies and rulings. A series of recent court cases and Federal Trade Commission affidavits has tended to equate trade relations and reciprocity absolutely, and the U. S. Steel stipulation reinforced this.

The association appealed to Justice, which proceeded to revise the language. But Big Steel's lawyers objected on the ground that the new paragraph would make it dangerous for USS to join even the most innocuous professional or trade organization. On July 14, the final day of the 30-day waiting period before the final consent judgment was filed with the court, TRA intervened in the action.

Words that please. This week, wording satisfactory to everyone was hammered out, and the final judgment entered. There is no mention of TRA in the text, and U. S. Steel is merely enjoined from "belonging to or participating in the activities of . . . any association whose activities, programs, or objectives are to promote trade relations involving reciprocal purchasing arrangements."

Although the judgment is the first indication on the legal record that trade relations can exist without reciprocal dealings, there are hints in Washington that Justice is by no means finished either with reciprocity or with TRA.

M— Apprentice ship

Urban affairs

'Soul power' drive for jobs expands

Blacks demonstrating against the lack of jobs in the Pittsburgh building trades interrupted work on a number of major projects this week—and it's only the beginning of a nationwide expansion of a protest movement that started in Chicago. Demonstrations loom in four other major cities, to be "counseled and coordinated" from Chicago. Beyond those, there's the country as a whole.

"It must be understood that what happens in Chicago and Pittsburgh—the discriminatory hiring practices—can't be shrugged off as just something local. It's a national problem," says Reverend C. T. Vivian, coordinator of the Chicago Coalition for United Community Action.

Organizers of the Pittsburgh demonstrations conferred with Reverend Vivian and other Chicago coalition leaders for a week in mid-August, for guidance before opening their own job protest. Others are conferring and observing in Chicago now, as 300 blacks there continue picketing and protesting to win work and union membership rights for minority workers.

The Chicago Coalition for United Community Action is a loosely organized group of 61 minority organizations, including black street gangs whose teenage members demand 10,000 high-pay, on-the-job training opportunities in the next 90 days. Over the past four weeks, coalition pickets and demonstrators have halted work at least temporarily on more than 20 construction projects valued between $85-million and $100-million.

Chicago coalition members defied injunction to demonstrate for jobs for blacks at University of Illinois building site, one of 20 picketed in current campaign.

Campaign widens. The demonstrations took a new turn—and gained new national significance—a week ago when, at the coalition's request, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) joined the campaign. Two of SCLC's top leaders, Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy and Reverend Jesse Jackson, flew into Chicago to mobilize broader civil rights backing for the demonstrators.

"This time, we're yelling 'build, baby, build' instead of 'burn, baby, burn,' " said Jackson, head of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket. In defiance of a court injunction barring picketing by more than six persons at a time, he led a coalition march around the site of the $17.5-million University of Illinois Science & Engineering Building, ignoring Chicago policemen in their familiar baby-blue riot helmets. Although warnings were issued over a loudspeaker at the site, no arrests were made.

Talks went on in a Loop hotel between coalition officers and representatives of contractor groups and building trades unions. There was faint optimism at midweek, although the coalition continued to threaten picketing "until at least 30% of the construction trade unions' members are black." That would require a big jump in black membership for most of the unions. Blacks now hold fewer than 5% of the skilled or craft jobs in Chicago's building trades.

Pittsburgh's drive. In Pittsburgh, black leaders using an example from Chicago set up the Black Construction Coalition, a loose grouping of most Negro organizations in the city. The Pittsburgh leaders have the same general goals as the Chicago coalition—"guarantees of more jobs for black people," according to a spokesman—but they insist that "local problems that have been around a long time" led to the protest, not "outside influences" or a national movement.

The Pittsburgh group complains that three years ago craft unions agreed to hire black apprentices, but that this hasn't resulted in many jobs for young Negroes. The blacks also complain that the Pittsburgh Master Builders Assn. has refused to cooperate with Operation Dig, a federally aided training program, by guaranteeing jobs. But while contractors are a target of the coalition, so are local craft unions charged with discriminatory practices.

To enforce their generally vague demands, the coalition this week picketed at construction sites of new headquarters buildings for Westinghouse Electric and U. S. Steel, at the site of the new Pittsburgh National Bank building, and at a $31.9-million sports stadium where construction work is under way. Coalition demonstrators also tied up traffic in downtown marches. Many were arrested and 45 were injured in clashes with police.

'Wild horses.' Reverend Abernathy told a black rally in Chicago that he was in its building trades demonstration only as an observer. But he said that if negotiations failed to produce enough jobs for blacks, "the full force of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will be brought to bear against Chicago racist labor leaders.

"We hope it will not be necessary to bring to Chicago the brilliant team of wild horses [the staff of SCLC] which has proved it can shake any community to its foundations nonviolently."

He also assured the Pittsburgh coalition that SCLC would give "fullest support" to the demonstrations there; an SCLC representative has been assigned to work with the coalition.

Meanwhile, back in Chicago, Reverend Abernathy appeared with Coalition for United Community Action leaders at a convention of the Illinois State AFL-CIO, one of the nation's most powerful state labor bodies. The reception was friendly but not wildly enthusiastic as it sometimes has been in the past when civil rights ul-

timatums were directed elsewhere instead of into labor's own ranks.

Aid—or else. In effect, Abernathy told the laborites to pitch in or face a fight. "Your slogan is 'An injury to one is an injury to all,'" Abernathy said. "O.K., now is the time to live up to it."

"Dr. King died fighting for organized labor in the Memphis sanitation workers strike, and now we're asking labor to do something for us," he told the group. And he insisted that resolutions and "pious expressions of goodwill and support" would not be enough—in Chicago or Pittsburgh or nationally.

"If there is any building going to be done in black areas or anywhere, blacks

Pittsburgh coalition took a leaf from Chicago group to push black job demands.

are going to have to be employed in much larger numbers than they are now," he warned.

In other situations—in Memphis, in the Charleston (S. C.) hospital workers strike, and now in hospital organizing efforts in Baltimore—SCLC and other civil rights organizations have worked with labor—using the slogan "soul power coupled with union power" in joint drives.

Reverend Abernathy drew only light, polite applause when he told the unionists: "Labor cannot win its fight without the civil rights forces and the civil rights forces cannot win without labor. We will either be saved together or perish separately as fools. I urge you, march with us and the various coalitions supporting black youths knocking on the doors of labor, saying please let us in."

SDS 'work-in' that didn't work out

If militant students infiltrated plants and stores in summer work-ins, they left their placards home. None was caught by employers and unions specifically on the lookout for activists from the Students for a Democratic Society. Apart from some scattered leaflet-passing and picket-line walking, SDS plans to seek closer ties with organized workers apparently failed—or were jettisoned.

Some leaders of militant student groups try to save face by pointing out that SDS intended all the while to work "very quietly" in industry this summer, so "no exposure" shouldn't be interpreted as "no activity." But it appears more likely that the group's internal problems (it split apart at its convention in Chicago) and employer watchfulness forced SDS to shift emphasis to other programs.

Western front. A spokesman for Lockheed Aircraft Corp. in Los Angeles said that the company saw no signs of SDS in Lockheed's extensive operations. And Thomas F. Morrissey, manager of salaried personnel and organization planning for Philco-Ford Corp.'s Aeronutronic Div., said: "As far as we know, we didn't have any . . . at least, none we caught." Statements by SDS activists last spring placed aerospace plants high on their list. One aerospace official said: "The SDS summer thing just petered out."

In the San Francisco area, close proximity to Stanford University and the University of California in Berkeley added to employer jitters about SDS.

Personnel men screened applicants closely—some gave preference to summer help referred to them by employees or other trusted sources—and reported uniformly this week: no trouble with SDS.

Eyes peeled. Across the country, the story was much the same: If SDS infiltrated plants, it was done so subtly that nobody noticed it—and nothing happened.

Generally, employers took special precautions in hiring; one in Milwaukee said: "We used a special list of criteria for screening summer people this year." They asked for, and often checked into, references. A few students were turned away here and there—but an Illinois association spokesman commented: "Nobody was turned away just because he looked funny." For the most part, the screening was closest for graduate students.

Inside plants, supervisory people often were alerted to watch for anything out of the ordinary—arguments, the distribution of "radical" literature, anything at all that might be suspect. Unions instructed shop stewards to watch for and report anyone acting for SDS. In a number of cities, the precautions were taken after seminars on the "threat of SDS" to industry.

Some employers say the precautions made SDS lie low. Other employers insist that the SDS "threat" was never real—and one major company now insists that the situation was "Washington inspired, to let industry know it's not invulnerable." But most now seem to go along with a theory that SDS had so much turmoil in its ranks—between SDS "regulars" or the Revolutionary Youth Movement, and a Maoist SDS' Progressive Labor Party faction, more disciplined and dogmatic—that it was unable to mount a concerted campaign.

However, some SDS activity was evident outside plants—and in a routine form not linked with the work-in plans. Students joined striking drivers of Continental Safeway Trailways buses on a picket line in New York City. Identifying themselves as members of SDS, the students explained their interest:

"We . . . see the bosses of Trailways and other corporations as the same ones who run our schools . . . As struggles between workers and bosses, such as the Trailways strike, sharpen, we in SDS feel that students must support the fight of the American working class against the small group of men who run America's big corporations . . . by oppressing the majority."

A few from SDS also supported a strike of fuel truck drivers at New York's Kennedy Airport. Others joined picket lines and handed out SDS leaflets during Milwaukee's brewery strike and during a protest outside Standard Oil offices in Atlanta.

Some SDS members joined in a wildcat strike at Chrysler's Sterling Heights plant and when the strike ended the SDS "went on picketing but our guys just ignored them," a United Auto Workers official said. And another union man commented: "That wasn't infiltrating, it was just a case of muscling in."

Unions

Boulware writes on Boulwarism

Labor has worried about General Electric's hard bargaining policy—known as Boulwarism—for two decades, as much in fear of its spreading through American industry as for its effects in electrical manufacturing. Again this year, the AFL-CIO is mobilized to break through GE's strategy of holding the bargaining initiative, making a well-timed and carefully conceived offer, and then insisting on a final settlement essentially on that offer.

To AFL-CIO President George Meany, this is a take-it-or-leave-it policy that ignores the realities of collective bargaining. To GE and particularly to Lemuel R. Boulware, for 14 years a GE vice-president, the plan is an "enlightened approach to contract-writing. "It's a policy

the panel—with, for the first time, a full-time director general.

In this first test of its new teeth, the panel is generally believed to have gotten and published the facts. And it apparently made some contribution to bringing the two sides together. Indeed, the betting in the City is that the panel's strong showing this time has at least postponed the day when Britain adopts its own SEC.

M— Apprenticeship

Urban affairs

Pittsburgh blacks try negotiating

The confrontation between white building craftsmen and black job-seekers eased a bit in Pittsburgh early this week. But it was hard to compromise on the complex problems involved—which are equally critical elsewhere. The Pittsburgh truce could be short-lived unless ways were found quickly to put more blacks into jobs without weakening the journeyman system so jealously guarded by the unions.

In construction, with exceptions for unskilled laborer jobs, craftsmen ordinarily go through intensive training—sometimes three to five years of apprenticeship—before they become journeymen. The blacks are beginning to press nationally for faster entry into the system: They want what unions say would amount to "instant journeyman" status. As white building workers see it, once the system is breached, it can be eroded away—and so might be the whole basis for craft jobs. That was why white craftsmen in Pittsburgh reacted angrily last week against black pressures for more jobs and why, for a time, tension built up dangerously.

Flash point. Large-scale violence was averted when Mayor Joseph M. Barr persuaded building contractors, unions, and the Pittsburgh Black Construction Coalition (BCC) to negotiate. After losing three days of work, 13,000 construction workers returned, and BCC cooled down black demonstrators—at least temporarily. Meanwhile, national attention had focused on the city: Pittsburgh is by no means unique; what happens there could happen in any city with booming construction and a large black population.

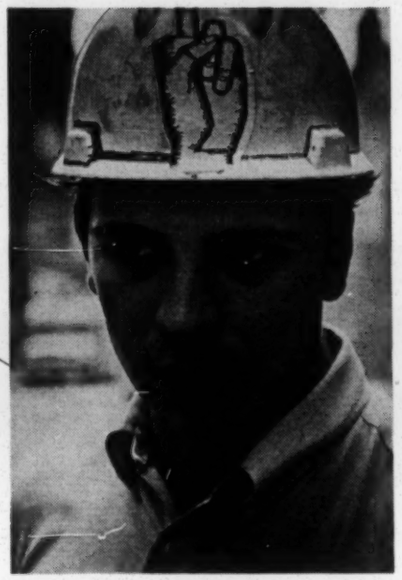
With some $200-million of construction under way in downtown Pittsburgh, blacks demand more skilled jobs and sharply criticize building trades unions for "denying" membership to Negroes. In so doing, they are following a strategy similar to that employed by black groups in Chicago, where Negro teen-agers have complicated settlement efforts by aggressive tactics.

Shutout. Of some 30,000 building trades members in the Pittsburgh area, only about 2,100 are black, according to a 1969 survey by the city's Human Relations Commission, The Laborers' International Union, traditionally receptive to blacks, accounts for more than half.

Black membership has increased by less than 1% since 1963 when the Pittsburgh Building Trades Council pledged to end discrimination in its ranks. Some unions, with membership passed from father to son, have virtually no blacks. Local 5 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, with 1,000 members, has no black journeymen and only one black apprentice. The IBEW and locals of boilermakers and steamfitters have refused to participate in the current negotiations with the black coalition. The blacks say this must be rectified.

Blowup. Last week's BCC demonstrations almost brought the city to a standstill. Marchers tied up downtown traffic for two days, caused the shutdown of eight major construction projects, and idled 13,000 workers. There were scattered battles with police and hundreds of arrests.

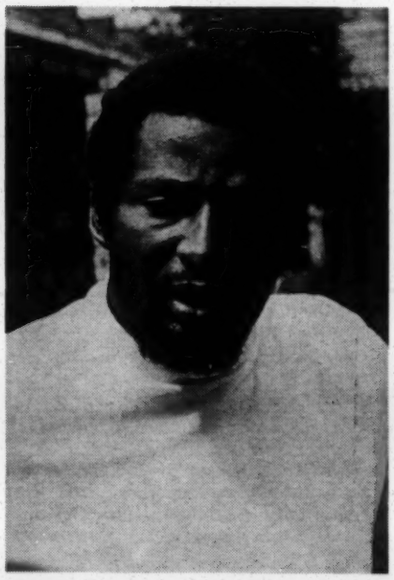
Builders shut down jobs for five days through Labor Day, to ease tensions. White workers reacted angrily and demanded wages for the lost time. When they staged their own marches, white po-



Ironworker on high building: "I don't mind working with a nigger. But when we're up there, he better know the ropes. And these guys [blacks] don't know nothing."

James Acheson, operating engineer laid off during negotiations: "We all did our apprenticeships. I had to go up to Erie to work . . . We have Negroes on the job, but they never show up."

Carl Morris, steelworker: "I was at the demonstration, as a past construction worker. I used to be a hod carrier but I just couldn't get any higher. You can't get into the union without pull."



Roland Hayes: "I graduated from high school with my machinist's certificate. I could operate a lathe, everything. None of the unions would let me in."

licemen cheered and saluted. Some whites stormed into Barr's office to press their demands.

Many of the white unionists expressed racial bitterness and fears that giving into black demands would cost them jobs. Others said that blacks are "too impatient" and are demanding jobs for which they are not qualified.

Complained a white worker at one demonstration, "I waited five years to become a sheet metal worker. Let somebody else do the same."

"I don't mind working with a nigger," said an ironworker, idled from his job on the U. S. Steel building, "but when you go up on top of that steel with someone, he better know the ropes."

A minority of white workers appeared to support the blacks. "They're going to have to open the union up to Negroes," confided a white plumber.

Huddle. The Master Builders Assn., stung by black criticism, contended that its member-contractors were willing to hire blacks, but that Negroes either failed to apply for apprenticeships or were unable to pass qualifying tests. In reply, black leaders noted that the unions' pattern of discrimination over the years turns away many potential black applicants.

However, the seeds of a possible compromise plan may be contained in an MBA "Pittsburgh Plan" proposed a few weeks ago. MBA and several unions would agree to "train and employ at any one time 90 to 100 black recruits on an industrywide basis." However, BCC rejected the proposal last week because Mayor Barr had neglected to include BCC leaders in talks, and because it considered the proposed number of recruits insufficient.

WASHINGTON POST OCT 1 1969

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UPO Cut Revised to $600,000

United Planning Organization funds will be cut by $600,000 this fiscal year instead of $1 million as previously announced, the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity said yesterday.

OEO regional director W. Astor Kirk said UPO would receive $6.9 million in unearmarked funds for its local programs instead of the $7.5 million it got last year.

Kirk said the $600,000 reduction would not require cuts in UPO programs or staff because the agency only spent the same amount, $6.9 million, last year.

UPO director Jeanus B. Parks and board chairman Frederick B. Lee were out of town yesterday and not available for comment. Deputy director Frank H. Hollis declined to comment.

Kirk announced his "reappraisal" of UPO funding in a letter to Lee yesterday. His Sept. 8 announcement of a $1 million cutback in UPO funds aroused a storm of opposition; from UPO officials citizen groups and civic leaders who voiced fears that it was the start of a nationwide retrenchment in the war on poverty.

UPO, OEO ad an ad hoc citizen group began a round of negotiations on the cut Sept. 19 shortly after a stormy demonstration outside OEO headquarters. Last week, UPO leaders expressed hope that the talks — focused on UPO's past spending levels—would result in cancellation of all or most of the $1 million cutback.

Kirk's letter said' however, that a task force of auditors and accountants had discovered $327,000 in unspent UPO funds from 1966 through 1968 that must now legally be returned to the federal government.

The $6.9 million spending figure cited by Kirk was reached by a complex "program in place" formula that Parks said last week did not realistically measure UPO's operating level.

M - ~~Bk~~ Apprentices

AFL-CIO NEWS, WASHINGTON, D. C., SEPTEMBER 27, 1969

Apprentice Rolls Jump As Demand Increases

Apprenticeship programs in 1968 enrolled a record 103,000 entrants, almost 6,000 more than a year earlier, Labor Sec. George P. Shultz reported.

Yet, the number of skilled workers being graduated by the programs is still not meeting the needs of the nation's growing economy, Shultz said.

He noted that the apprenticeship training system certified 33,700 completions last year—a 9 percent decline "at a time when skilled workers were in great demand."

The record number of registrants in apprenticeship programs will have no immediate effect on the need for skilled workers, he added, since most apprentices work four-year terms to gain necessary skills.

"Thus, the bulk of completions this year represent mostly those who began four years ago," Shultz said, "and we only had 68,500 new starts in 1965."

He expressed optimism over current figures that indicate a cancellation rate of 38 percent, "a heartening note when you consider that it is usually about 50 percent most of the time."

The 238,000 apprentices registered with the Labor Dept. and state apprenticeship agencies as of Jan. 1 also was the highest since records on the programs were kept, beginning in 1941.

Minorities accounted for 7 percent of the total number of registered apprentices and slightly more than half of these were Negroes, the Labor Dept. said.

Los Angeles Times:
-Fri., Sept. 19, 1969

Hiring of Foster Grandparents for Hospitalized Children Urged

Hiring senior citizens to serve as foster grandparents in the children's wards at the Los Angeles County-USC Medical Center was urged Thursday by Mayor Sam Yorty.

In a letter to Center Administrator David Odell, Yorty said such a program would uplift a child's morale through visits by "grandparental figures" and provide additional income to the disadvantaged elderly.

Foster grandparents must be at least 60 years of age and should be capable of "meaningful relations with neglected, handicapped or disturbed children," the mayor said.

Yorty suggested that the foster grandparents would be able to feed and dress the youngsters and read, walk and talk with them.

"They would provide companionship in the variety of things children like to do," Yorty said.

Of the more than 300,000 senior citizens in the Los Angeles area, more than 75,000 fall within the disadvantaged category, he said.

Yorty suggested the minimum pay of $1.60 an hour, a four-to five-hour working day and administration of the program by a director who is either a hospital staffer or member of an agency funded by the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency.

He told Odell he will request funds from the EYOA if the hospital will join in providing financial assistance, including meals, carfare, consultation and lounge space for the elderly citizens.

He noted the hospital is required to contribute a percentage of the cost of such a project in order to qualify for EYOA funding.

NEW YORK TIMES
OCT 1 1969

RELIEF CHEATING HELD WIDESPREAD

ALA & Unions: Politics

By DAVID BIRD

A union official said yesterday that there was "a compelling suggestion" that almost half of the city's welfare recipients were ineligible for the aid they were receiving.

The official, Nicholas Kisburg, the research director of Teamsters Joint Council 16, estimated that $250-million a year might be going to those not legally entitled to the money, and "that's a lot of coconuts going down the drain."

Mr. Kisburg based his charge on a Federal study of the city's welfare program released last week stating that 9.4 per cent of the recipients were ineligible by Federal standards. At the time, the city denied even this figure, saying that by its analysis the total was only 3 per cent.

But Mr. Kisburg, in a news conference yesterday, said that 39.4 per cent should be added on top of the Federal figure of 9.4 per cent as possibly or probably ineligible.

'Reckless' to City Officials

Mr. Kisburg's charges were immediately denied by city welfare officials as "hysterical," "ridiculous" and "reckless."

Mr. Kisburg, whose union is supporting Mario A. Procaccino for Mayor, conceded that his charges could be used as ammunition by the Democratic nominee against Mayor Lindsay.

The Teamsters official, however, said he was only drawing his charges directly from the Federal report on the city situation. The report was prepared by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and was based on the study of a sample of 543 welfare families here.

To arrive at the additional 39.4 per cent of those who could be receiving benefits illegally, Mr. Kisburg totaled the following percentages in the study:

Continued on Page 6

(over)

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
OCT 1 1969

Blacks Job View Hailed by Reuther

BY JAMES STRONG

Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers union, said yesterday that the crisis in the nation's building trades industry is a "tragic mistake" resulting from more than 300 years of neglect and denial of Negroes' rights.

The leader of the 1.8 million auto workers told a Loyola university centennial symposium on "Man in the Urban Complex" that the difference in policies involving civil rights and the building trades industry was among the reasons Reuther and the UAW bolted the AFL-CIO.

"I was tired of apologizing for policies I could not defend," he said. He explained that the same unions which fought pressures to comply with civil rights laws are now involved in blocking efforts by blacks to gain greater employment in the building trades.

"These unions must work in the spirit of brotherhood for peaceful change and avoid violent change," he added.

"If you had to wait 300 years your patience would be worn thru and you wouldn't wait another 300 years. We need to understand the blacks of America are not going to wait.

Cites Moral Responsibility

"Labor has the moral responsibility to provide equal opportunity. Labor has been doing more than it used to do, but it's not enough. The churches are doing more, but it's not enough, and the schools are doing more, but it's not enough."

Reuther explained that on a highly efficient rocket designed to propel men into space, 85 per cent of the workers were unskilled and 15 per cent skilled, but in the construction of a relatively simple home 90 per cent of the work force must be skilled and only 10 per cent of the work force is recruited as unskilled.

"The future of our cities is in very grave doubt. No one can say our cities will survive," Reuther said. "There is a crisis in the city, our schools are in crisis and our young people are being alienated from society."

Reuther urged the reappraisal of national priorities and an end to the war in Viet Nam and the arms race. He said we must make a national commitment to deal with urban problems with the same determination shown in placing man on the moon.

He urged social security payments be doubled, the minimum wage raised to $2 immediately and eventually $3, the creation of a national housing market, new housing laws and regional land banks, and new national health programs.

Earlier, Dr. Eli Ginzberg, professor of economics at Columbia university, warned that America will have neither peace nor prosperity until blacks are integrated into the "opportunity structure" of economic life.

"The critical issue in the cities is not more jobs for minority people, but more opportunities to get good jobs," he said. "And this can occur only as the walls of racism are reduced and leveled in employment, housing and particularly education."

Tues., Sept. 16, 1969
ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

East Side Job Aid Proposal

Details of a proposed $1,900,000 job-training project for East St. Louis's hard-core unemployed were made public yesterday in response to picketing against the proposal by members of the United Front of East St. Louis.

The Front has criticized the lack of citizen participation in planning the proposal and for the last week has picketed the East St. Louis offices of the Illinois State Employment Service, which wrote the proposal. The United Front has demanded to see a copy of the plan and wants to be told who will run the program.

At the United Front's insistence. George Washnis, administrative assistant to Mayor Alvin G. Fields, obtained a copy from the Chicago regional office of the Department of Labor, which would finance the project, and made it public.

Program Replaced

The plan would use social service and governmental agencies for basic education, job training, related social, medical and legal services and transportation. The program, which is designed to replace the defunct $1,747,000 Concentrated Employment Program, would be co-ordinated by the Illinois State Employment Service.

The Rev. Charles Napier, chairman of the United Front, said he thought the plan was not complete. He called for a meeting btween the United Front, Washnis and representatives of the Illinois State Employment Service to discuss the plan. The session is expected to be held tomorrow.

Picketing of the employment service office will continue, he said.

The text of the plan disclosed:

A citizens' advisory committee would be formed within 30 days after the program went into effect. No citizens' committee participated in the writing of the plan.

Although Gov. Richand B. Ogilvie, in announcing the plan, said 5000 persons would participate, the plan envisions enrolling 1100 persons in the program. The plan sets employment of at least 450 of these participants as its first-year goal.

The program would be run by a project manager who would be an assistant to the manager of the East St. Louis office of the Illinois State Employment Service. Two co-ordinators would work under the project manager. The project manager would receive a salary of $11,736, the co-ordinators $10,956. An accountant, who would be responsible for cost control, would receive $10,276.

Training Set Up

The Illinois Craftsmen Association, a group of black skilled trades workers, would train 50 participants in woodworking and basic carpentry, concrete work, basic plumbing, electrical conduit wiring and painting and decorating. Ten participants would work at each craft in a 26-week program. They would be paid $55 a week. The plan text did not contain letters from trade unions assuring that qualified graduates of this phase could join their organization.

The program would charter two 40-passenger busses at a cost of $33,500 and purchase four minibusses at a cost of $12,400 to transport unemployed East St. Louisans to jobs in Alton, Fenton, south St. Louis County, and Sparta.

R. S. McCulla, manager of the East St. Louis office of the Illinois State Employment Service, defended the method of drawing up the plan. The St. Clair County Economic Opportunity Commission, the local antipoverty agency, was consulted, he said.

In addition, employment service officials met with Lucius Jones, Guy Gettis and Charles (Sweed) Jeffries, black militant leaders, in July, McCulla said. He said the three agreed to the plan in principle.

Estimated cost of the plan is $2,048,580, of which the Federal Government would provide $1,897,970. The local share would be in services.

NEW YORK TIMES
OCT 1 1969

BLACKS IN LONDON SHUN POLICE JOBS

LONDON, Sept. 30 (AP)—Scotland Yard conceded defeat today in its effort to get black policemen for an integrated force because immigrants will not serve.

"There is nothing we can do if colored applicants do not come forward," said Chief Superintendent Kenneth Lee, who heads the Yard's community relations branch.

"It would seem that colored boys are afraid that if they join the police they will be shunned by their fellows."

Jeff Crawford, secretary of the London West Indian Standing Conference, which represents Negroes in the capital, said:

"It is quite true that if a black man joined the police force he would be shunned by his black fellows. I am afraid the police are the enemy as far as the black community is concerned, whether they are black police or white police.

"We do not believe that the police are fair in their dealings with colored people and there will not be black recruits until they have put their own house in order."

Letter Sent to Schools

Scotland Yard recently sent a letter to the headmasters of boys' schools all over London, inviting applications. Not a single black replied.

There are 15 nonwhite policemen and about 21 part-time auxiliaries (special constables) among the 90,000-odd policemen in England and Wales. They include West Indians, Africans, Indians and Pakistanis.

The metropolitan force of Greater London, now 6,000 below its authorized strength of 25,417, has three nonwhites. Two are women. The lone Negro bobby is from St. Kitts in the Leeward Islands.

About a million nonwhite immigrants live in Britain. Scotland Yard insists the door remains open.

"We want colored policemen," said a spokesman. "There is no discrimination. It doesn't matter to us if a man is white or colored providing he is suitably qualified."

But 36 nonwhites who did apply to join the London force in 1966 were rejected on medical or educational grounds. Of five selected for interview, four failed to turn up.

RELIEF CHEATING (CONTINUED)

¶14.4 per cent who were found to have "potential resources" from relatives or other sources.

¶8.5 per cent of the cases who "did not provide information" about potential resources.

¶16.5 per cent of the cases that were in doubt because the city had failed to pursue "leads to the whereabouts of absent parents" or to take court action against them.

Mr. Kisburg said that welfare rolls were heavy with ineligibles because the city had "inaugurated a policy of 'come and get it, no questions asked.'" He said the city was taking a "culturally permissive" attitude in sanctioning "Dutch-treat marriages" where the father could disappear without bearing responsibility for child support.

This, he said, was "a philosophy not many Americans are prepared to accept." He added that there should be much more of an effort to find "if there was a parent around to assume responsibility instead of passing the burden on to you and me, the taxpayers."

Recent declines in the increasing numbers of cases being added to the welfare rolls, Mr. Kisburg said, were due to a sudden tightening of restrictions in order to gain votes from those opposed to the burgeoning welfare costs.

Mr. Kisburg said this tightening up could be keeping funds from those who really needed help.

Apprenticeship 3/10/70

Week of March 9, 1970

LABOR DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL DEVELOPS OHIO'S 1ST APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM FOR MARINE MECHANICS

CLEVELAND -- James E. White, the first black area representative for the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT) in Ohio, has developed the first apprenticeship program for marine mechanics in the state.

Recognizing the need for qualified marine mechanics, Robert Breyley president of Breyley Marine Inc., North Roylaton, Ohio, worked with White in establishing the 4-year, 8,000-hour program.

Edward Shuerger presently is the only youth enrolled in the program. He started at $3.00 an hour, but will receive periodic wage increases and is ultimately expected to earn $4.50 an hour, plus fringe benefits.

White is hopefully looking forward to expanding his program, and is seeking to get 12 interested young men into it in order to set up the necessary classroom education and training courses as part of the apprenticeship program at North Royalton High School.

Realizing a "crying need for qualified marine mechanics," White is seeking to develop formal mechanic apprenticeship programs with both manufacturers and owners of boat sales and service companies to meet present and future needs for qualified mechanics.

"The Lake Erie shoreline from Toledo to Conneaut is dotted with hundreds of marine companies, large and small, catering to the ever-growing number of boating enthusiasts," White said. He feels that proper maintainance and servicing of these motor boats, yachts, and other vessels is essential to keep them sailing safely. He is contacting marine firms located within his service area, Cuyahoga, Lake, and Geauga Counties.

(MORE)

White has also developed an auto mechanics apprenticeship program with two enrollees. The program was set up with the Breyley Motor Center, Inc.

Since assuming his position in March 1967, White a former International Representative of the Molders Union, has been working with business and labor officials and vocational educators to develop, on a voluntary basis, apprenticeship programs to meet the nation's urgent need for skilled workers in industry and the building trades.

Mr. White is an area representative for BAT in Cleveland.

# # #

SCANLAN'S MONTHLY

143 West 44th Street
New York City 10036
Tel: (212) PL 7-5707

The Firehouse, 451 Pacific
San Francisco 94133
Tel: (415) Ex 2-1101

4 Charles Street
London W. 1
Tel: 629-9771

94 St. Stephens Green S.
Dublin 2
Tel: 56676

Scanlan's New York

November 1, 1970

Dear Subscriber:

Scanlan's is locked in a life or death battle with a censorious printing union which has blocked the publication of our magazine.

Printing plants in five states have knuckled under to threats of sabotage and other blackmail. They tell us they want to print Scanlan's, but they are afraid.

The editors have decided to turn to you.

Your charter subscription gave Scanlan's its license to publish.

If we are to be silenced, we think you should at least be notified as next of kin. And you may be able to help us beat the censors.

We will be brief, as there is little time.

Scanlan's October issue, entitled "Guerrilla Warfare in the United States," was halted on its way to the press by hard hat elements among the lithographers of our New York City printing plant.

That issue tells the raw truth about what is going on in this country. Some ruffian printers decided they didn't want that truth printed. They bullied the plant's owners into breading their contract with scanlan's. The threats were hardly veiled; sabotage was the alternative.

Of course we immediately took the union and the printing plant to court. The courts told us to stand in line to wait to collect our damages. When prisoners wait six months for a bail hearing, you can imagine the time schedule for controversial magazines.

That left Scanlan's with no place to print its October issue. And it was already October.

So we changed the date of the special issue on guerrilla war to November, and arranged to print it in San Francisco. The day before the presses were to roll, that printer sent us back a check we had given him as a down payment.

He hadn't cashed it. He said he could no longer print the issue. He gave no reasons.

We next contracted with a big printing plant in Los Angeles. It prints a lot of girlie magazines, and we thought it wouldn't object to politics. The issue was scheduled to go to press October 21. If it had you would have been reading it instead of this letter.

Within the last three days, Scanlan's has been turned down by other large printers in Colorado and Missouri. Their reason: the lithographer's union has "put the word out on Scanlan's." Anyone who prints this issue plainly has troubles. And there is a cloud, if not a stigma, over the printing of future issues.

This is a rank political boycott. What didn't take place even in Joe McCarthy's 50's is happening in Spiro Agnew's 70's.

Now we are not crying about this. A fight is a fight, and we will not bend to the pernicious ruffians who deign to judge what is fit to print in America. We assume that the people who put us in business - and you are one of them - would rather have us stop publishing than cave in to such political hooliganism.

Others are alarmed about Scanlan's crisis situation. The American Civil Liberties Union is studying a major lawsuit against the national union behind all this, the Amalgamated Lithographers.

The nation's top Constitutional lawyers say that this is the most serious attempt to put a gadfly magazine out of business in America since the Wilson Administration tried to silence The Masses. They think the courts will put a stop to this nonsense. Top contract lawyers hold a similar view; they say printing plants cannot allow workers to censor magazines.

The legal issues here were put in much simpler form a long time ago by Benjamin Franklin, a printer himself. He said that if printers printed only what they approved of,

> ...an end would thereby be put to free writing, and the world would afterwards have nothing to read but what happened to be the opinion of printers.

That is true. The apparently suspicious legal picture is all well and good. But that doesn't ge the magazine to you.

Therefore, the editors have taken some drastic steps around these extaordinary circumstances. We hope these meet with your approval.

We have arranged for Scanlan's special, 112-page inside story of guerrilla war in the United States - which you should have received this month - to be published by Simon and Schuster Inc. as a Pocket Book, complete with the original pictures, charts and maps that were prepared for the magazine.

This book will be sent to you, at no additional cost, as a regular issue of Scanlan's Monthly.

As a Charter Subscriber, you will receive in book form Vol.I No.8 of Scanlan's sometime in November, before it reaches the general public.

As this letter reaches you we are negotiating with printing plants outside the United States to produce future issues of Scanlan's. If Vol.I No.9 reaches you with a Canadian or German postmark, you can thank the self-appointed unionist censors in the United States for the stamp.

Your subscription will be extended to make up for any issues you missed. The book counts for one issue.

Such extreme measures we hope will be interim ones. But they are nonetheless both invonvenient and costly.

We know the perilous lessons in the history of independent political journalism. During the early part of this century the great muckraking magazines were all finally done in by their corporate or governmental enemies getting to their paper houses or their printers.

We are not so paranoid as to believe the current union vendetta against Scanlan's is necessarily linked to our expose of President Nixon's tea with New York union leaders whose criminal records were longer than the four-minute mile. We are also aware that, in a period when most publications are cooling their criticism, Scanlan's is pulling no punches. In our first few months of publication we have already been personally attacked by Vice President Agnew and Attorney General Mitchell.

At his curious junction in American history, Scanlan's could be killed by the forces of reaction. We are no superman, journalistically or economically. The brief but harrowing attempt to keep us from publishing has already taken its economic toll. We have not been able to print an issue for almost two months, and we are hurting.

But this is one of the costs of the independent, fighting journalism you asked for when you put us in business.

What now? We're proceeding according to this plan. As Scanlan's only kin there are some things you can do to help, if you will. You can tell your friends, your local newspapers and sympatico disc jockeys and your congressman about this unprecedented situation. To help us hold the fort you can renew your subscription now even though you still have issues to come. And if there is someone to whom you can give a Scanlan's gift subscription to for Christmas, or even for a birthday next year - you can do that too.

As editors, we're a little unaccustomed to communicating with our readers in a letter but we felt we had to let you know what was going on. The next time you hear from us it will be in the form of a pocket book or the next magazine issue, whichever the mails bless first. We hope to hear from you.

We need help to fight this thing.

The Editors,

Sol Yurick

Warren Hinckle

1 20 49/1 6 9

~~BA~~

(g i.

Return to EV

3 NOV 1970

Scanlan's Literary House

143 West 44th Street
New York City 10036

-0-18387-010111P 61311 Q

MRS W C.DUBRO
1449 SOUTHLAND VISTA CT NE
ATLANTA GA 30329

Errata:

ERRORS IN PRINTING AND COPY INSIDE ARE RESULT OF SABOTAGE
—THE EDITORS

FIRST CLASS
Permit No. 43405
New York, N.Y.

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

No Postage Necessary If Mailed In The United States

Postage Will Be Paid By:

Scanlan's Monthly

143 West 44th Street

New York, N.Y. 10036

It is unreasonable what some assert "that printers ought not to print anything but what they approve"; since if all of that business should make such a resolution, and abide by it, an end would thereby be put to free writing, and the world would afterwards have nothing to read but what happen'd to be the opinions of printers.

Benjamin Franklin
An Apology For Printers

TO THE EDITORS

O.K. I'd like to help Scanlan's fight the censors.
I'll do what I can about spreading the word.
And to help you hold the fort, I'm putting a check in the enclosed prepaid envelope extending my charter subscription for either:

_____One year at $10

_____Three years at $24

My Name_____

Address_____

_____

(Turn over for loved ones)

(If I've got any loved ones I want to send a one year gift subscription, I am enclosing a check for $10 for the first subscription and one for $8 for each additional gift subscription. Here are their names and addresses)

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

JOINT APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM
and
The Institute of the Joint Apprenticeship Program

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE / A. PHILIP RANDOLPH EDUCATIONAL FUND

Ernest Green
Executive Director
Charles E. Bremer
Deputy Director
John C. Swann
Educational Director
William M. Ross
Staff Director
Donald Roffle
Program Coordinator
Maizie Fulston
Institute Director

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1933 Hillman Street
Youngstown, Ohio 44502
TENNESSEE
1033-B Jefferson Street
Nashville, Tenn. 37208

Executive Committee
CO-CHAIRMEN:
Bayard Rustin
Rowland Watts

October 28, 1971

WDL File
Joint Apprenticeship Program

NOV 1 - 1971

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

We would like to invite you to participate in a continuation of our Journeyman Feasibility Study. This study has been made possible by two separate grants. One of $5,000 given in April 1971 by the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Council, and one of $5,000 given in May 1971 by the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

These two grants will allow us to continue the workings of the committee. The enclosed material will explain our previous deliberations. We feel with the continued need for answers to many questions raised by the interim report, that the convening of the Committee is very timely.

We will meet on November 21, 1971 at 2:30 P.M. at Bal Harbor, Florida, Americana Hotel. Arrangements can be made by our office if necessary. Please notify Mrs. Maizie Fulston at The Institute of the Joint Apprenticeship Program, 162 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10010 by November 15th whether or not you plan to attend the meeting.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Bayard Rustin

Donald Slaiman
Donald Slaiman
Co-Chairman Working Committee
for Journeyman Feasibility
Study

BR:bh

162 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 691-0660

File

JOINT APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM
and
The Institute of the Joint Apprenticeship Program

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE / A. PHILIP RANDOLPH EDUCATIONAL FUND

Ernest Green
Executive Director

Charles E. Bremer
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Nashville, Tenn. 37208

Executive Committee
CO-CHAIRMEN:
Bayard Rustin
Rowland Watts

January 20, 1972

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

Attached is your prepaid airline ticket and itinerary for our National Conference in New Orleans. In order to simplify matters, we secured open tickets through one carrier; they are, however, interchangeable with other airlines where necessary.

Hotel reservation are being made for a single room for the dates February 2, 3, and 4, 1972.

We look forward to greeting you in New Orleans. Also if you would like us to meet you at the airport, please let us know your arrival time, date and carrier.

Sincerely,

Ernest Green

Ernest Green
Excutive Director

EG/ bc
Enclsures

162 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010 / (212) 691-0660

JOINT APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM
and
The Institute of the Joint Apprenticeship Program

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Nashville, Tenn. 37208

Executive Committee
CO-CHAIRMEN:
Bayard Rustin
Rowland Watts

January 27, 1972

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

Attached is one of the final copies of our Conference agenda. It will give you an overall idea of what will be going on in each session.

It is possible that there may be some last minute changes before the time of the final printing.

Sincerely,

Ernest Green

Ernest Green
Executive Director

EG/rvb
Attachment

162 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010 / (212) 691-0660

NATIONAL CONFERENCE
February 2-6, 1972

SHERATON-CHARLES HOTEL
211 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

Cobbs (Renn.)

ITINERARY

(1) Galatoirs * food
(2) Arnauds
Antoines
Brennans
(Nunez)

WEDNESDAY February 2	7:00 PM	Welcoming Cocktail Party Canal and Gravier Rooms
THURSDAY February 3	8:30 AM	Registration and Coffee - ALL EMPLOYEES Mezzanine
	9:00 AM	Welcome and Introduction Jackson Room
	10:00 AM	Keynote Address
	10:30 AM	Panel - "Manpower and Minority Employment"
	11:30 AM	Panel Discussion
	12:30 PM	Luncheon Meeting Beauregard Room
	2:45 PM	Panel - "Labor and The Negro" Jackson Room
	3:45 PM	Panel Discussion
	6:00 PM	Reception Canal and Gravier Rooms
	7:30 PM	Awards Banquet Beauregard and Claiborne Rooms
FRIDAY February 4	9:30 AM	Coffee Jackson Room
	10:00 AM	Panel - "Housing" Jackson Room
	11:00 AM	Panel Discussion
	12:15 PM	Luncheon Meeting Beauregard Room

Commander Potatch

Jack Sissle

FRIDAY February 4	2:30 PM	Panel - "Economics and Politics" Jackson Room
	3:30 PM	Panel Discussion
	4:30 PM	Farewell Cocktail Party Lagniappe Room
SATURDAY February 5	9:30 AM	Coffee Jackson Room
	10:00 AM	Administrative Staff Meeting (National Staff and Regional Supervisors) Jackson Room
	11:00 AM	General Supervisors' Meeting (Sr. Field Representatives and Supervisors) Jackson Room
	12:00 Noon	Adjournment

PROGRAM

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 2
7:00 p.m. Cocktails
Canal & Gravier Rooms

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3
Morning
8:30 - 9:00
Registration & Coffee
Mezzanine

9:00 - 10:00
Welcome & Introduction
Jackson Room

Ernest G. Green
Exec. Director, Joint
Apprenticeship Program/
Workers Defense League/
A. Philip Randolph
Educational Fund

Honorable Moon Landrieu
Mayor, City of New Orleans, La.

A.P. "Pat" Stottard
President, New Orleans AFL-CIO

Rowland Watts
President, Workers Defense
League

Bayard Rustin, Exec. Director,
A.Philip Randolph Educational
Fund

10:00 - 10:30
Keynote Address

John Lewis, Director,
Voter Education Project, Atlanta, Ga.

10:30 - 11:30
Panel
Manpower and Minority
Employment
Chairman: Rowland Watts
President, Workers
Defense League

Presentation:
Marvin Friedman
Vice President, Stanley
H. Ruttenberg & Associates,
Inc.

Response:
Roy Kirkley
Associate Extension Specialist,
Rutgers University

Robert McGlotten
Exec. Director, Human Resources
Development Institute, AFL-CIO

William Weinberg
Administrative Vice President,
Rutgers University

11:30 - 12:15
Panel Discussion

12:30 - 2:30
Luncheon Meeting
Beauregard Room
Chairman: Charles E. Bremer
Deputy Executive Director,
Joint Apprenticeship Program/Workers
Defense League/A. Philip Randolph
Educational Fund

Remarks:

Robert Tucker, Exec.
Administrative Assistant
to the Mayor of New Orleans

Film:
Phela Ndaba (End of the
Dialogue)

Comment:
Na Na Mahomo

Afternoon
2:45 - 3:45
Panel
Jackson Room
Labor & the Minorities
Chairman: Ernest R. McKinney
Asst. to Exec. Director,
A. Philip Randolph Institute

Presentation:
F. Ray Marshall, Chairman
Economics Dept., University
of Texas

Response:
Bernard Anderson, Assoc.
Professor of Economics,
Wharton School of Finance,
University of Pennsylvania

Walter Davis, Director of
Education, AFL-CIO

D. Quinn Mills, Asst.
Professor, Sloan School of
Management, Massachusetts
Institute of Technology

3:45 - 4:45
Panel Discussion

Evening
6:00 - 7:30
Reception
Canal & Gravier Rooms

7:30 - 10:30
Awards Banquet
Beauregard and Claiborne Rooms
Master of Ceremonies:
Ernest G. Green, Exec. Director
Joint Apprenticeship Program/
WDL/APREF

Speaker: Bayard Rustin
Exec. Director, A. Philip
Randolph Institute

AWARDS

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4

Morning
9:30 - 10:00
Coffee
Jackson Room

10:00 - 11:00
Panel
Jackson Room
Housing for the 70's
Chairman: William M. Ross
Director of Operations,
Joint Apprenticeship Program/
WDL/APREF

Presentation
Richard Ravitch
Exec. Vice President, HRH
Construction - Pres. Citizens
Housing & Planning Council of
New York, Inc.

Response:
Dennis Besse
Southwest Regional Assistant
Non-Profit Housing Center

John Evans, Director,
Dept. of Urban Affairs
AFL-CIO

Donald L. Roffle
Program Director, Joint
Apprenticeship Program/WDL/
APREF

11:00 -12:00
Panel Discussion

12:15 - 2:15
Luncheon Meeting
Beauregard Room
Chairmen: Ernest G. Green
Executive Director, Joint
Apprenticeship Program/WDL/
APREF

Remarks:
Robert McConnon
Director, Office of National
Projects, U.S. Dept. of Labor

Donald Slaiman
Director, Civil Rights Dept.,
AFL-CIO

Afternoon
2:30 - 3:30
Panel
Jackson Room
Economics and Politics
Chairman: Ernest G. Green
Executive Director, Joint
Apprenticeship Program/WDL/APREF

Presentation:
Tom Kahn, Exec. Director,
League for Industrial Democracy

Response:
Lamond Godwin, Asst. Professor,
Labor & Industrial Relations
Rutgers University

Napoleon B. Johnson, II
Director, Urban League,
LEAP

Emory Via, Director
Resources Development Center,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

3:30 - 4:30
Panel Discussion

4:30 - 6:30
Adjournment
Cocktail Party
Lagniappe Room

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 5

Morning
9:30 - 10:00
Coffee
Jackson Room

10:00 - 11:00
Administrative Staff Meeting
Jackson Room
National Staff & Regional
Supervisors

11:00 - 12:00
General Supervisor's
Meeting
Jackson Room
Senior Field Representatives
and Supervisors

12:00 ADJOURNMENT

Recruitment and Training Program

162 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010 (212) 691-0660

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ROWLAND WATTS
Vice Chairman
EDWARD GONZALEZ, Jr.
Secretary
RICHARD RAVITCH
Treasurer
BERNARD J. ENGLANDER
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Counsel

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Executive Director
CHARLES E. BREMER
Deputy Executive Director
WILLIAM M. ROSS
Director of Operations
RICHARD J. EASTON
Director of Finance

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8 North Franklin Street
Hempstead, N.Y. 11550
LEXINGTON, KY.
637 Georgetown Street
Lexington, Ky. 40503
MOUNT VERNON, N.Y.
43 Fourth Avenue
Mount Vernon, N.Y. 10550
NASHVILLE, TENN.
1033-B Jefferson Street
Nashville, Tenn. 37208
NEWARK, N.J.
430 Springfield Avenue
Newark, N.J. 07103
NEW HAVEN, CONN.
156 Dixwell Avenue
New Haven, Conn. 06511
ORLANDO, FLA.
310 West Church Street
Orlando, Fla. 32805
PASCAGOULA, MISS.
1615 Convent Avenue
Pascagoula, Miss. 39567
ROCHESTER, N.Y.
314 Hudson Avenue
Rochester, N.Y. 14605
WILMINGTON, N.C.
608 Red Cross Street
Wilmington, N.C. 28401
WYANDANCH, N.Y.
1319 Straight Path Road
Wyandanch, N.Y. 11798
YOUNGSTOWN, O.
1933 Hillman Street
Youngstown, Ohio 44502

July 31, 1972

Dear Mr. Via:

Over the last five years, the Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense League/A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund has been actively involved in placing Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other minorities into skilled jobs, particularly in the construction industry. From 1967 until now, the Program has gone from one office in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn to 25 offices in the following cities:

Boston, Massachusetts	Mt. Vernon, New York
Bridgeport, Connecticut	Nashville, Tennessee
Bronx, New York	Newark, New Jersey
Brooklyn, New York	New Haven, Connecticut
Buffalo, New York	Orlando, Florida
Charlotte, No. Carolina	Pascagoula, Mississippi
Cleveland, Ohio	Providence, Rhode Island
Durham, No. Carolina	Rochester, New York
Evansville, Indiana	Rome, New York
Greensboro, No. Carolina	Wilmington, No. Carolina
Harlem (New York City), New York	Wyandanch, New York
Hempstead, New York	Youngstown, Ohio
Lexington, Kentucky	

We have also expanded our activities in other areas to include fully skilled journeymen and men with partial skills. We have also involved ourselves in contractors' assistance programs, non-profit housing sponsorship and preparation for civil service examinations.

The techniques in which we have pioneered since we first began as an apprenticeship program in 1963 have shown broad applicability, particularly in various construction occupations, and have served to make us a source of assistance for programs engaged in other outreach program, minority contractors, and the AID of the U. S. Department of State.

The complexity of our involvement has necessitated our becoming incorporated. On February 1, 1972, we were granted permission by the State of New York to incorporate as R-T-P, Inc., Recruitment and

Training Program. We hope this change will in no way diminish the role and relationship of the Workers Defense League/A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund in helping us to continue to gain more jobs for minorities in the various skilled crafts. Accordingly, you may be assured of the continued growth and commitment of the Recruitment and Training Program.

Sincerely,

Ernest Green

Ernest Green
Executive Director

EG/rvb

R-T-P (WDL Jt Appr. Program)

BREAKTHROUGH
MINORITIES IN CONSTRUCTION

Editor: Maizie Fulston

A newsletter published periodically by R–T–P, Inc. Recruitment and Training Program 162 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York

VOLUME 3, NO. 1 SEPTEMBER, 1972

R-T-P, Inc. Or, What's In A Name

R–T–P, Inc. means Recruitment and Training Program, formerly the Joint Apprenticeship Program. The new name became effective April 1, 1972.

Why the need to incorporate and why the new name? In just a few short years the Program grew from a staff of three to a staff of 170 persons. The size and scope of the present organization required that we establish ourselves as a separate legal entity.

The Workers Defense League, our founder, gave birth to the program in 1964. We were funded by the Taconic Foundation, and known as the W.D.L. Apprenticeship Program. In 1966 when the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund joined W.D.L. as a co–sponsor, we became the Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense

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RTP OPEN HOUSE SCHEDULED FOR EARLY FALL

On Sunday, September 24, R–T–P, Inc. will open its newly-renovated doors to the public for two weeks. The highlight of this occasion which celebrates the formation of R–T–P, Inc., will be an exhibition of African art from the Collection of Bayard Rustin, executive director, A. Philip Randolph Institute and chairman of the board, R–T–P, Inc. Fred Lewis, assistant director, The Studio Museum of Harlem, has volunteered his services to make the selections and install the exhibit. This show will be the first of a series of black art exhibitions to be shown at R–T–P, Inc. headquarters.

The opening will be both a celebration of name change as well as a benefit

Cont'd on page 4...

Annual Confab a Great Success

People are still talking about RTP's Fourth Annual Conference when more than 450 people – R–T–P Inc. staff and invited guests convened at New Orleans Sheraton-Charles Hotel February 2 – 5. This marked the first time the annual conference was held outside New York City. The time was ripe for mixing a lot of business with a little pleasure also, because New Orleans was still recuperating from the Superbowl while gearing up for the Mardi Gras.

Business began at 9:00 a.m. February 3, with a welcoming address by **A.P. "Pat" Stottard**, President of the New Orleans AFL–CIO. Remarks were also made by **Rowland Watts**, President, Workers Defense League and **Bayard Rustin**, Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute. **John Lewis**, Director of the Voter Education Project, Atlanta, Ga. delivered the keynote address. He conveyed the message that Blacks have come a long way politically and economically during the decade of the 60's but they still have a long way to go in developing full political potential. The afternoon panel "Manpower and Minority Employment" was chaired by Rowland Watts. **Marvin Friedman**, noted economist and Vice-president of Stanley H. Ruttenberg and Associates, Inc. presented a paper in which he praised Apprenticeship Outreach Programs as being the most successful endeavor produced by the ten year old Manpower Development Training Act. He attributed this success to Outreach's single target – getting minority youths into the building trades unions as opposed to other programs with less concrete training goals. **Roy Kirkley**, Associate Professor, Rutgers University, **Bob McGlotten**, former Director of HRDI; and **William Weinberg**, Administrative Vice-president of Rutgers University were respondents to Friedman's address.

Robert Tucker, Executive Administrative Assistant to the Mayor of New Orleans was the main luncheon speaker. Following the luncheon "Phela N'daba" (End of the Dialogue"), a film depicting the inhuman conditions under which Blacks, Browns, and other non-white people live because of the apartheid system in South Africa, was shown. **Ernest R. McKinney**, Asst. to the

Attending conference left to right, Charles Bremer, Deputy Director R–T–P, Inc., Roger Coyne, U.S. DOL, Ernest Green, Director R–T–P, Inc., Donald Slaiman, Civil Rights Director, AFL–CIO, Prof. Herbert Levine, Rutgers Univ.

Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund was chairman for the afternoon panel "Labor and the Minorities." **F. Ray Marshall**, Chairman, Economics Department, University of Texas, traced the history of the relationship between the labor movement and black people from the beginning of the movement to the present. The respondents were **Bernard Anderson**, Associate Professor, Wharton School of Finance, University of Pa; **Walter Davis**, Director of Education, AFL–CIO and **Edward Gonzalez** of the School of Industrial Relations at Cornell University.

The highlight of the day, and of the conference was the Awards Banquet. Its success was largely due to the promotion job assumed by the New Orleans A. Philip Randolph Institute. M.C. **Ernest Green**, Executive Director of R–T–P, Inc. presented awards to four outstanding apprentices. They were: **Curtis Alexander**, New York, **Charles Bryant**, New Haven, Conn; **James Strouder**, Cleveland, Ohio; **Wayne Thompson**, Charlotte, North Carolina. There were

Cont'd on page 2...

A Word From the Director

.....Ernest Green

This is our first Newsletter since the 1972 Annual Staff Conference. As you are aware, the Conference was held in New Orleans and exceeded all of our expectations. It allowed the Program to reach a broader group of people as well as broaden the scope of staff to issues other than construction. From that start of broadening our base and scope, we have now incorporated and become a separate organization, separating from both the A. Philip Randolph Education Fund and the Workers Defense League.

This separation doesn't stem from an ideological dispute, but a recognition by all parties for greater fiscal and administrative control. The Program has grown far beyond our expectations. We have grown from three staff people in 1965 to 170 in 1972. We have grown from one office in 1966 to 26 field offices in 1972. All of this represents tremendous growth, and, as you can imagine, requires great effort and energy to make sure that we perform our primary service, and that is placing as many Blacks and Puerto Ricans into decent jobs that offer both a future and adequate income.

At this time we are holding our formal Open House announcing our new name. We have also successfully negotiated a new contract with the United States Department of Labor. This contract funds our field offices in:

Boston, Massachusetts
Bridgeport, Connecticut
Bronx, New York
Brooklyn, New York
Buffalo, New York
Charlotte, North Carolina
Cleveland, Ohio
Durham, North Carolina
Evansville, Indiana
Greensboro, North Carolina
Harlem, New York City
Hempstead, New York
Lexington, Kentucky
Westchester County (New York)
Nashville, Tennessee
Newark, New Jersey
New Haven, Connecticut
Orlando, Florida
Pascagoula, Mississippi
Providence, Rhode Island
Rochester, New York
Rome, New York
Trenton, New Jersey
Wilmington, North Carolina
Wyandanch, New York
Youngstown, Ohio

for another 12 months. The total amount of the contract is $2,500,000. We expect, as we have done in previous contracts, to exceed the number of negotiated placements with D.O.L.

In our 1971-1972 contract we were able to place 1,362 apprentices and 551 journeymen against 1,275 apprentices negotiated and 350 journeymen negotiated at a per placement cost of $1,200.

This cost is very favorable when compared with many other manpower programs. We feel that the reorganization allows us to continue a high placement record as well as maintaining adequate fiscal control. As we expand our activities into programs other than construction we feel that the new structure allows a greater flexibility to achieve success with these new areas.

Our expectation is to sponsor our first 236 housing program of 110 units in Pascagoula, Mississippi. This will provide jobs as well as badly needed housing in an area where one of our most effective programs operates. We expect to begin construction by winter 1973 and to have the project completed by spring 1974. We have also developed an assistance package to assist minority contractors that will be utilized in the project.

We expect the coming years to allow us to continue our prime effort of placing the brothers into meaningful jobs and the new structure gives R–T–P, Inc. the best vehicle by which to do that.

Annual Confab

(Continued from Page 1)

many other deserving apprentices. Since all could not be chosen, the four selected from different areas of the country were representative of the quality of non-white youths R–T–P, Inc. places in the building trades. Other awards were given at the banquet. **Charles Bremer**, Deputy Director of R–T–P, Inc. presented Ernest Green with a citation from the entire staff in appreciation of his effective and efficient leadership and direction. Bayard Rustin and Rowland Watts were cited for helping to found and guide the program through the years. And **Mr. A. Philip Randolph**, that "man among men" who is revered by trade unionists for having put in more than half a century of work into securing benefits for Black Workers, received an award from the New Orleans A. Philip Randolph Institute. In Mr. Randolph's absence it was presented to Bayard Rustin by **Leonard Lewis, Jr.**, Vice-president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers in New Orleans. **Ernest Colbert**, Sr. of the New Orleans A. Philip Randolph Institute gave quite a biographical sketch of Mr. Rustin and then introduced him as the main speaker. Throughout Mr. Rustin's speech he emphasized the importance of a coalition between blacks and organized labor.

As the conference continued other panels were held to discuss other relevant topics. "Housing for the 70's was chaired by **William Ross**, Director of Operations for R–T–P, Inc. **Richard Ravitch**, Exec. Vice-president of HRH Construction Company gave the presentation. **Dennis Beese**, Southwest Regional Asst. of the Non-profit Housing Center; **John Evans**, AFL–CIO Department of Urban Affairs Director. **Donald Roffle**, R–T–P's Program Director and **Luther Gatling** of Ominform, an industrialized housing company responded. "Economics and Politics" was the closing panel. Its chairman was Ernest Green. **Tom Kahn**, Exec. Director of the League for Industrial Democracy and **Lamond Godwin**, Asst. Professor at Rutgers University both presented papers. **Napoleon Johnson II**, Director of Urban League LEAP, **Norman Hill**, Associate Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute, **Claude Ramsey**, President Mississippi State AFL–CIO and **Penn Kemble** of Frontlash, provided the responses.

Donald Slaiman, Director of the AFL–CIO's Civil Rights Department and **Roger Coyne**, R–T–P, Inc's Government Authorized Representative the U.S. Dept. of Labor, shared the microphone at the February 4th luncheon. As Mr. Coyne said "it was a swinging conference for a swinging organization. That just about summed it up. And although it lasted only a brief three days, the R–T–P staff made time to take care of the business at hand, time to enjoy the luncheons and the banquet, time to catch a pre-Mardi Gras parade or two, and time to pay tribute to the famous gospel singer Miss Mahalia Jackson whose body was brought back to New Orleans, the place she was born, to lie in state on February 3rd, before burial.

A detailed post conference report is being published.

.... ABOUT APPRENTICES

Since R–T–P, Inc. has established an enviable track record in placing large numbers of minorities in the building trades, it's easy to assume that we're hung up on quantity and not quality. Not so. All of our apprentices are outstanding. Beginning with this edition of **Breakthrough**, we're going to single out some of the young men whose activities and achievements make us very proud.

James White

The first salute goes to James White, a 28-year old, 4th year millwright apprentice. Jim, a member of union local 740 took second place in the New York City District Council of Carpenter's annual apprenticeship contest. The competition, a grueling ordeal, consisted of a four-hour written examination on job-related subjects followed by a practical test of applied skills in machinery installation. James' project was the building and erecting of a pump and motor to pump water.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, Johnjas Hedrick became the first black apprentice to enter Local 640, Pipefitter and Plumbers Union. Another trailblazer, also from Greensboro, is Samuel Leroy LeGrand, a vietnam-era veteran who became the first black admitted to Local 30, the Boilermakers. LeGrand who served 3½ years in the Air Force is working with the E.I. duPont Co. on the Savannah River Project in Aiken, South Carolina.

New Haven reports that seven black ironworker apprentices who were recruited and tutored by the staff of that office, received their union books from Ironworkers Local 424 in June. Prior to these card-carriers there were no full fledged union minority ironworkers in Southern, Conn.

From Harlem comes the news that Fred Armstead, who integrated Local 12, Heat & Frost Insulators (Asbestos Workers) two years ago, recently became a journeyman.

And trying to make their voices heard in their local unions are Bob Coveny who ran for delegate to the International Convention of Ironworkers local 40 & 361, and Charles Saunders who ran for a seat on the executive board of New York City's Sheetmetal Union local 28. Although neither one made it, both of them will probably increase their union activity to insure their chances of getting elected in the future.

HERE AND THERE FIELD OFFICE HAPPENINGS

On August 28th Executive Director Ernest Green was presented the Elks Almnus Award at their Grand Lodge in St. Louis, Mo. Mr. Green, who received an Elks scholarship to attend Michigan State, was cited for his outstanding record of achievement.

The Contracting Plumbers of Brooklyn & Queens, Inc. held a premiere showing of "E.E.O. in Brooklyn & Queens" on May 23. This is a 20 minute color and sound slide presentation directed at minorities interested in the plumbing trade, produced by Project Equality with the cooperation of R–T–P, Inc. The Bronx office, which is representative of the Puerto Rican community is featured.

A grant of 176,500 from the U.S. Department of Labor has been awarded to the F.D. Rich Co. in Stamford, Conn. to run a pre-apprenticeship training program for minorities and veterans. The Bridgport office has been designated to do the recruting for this program. This office has relocated to 1208 Stratford Ave. In order to solve the transportation problems for apprentices working in out-lying areas in New Haven SFR Maurice Sykes has been canvassing the Utilities Companies for their used cars. So far two have been donated by the United Illuminating Co. Two more have been promised by the Southern New England Telephone Co. In order to find and place journeymen the New Haven Foundation has granted $5,000 to use the advertising media.

– **Boston held its open house on July 26** to re-introduce the program to the community and to promote a spirit of brotherhood among the newly placed apprentices. Highlight of the evening was the presentation of a large bouquet of flowers to Ms. Amanda Cook, AIC director (who recently retired after 28 years of service) for the help she has given since the program's inception in Boston.

The office in Nassau County has a new address. It recently moved from the tiny office at 10 Columbia St., Hempstead to more spacious quarters at 8 North Franklin, which is on the main drag. Bill Durante, Ron Whitfield and **John Harris** have been quite creative in getting the place together–and its beautiful.

The apprentice follow-up club in Lexington, Ky. held a fund raising raffle not long ago. Al Green, Jr. Accountant at the national office was $100 richer for he held the winning ticket.

The office in Westchester has more than doubled its placement goal for this contract. They have been designated the screening agency for the Mechanical Trades Unions apprentices, trainees, and journeymen.

Through the efforts of the R–T–P office in Suffolk County and the Wyandanch Day Care Affirmative Action Plan created by that office, two minority contractors have received construction sub-contracts. Mangum Contracting Co. was awarded $51,000 for sheetrock, painting, ceramic tiling, floor tiling and acoustic ceilings. R & G Certified Service was the recipient of a $5,000 landscaping contract.

The Nashville hometown plan, which our office in that city helped to negotiate recently received $30,000 for the first year's operation. An administrator has been hired, and the plan is set to roll.

Congratulations to all field offices for the superhuman effort they made in meeting the 1971 - 72 placement goals. Those offices involved in journeymen outreach are to doubly congratulated for doubling the journeyman placement goals.

Revolving Funds Set In Motion

Last year each field office was asked to seek its own funds to help needy prospective apprentices over financial hurdles. We are pleased to report that some progress has been made.

In Bridgeport, Conn. a $5,000 grant was received from Turner Construction Co. Also, the People's Savings Bank in that city contributed $500.

Contributors to the revolving fund in New York City are the New York Life Insurance Company which gave $5,000. The Fund for the City of New York which provided a matching grant of $5,000, and the Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith Foundation which donated $2,500. The grants received for use by our offices in New York City have been deposited in Freedom National Bank.

The office in Youngstown, Ohio is the receipient of two grants; $5,000 from the Youngstown Area Community Action Council and $165 from Joseph Backet & Sons Co.

Don Roffle, R–T–P, Inc.'s Program Director has been working very closely with the field offices to help them obtain funds. He plans to intensify his efforts so that those offices which have not started Applicant Revolving Funds will be able to do so in the near future.

BOSTON REVISITED

After three years of operation, and a total of 357 non-white apprentices, trainees and fully qualified journeymen placed in the building trades unions, the Boston operation was phased out in November 1971. The office which was originally opened by JAP in 1968 to service a limited area, quickly turned out to be the implementation of what is now known as the "area-wide" agreement. What started out as a program to place minorities in the Model Cities Area into the construction trades in the Roxbury-Cambridge sections, ultimately mushroomed absorbing the whole Boston area.

In November, 1970 a "hometown plan" administered by the Construction Jobs of Boston, Inc. was funded by the Department of Labor. Under this arrangement, JAP became the subcontractor responsible for the daily programmatic functions of recruiting, counseling, tutoring, placement, and follow-up. The November, 1971 contract cancellation left Boston without a funded program to facilitate minority entrance into the skilled craft unions. However, some staff members of the former program felt the need to continue their services to the brothers – even if on a volunteer basis – and that's exactly what they did. In space borrowed from the Black United Front, the group set up tutorial classes for more than forty prospective electricians apprentices.

In March, 1972 the U.S. Department of Labor again funded a program for Boston. The New program, under the ageis of R–T–P, Inc. is an Apprenticeship Outreach Program. In addition Boston now has a new bi-partite plan conducted by the Building Trades Council and the Contractors Association.

The apprenticeship outreach office is at 466 Blue Hill Avenue. Staffing that office are: Project Director, James Clark, his assistant David Lee, Field Representative, Azell Martin, Tutor, Simon Wiltz, secretary, Shirlene Barnes, clerk-typist Carrie Perry.

RTP Recruit Youth Council Makes Trip to Africa for U. S. Program

At the request of the U.S. Youth Council, RTP Inc., and other organizations made referrals for the Council's Village Experimental Program, an African summer project. The program approach is to find out from villagers what technical expertise they need as opposed to presenting a pre-planned package. Among those chosen was Howard Odum, a journeyman cement mason who was recruited for the apprenticeship program in 1968 by the Nashville staff. In addition to his skill as a mason Howard is a qualified instructor through a special course he took in Racine, Wisconsin. Thus, he was able to teach a skill much needed in West Africa.

In mid-June before departure to their respective destinations, in West Africa, the group toured RTP national headquarters.

Other members of the Youth Council group were:

Ray Keith, Brooklyn, N.Y. who will work with the Ghanaan Youth Council; Tom Elkins, small business volunteer assigned to Mali; Deinna Minis, Wichita Falls, Kansas; A.E. Dreyfuss, New York City; and Bob Jackson, Los Angeles, California.

RTP OPEN HOUSE

(Continued from Page 1)

for Knickerbocker Hospital, a voluntary hospital which serves a large black and Spanish-speaking population in central and upper Harlem. Knickerbocker, which also serves the largest ambulance district in the city, was hit by a severe financial crisis which threatened to close its doors last year.

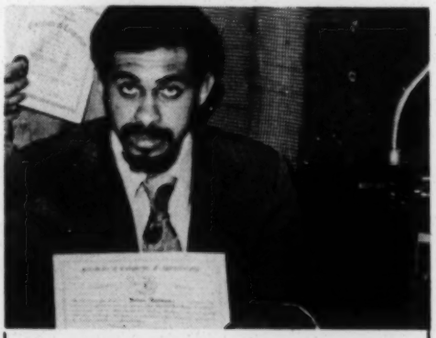
Commenting on his decision to hold the benefit the first day of open house, R–T–P executive director Ernest Green states:

"I am impressed with the spirit and dedication of the workers, most of whom are black and Spanish-speaking. When staff people were advised that their jobs would be gone, instead of leaving, they hung in there, raised money on their own, and came in for no pay on their days off. RTP is proud to support a group that shows this kind of solidarity."

Knickerbocker employers are affiliated with local 1199 of the Hospital and drug employees union.

Admission to the opening is a $10 contribution. Admission to the exhibit is free for the remainder of the open house; Monday through Friday from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., until October 8.

Outstanding Apprentice Award Winner

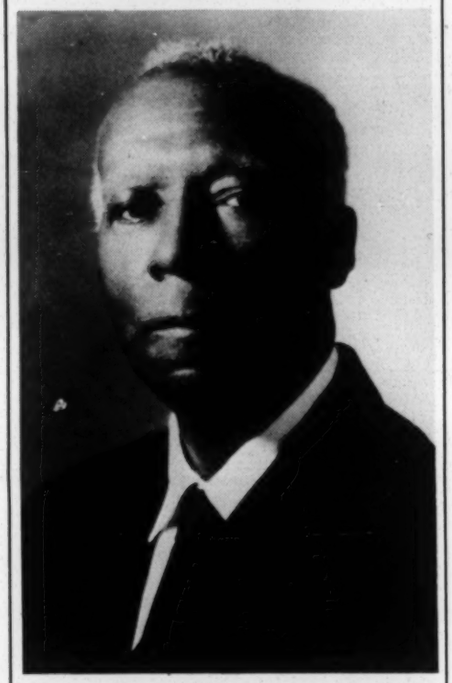


Nolan Herrera is his name and he has the distinction of being the first of over 3,000 apprentices placed in the building trades unions by R–T–P, Inc. to win an outstanding Apprentice Award for over-all excellence at graduation. He came to the Brooklyn office in November 1968 when he was 20 years old. As a graduate of Brooklyn Automotive High School, he was really undecided about what he wanted to do. Since the Ironworkers Apprenticeship Program was open he took the test, and passed it.

Matt Steinberg, Apprenticeship Coordinator for Ironworkers Local 40 and 361 says: "Even after Nolan received his apprenticeship appointment he was undecided whether to be an auto mechanic or an ironworker, but I'm so glad he chose ironworker." As an apprentice he proved to be capable, reliable and responsible. He never missed any of the 216 classroom sessions during his three years of apprenticeship. Now a foreman for Bethlehem Steel in Brooklyn he is very active in the Ironworkers follow-up club which was formed by the staff of the Brooklyn office to help struggling apprentices in that craft.

Nolan Herrera, R.T.P. is very proud of you.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH HONORED IN CHICAGO



A. Philip Randolph, dean of all labor and civil rights leaders was honored at a banquet given by the Coalition for United Community Action at the Sherman House in Chicago on August 26. Mayor Richard J. Daley proclaimed the day A. Philip Randolph Day in Chicago and urged all citizens to take cognizance of the special events that were arranged. The 83 year old Mr. Randolph, vice president of the AFL–CIO Executive Council, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which he organized in 1925 has made outstanding contributions to America in Labor and Civil Rights.

Among the speakers at the banquet were Carl Latimer, executive director, Coalition for United Community Action, Mrs. Maida Kemp, Midwest Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute and Bayard Rustin who gave the keynote address. In addition to the award for Mr. Randolph in recognition of his outstanding leadership, the coalition also presented R–T–P, Inc. executive director Ernest Green with a plaque for his contribution to equal employment opportunity, specifically in the construction industry.

Minority Contractors

The Contractors Training Development Office is one of the many programs set up in the latter part of the 1960's to give minorities the opportunity to get a "piece of the action" in the lucrative construction industry. This Newark-based program, under the direction of Guerney Nelson, opened its doors in 1968 to give minority contractors the technical assistance required to compete for work on new construction projects using government funds.

As a result of the work done in Newark, the Urban Development Corporation, which is responsible for the major share of new construction in New York State, has engaged the CTDO as a consultant agency to make good their commitment to employ minority contractors on all UDC construction sites. The recently opened Manhattan branch, managed by George Knowles, is now located in R–T–P's facilities at 162 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Some of the specific areas CTDO assists minority contractors in are:

1. Preparation of Cost Schedule and Contingency Analysis for Price Proposals.
2. Job Planning and Cost Control.
3. Management bookkeeping and record keeping.
4. The provision of information relative to new construction projects in the public and private sectors.

In addition, CTDO is assisting UDC to develop an Affirmative Action program for contractors.

Due to the success of the program, plans are presently on the drawing board to open three additional offices in the State of New York.

Construction Equal Employment Plan

On July 19, 1971 a ceremony was held at City Hall in Cleveland, Ohio for the signing of the agreement known as the Cleveland Construction Equal Employment Plan (CEEP). Signatory to the Plan were the Building Trades Council, the Building Trades Employer's Association and the Minority Coalition. Thus climaxed eighteen (18) months of negotiations between the three parties to hammer out a "hometown plan" which over a period of five years, would achieve a level of minority group employees in each craft at least proportionate to their percentage in the Greater Cleveland area.

This Plan was funded in the Spring of this year. The Detroit Plan and CEEP are perhaps the most recent tri-partite agreements funded through an administrative board in which the unions, contractors and the minority community share equal responsibility for the success of the Plan.

R–T–P, Inc., has been subcontracted to handle the daily programmatic functions of recruiting, screening, tutoring, follow-up, etc. For closer coordination between the two programs, the administrative staff, Executive Director William Johnson and secretary-bookkeeper Carol Whittaker are quartered at R–T–P's outreach office which is located 10609 Euclid Avenue. Andy LeBron, Recruiter-Counselors and Terry Butts, clerk-typist are part of the operations staff at this office.

On June 19th an auxillary office was opened on the West side of Cleveland at 1846 West 25th St. to service the Spanish speaking population which is concentrated primarily in this area, Recruiter-Counselors Bill Mason and Miguel Cora and clerk-typist Anna Ramos man this office.

R-T-P, Inc.

(Continued from Page 1)

League/A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund. Now we are simply R–T–P, Inc. Recruitment and Training Program. What started out as a single office, foundation funded pilot project in 1964, has blossomed into a national non-profit corporation with a total of 24 offices and funding in excess of 2½ million dollars by the U.S. Department of Labor.

Although incorporation makes us a legal entity apart from our parent organizations, the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, our close ties still remain. As an example, Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute, is Chairman of R–T–P, Inc.'s Board of Directors; Rowland Watts, President, Workers Defense League, is Vice-Chairman.

Other officers and members of the board are: Secretary, Edward Gonzalez, instructor at Cornell University, School of Labor Relations; Treasurer, Richard Ravitch, Vice-President of HRH Construction Company; Dorothy I. Height, President, National Council of Negro Women; Bernard J. Englander, Chief Executive Officer, Group Optical Consultants, Inc., and A. Philip Randolph, Vice-President, AFL-CIO Executive Council, and President Emeritus, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. John Somers is counsel.

Institute at Rutgers

On May 12 and 13, forty R–T–P, Inc. staff members from New York and other areas met in the Continuing Education Center at Rutgers University to learn about and discuss "The Changing Labor Movement and Its Effect on Minority Workers." It was the third in-service staff training institute held since October 1970 to broaden the knowledge of R–T–P employees in areas closely related to manpower.

The session started after dinner on May 12 with the topic "Public Employee Unionism", an area which has experienced phenomenal growth in the last ten years. Lillian Roberts, Assistant Director, District 37 of the American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees gave an excellent presentation on what organizing the hospital workers has meant to what used to be one of the most underpaid, immobile group of workers. She also discussed District Council 37's upgrading programs which have become quite popular. James Amos of the New Jersey Cooperative Area Manpower Planning Systems explained that CAMPS is mainly concerned with non-duplication of manpower programs and in analyzing the needs of target populations.

The Saturday morning session opened with Guerney Nelson, Director of the Contractor Training Development Office in Newark, N.J. discussing "New Trends of Minorities in the Construction Industry." He pointed out that minorities have only a limited time to get into contracting and they have to take advantage of it quickly. Mr. Nelson pointed out many of the pitfalls in the contracting business, but stated that with programs like his giving technical assistance to minority contractors, they could become successful if they did not try to become rich overnight.

Professor B.J. Widdick of Columbia University gave participants a look at "The Labor Movement Ten Years from Today." Based on his prediction there will be a growth of unionism among teachers, college professors and other professionals; 95% of all contracts will be negotiated without a strike; more women will be in union leadership positions; more minorities will become union members; the political movement by trade unionists will have a lot of impact.

Professors Orley Ashenfelter of Princeton and Lamond Godwin of Rutgers talked about the economic effects of trade unionism on black workers. The session ended with Simon Wiltz and William Day, two of the tutors who attended the A. Philip Randolph conference in Houston, Texas, giving a report on the conference. Summations was made by Ernest R. McKinney, Asst to the Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Our thanks to Prof. Herb Levine and Roy Kirkley and his staff at Rutgers who coordinated the institute.

R-T-P, Inc. Moves to Three New Cities

The first half of 1972 has been a period of continued growth for RTP, the new corporation. In March, with the endorsements of the Orlando Building Trades Council and the Florida State Labor Council, apprenticeship outreach office number twenty-two opened for business at 310 West Church Street, Orlando, Florida the home of Disney World. It was the last office to come aboard before the Program changed its name and status. Staffing this office are: Wardell Sims, Senior Field Rep., Marvin Woodward, Tutor-Recruiter and Esther L. Washington, secretary. The open house to introduce the program to the community was held August 23rd.

Office number twenty-three got underway in June. It goes about the business of placing apprentices, trainees and journeymen at 300 Heidelbach Avenue, Evansville, Indiana. Project Director is Bobby Ogburn; Willie Washington has been named Field Rep; Tutor-Recruiter is Nero Lawrence and Susan Anderson is the new secretary.

Not far behind was office number twenty-four which opened in July. It is located at 200 Cranston St., Providence, Rhode Island. Russell Handy is the senior man, Cecil Taylor is Tutor-Recruiter, while Ruth Clement has been hired as secretary.

Although progress has been made in getting non-whites into the skilled trades, in some cities, the numbers already placed are hardly representative of the minority population. R–T–P, Inc. is cognizant of its obligation to open up more opportunities for minorities who are capable and desirous of entering the construction industry, and will move to expand its services to other cities in the near future.

COMINGS AND GOINGS

There have been a number of comings and goings within R–T–P since the last issue of "Breakthrough".

IN BRIDGEPORT, the Tutor has now taken over a new position as a Project Coordinator for the Connecticut Highway Department. He has been replaced by **Raymond Perez.**

As Secretary, **Norma Holmes** has resigned to take over a new position with Executive Wardrobe Service, a black concern.

IN BROOKLYN, Harry Austin, Journeymen Recruiter, has now transferred to **WESTCHESTER,** replacing **Thomas Green** of that office. **Eugene Webster** has left for a new job and has been replaced by **Joseph Bryant,** former staff guy in the Accounting Department.

The new secretary in **BROOKLYN, Arleen Hubbard.**

IN BUFFALO, the new Journeyman Recruiter is **Grenard Poles.**

Thomas Adkins, Program Supervisor of Urban Development Corporation, is on loan to the Urban Development Corporation.

IN HARLEM, Sandra Terry, Secretary, has gone to work with **Eddie Johnson** and the New York Plan.

IN NASSAU COUNTY, NEW YORK John Harris is the new tutor.

Zora Farrow, Trevor Edwards, and **Winston McIntosh** have joined the Accounting Department. **Loyce Best** has just left that office to seek employment in Orlando, Florida.

IN PASCAGOULA, Robert Kyles has replaced **Robert Thomas** as Project Director.

IN ROCHESTER, Ronald Linzy is a Field Representative and **Simon Desouza** replaced **Percy Calvin** as Tutor.

IN NEWARK, James Seawright, Field Representative in that office, has now become Project Coordinator for the State of New Jersey under a transportation contract. **Louise Raimer** has joined him as Secretary.

Eugene Martinez, former Journeyman Recruiter, is now Field Representative for Welfare Island, sponsored by UDC. He was replaced by **Roy Wingate.**

There is some new staff that will appear in next issue.

Thought you would like to read this. Ernie

Recruitment & Training Program (WDL, 14)

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1972

OCT 13 1972

A Little Rock Pioneer Leads Minority Apprentice Program for Construction

By RUDY JOHNSON

Fifteen years ago, Ernest Green was one of nine black students who walked through hostile mobs to integrate Central High School in Little Rock, Ark. Today he heads a program that is a pioneer in the techniques of recruiting minority workers for the building trades.

Mr. Green was appointed director of the Joint Apprenticeship Program a little more than five years ago. At the same time, the program, which had started modestly in a Brooklyn storefront office, received a $287,668 Federal grant that spurred a national expansion.

The apprenticeship project—recently renamed Recruitment and Training Program, Inc.—was developed following a period of protest in the early nineteen-sixties over restrictive policies that kept blacks out of the industry.

The program was started by the Workers Defense League, and joined later by the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund. A staff of three persons set out to find qualified blacks to take apprenticeship tests, which the courts had ordered held.

Over the years, the program grew in scope. It began recruiting journeymen, and offering tutoring and counseling services, and assistance to minority contractors, among other things.

After five years of national operation, the program is now established in 20 cities. Thus far it has recruited approximately 5,000 apprentices and journeymen in highly skilled trades.

It has grown from a staff of three to 150, and from a budget of about $300,000 to $3-million, with most funds coming from the United States Department of Labor.

A Labor Department spokesman said recently that the Recruitment and Training Program had been the "model" for the Government's manpower outreach efforts in 100 cities.

Mr. Green joined the program as a field representative in 1964, following his graduation from Michigan State University with a master's degree in sociology.

In an interview, the 31-year-old program director, who wears a full beard and talks and dresses in the idiom of today's young black activists, said that he felt his work had been shaped by the civil rights movement, beginning with the integration of Central High School.

Mr. Green spent his senior year at Central and was the first black to graduate after Federal troops had been ordered by President Eisenhower to escort the nine black students to the school

"At Central, we felt that we had to go because someone had to break through the psychological barrier," Mr. Green said, noting that the school now had a black principal, and that 35 per cent of the students were black. "That's really what the nineteen-fifties and early nineteen-sixties represented in the South-making black people unafraid anymore."

These barriers were broken down, he said, with the integration of lunch counters, buses and schools following the sit-ins and freedom rides of the last two decades. The thrust now, he said, is for making political and economic gains.

"The construction industry is not going to solve all of our economic problems," he observed, "but it's a key kind of industry—the bulk of building is going to occur in the cities. I see blacks as having a key—if not the major—role in it."

Although his program has recruited manpower for what are known as the "hometown" plans to integrate the construction industry, Mr. Green joined other critics in calling the controversial New York Plan a failure for not going far enough in providing employment.

The New York Plan was put into operation a year ago after employers and the unions had been encouraged to form such programs in their hometowns as an alternative to federally imposed guidelines. In 1969, the Philadelphia Plan was imposed in that city, requiring contractors on Government-sponsored projects to employ a minority-group percentage of the work force equal to that of the group's percentage the of city population.

In criticizing the New York Plan, Mr. Green asserted that it had failed to provide "sanctions" against employers and unions that "haven't lived up to their commitments" to guarantee jobs for trainees.

He said that both the Philadelphia and New York Plans "need some guts in terms of enforcement."

The Nixon Administration has been accused recently of planning to scrap the Philadelphia Plan, once publicized as the Administration's key civil rights program. The Administration has denied this asserting that the plan was only under "review."

Asked what the outlook was for his program in the next five years, Mr. Green said:

"I see our efforts as continuing. We will need for an extended period of time just a continuous steady push—continually educating applicants, continually moving them in, aided by continuous pressure from the community.

"Only when it gets to a point where people can move with a relative amount of freedom into the industry will the heat ever let up."

BREAKTHROUGH
MINORITIES IN CONSTRUCTION

Editor: Maizie Fulston

A newsletter published periodically by R–T–P, Inc. Recruitment and Training Program 162 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York

Volume 4, No. 1 January, 1973

NAOMI FRANKLIN MOVES UP

Field Representative, Naomi Franklin, has just been appointed Assistant Project Director of R–T–P's lively Harlem field office.

Ms. Franklin, who in 1967 became the first secretary in that office, immediately began to show that she had what it takes to move up. Naomi took an interest in the project that far exceeded the demands of her job. She took even greater interest in the stream of applicants flowing through the office daily, helping them with their individual personal problems, helping them to structure approaches to their career goals, and adding a personal human touch to what can be a routine job of passing on information about apprenticeship training.

Because of her demonstrated interest and ability, she was appointed to fill one of three newly-created follow-up counselor spots in 1971. Although this gregarious Ms. loved working with applicants on a direct basis, she found an opportunity in this capacity to prove that she also worked well with community groups and union officials. When the opening for Assistant Project Director occurred in November, there was no question about who would fill it.

As the second female to hold this position in a major field office, it is certain that Naomi will give it all she's got. Right on–Women's Lib!!

Latin American Trade Unionists See Action At R-T-P

This year RTP became a participant of the Department of Labor's Bureau of International Labor Affairs Trade Union Exchange Program: One of the primary aims of the program is to bring foreign trade unionists to the United States to observe and study ways in which labor unions can be more effective in conducting skills training programs.

In November R–T–P had an opportunity to play host to a group of seven South American trade union participants observing selected New York City skills training programs.

They were: **Jorge Zubieta Bejarano**, Recording Secretary, Bolivian Confederation of Construction Workers, La Paz, Bolivia; **Herman Jofre Ponce**, Officer Chilean Electrical Employees Union, National Leader, Central Union of Chilean Workers (CUTCH) and Confederation of Private Sector Employees, Santiago, Chile; **Alvaro Ramirez Pinilla**, President, Union of Workers in the State of Cundinamarca (UTRACUN), Bogota, Colombia; **Cesar A Santos**, staff member, CEOSL Confederation, Guayaquil, Ecuadorean Confederation of Free Trade Union Organizations (CEOSL) Guayaquil, Equador; **Felipe A. Portillo**, Third Grievance Secretary, Construction Workers Union, San Salvador, El Salvador; **Cesar Eulalio Mestizo**, Finance Secretary, Construction Workers Union, Mejicarios, El Salvador; and, **Pausolino Zambrano**, Secretary of International Relations,

Cont'd on page 2 . . .

GREEN ADDRESSES OPERATING ENGINEERS

On November 15, R–T–P Executive Director, Ernest G. Green addressed the more than 200 delegates gathered in New Orleans for the 9th Annual Conference of the National Joint Apprenticeship and Training Committee for Operating Engineers.

Green shared a panel on Equal Employment Opportunity with Jim Gary, special rep for the International Union for Operating Engineers, (IUOE), Cecil Smith, Deputy Director, LEAP, National Urban League, Reese Hammond, IUOE Education Director, and panel chairman A.D. Gaither, Director, Office of Civil Rights, FWHA.

In his address, Green reviewed the progress of the apprenticeship outreach movement and RTP's participation in the IUOE skills training program. He then discussed R–T–P's role in the U.S. Dept. of Transportation's Federal Highway Administration's (FWHA) highway construction training program.

The conference, held Nov. 14-16 in New Orleans, covered every aspect of training in which IUOE is involved.

Other R–T–P staffers attending were Don Roffle, National Program Director, Thomas Stepp, State Coordinator for R–T–P's Kentucky Highway Program, and John Ribot, State Coordinator for R–T–P's Connecticut Highway Program.

A Word From the Director

.....Ernest Green

Year end is inventory time. It is also a time of reflection – a time to evaluate what we are and where we are going as a project and as an organization. After scanning our resources, determining which priorities are to remain intact, which priorities will be shifted or modified in view of our over-all goals, we can map out effective realistic strategies that will take us closer to where we want to go in 1973.

Let us look for a moment at some of the dramatic events that occurred within the organization in 1972 within the context of our objectives.

Our 1972 national conference was convened in New Orleans, Louisiana. That marked the first time in R–T–P history that an annual conference was held outside New York City. Since our projects are primarily concentrated in the east and northeast, this move meant a great deal in the sense that we increased our visibility, thereby giving the apprenticeship outreach movement and its aims more widespread geographic support.

In the spring of 1972, the program changed its name from the Joint Apprenticeship Program to R–T–P, Inc., Recruitment and Training Program. This was a logical move in view of our current size and scope. With the name change we became a legal entity, a corporate structure complete with an advisory board and a board of directors. Members of the board are Chairman, Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A Philip Randolph Institute, Vice Chairman, Rowland Watts, President, Workers Defense League, Secretary, Edward Gonzalez, Instructor, Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Treasurer, Richard Ravitch, President, HRH Construction. Other members are labor leader A. Philip Randolph, Bernard J. Englander, Chief Executive Officer, Group Optical Consultants, Inc., and Dorothy Height, Executive Director, National Council of Negro Women.

Although 1972 was slow for the construction industry and not nearly enough buildings were going up in many of our cities, we succeeded in meeting our Department of Labor contract placement goals. In August, which marked the end of our contract year, we found that we had surpassed our goal by placing 1,365 apprentices. Our journeyman placement record doubled the number required under the contract.

R–T–P's Training Institute, funded by the Department of Labor for the first time, gave orientation and training to more than 150 people. All of our new staff members, as well as people from around the country who are running Outreach Programs attended.

During 1972, we again had an opportunity to prove that the methods and techniques developed for apprenticeship outreach are also applicable to other public and private sector training programs. R–T–P extended itself to assist other minorities, including disadvantaged whites, to pass civil service tests for entrance into the uniformed services with a program operated by the International Firefighters Association headed by Roscoe Hamby, an ex-R–T–P employee from Nashville. The corporation also entered into contractual agreements with three different states through their Department of Highways. The U.S. Department of Transportation's Federal Highway Administration has made funds available to recruit and provide supportive and follow-up services to training programs in the states of Connecticut, New Jersey and Kentucky.

In spite of the controversy surrounding the New York Plan, R–T–P successfully recruited most of the 466 minorities for placement under the Plan. The recruiting component was funded by New York City's Manpower and Career Development Agency.

Since we have long been concerned about equal employment opportunities and other social and economic equality for *all* minorities, the Corporation offered consultation and assistance to The Black Women's Employment Program, an Atlanta-based pilot project that seeks middle-management and technical positions for minority women. We are now in the process of determining how we can increase that involvement.

Last year we pledged our organizational support to other community organizations and efforts on behalf of furthering minority community development. In September during our Open House we held a benefit for New York's Knickerbocker Hospital, a voluntary hospital serving a large black and Spanish-speaking population. The benefit grossed $2,000. Two months later, the national staff presented a check for $200 to the Sickle Cell Foundation to further sickle cell education, treatment and research. Some staff members worked to raise funds for the national NAACP's membership drive.

Looking back makes the Corporation proud of its 1972 record of achievements. Looking forward to 1973 makes us realize that in spite of what we have accomplished in the year just passed, there is still much more to be done, not only in our present areas of activity, but also in others that we have yet to discover.

I wish peace, happiness, and good health to all who are working for a constructive change to re-distribute economic power in this country. Hopefully, we can look upon 1973 as a giant step toward meeting that challenge.

RANDOLPH BIOGRAPHY SCHEDULED FOR SPRING PUBLICATION

A Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait **by Jervis Anderson will be published by Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich in March 1973.**

Excerpts from the book have appeared in a three-part serial in three recent issues of the *New Yorker Magazine.* **Mr. Randolph, the "Grand Old Man of Labor" is now eighty-four years old.**

Latin Americans

(Continued from Page 1)

Communications Workers Federation, Evido, State of Merida, Venezuela.

Accompanied by their team manager and two interpreters, they visited the national office where they were provided an overview of R–T–P's role in skills training, the apprenticeship system in the United States, and why a program like R–T–P was necessary. As foreigners and as unionists they expressed curiosity and concern about discrimination in the trades and the problem of racial discrimination in general.

Prior to visiting headquarters they had been to the New York District Council of Carpenter's Technical College where they observed actual craft training. Thus, they were able to connect R–T–P's role within a total training sequence from trainee to journeyman levels.

Following the headquarters visit, the group was taken to R–T–P's Bronx field office, one which primarily services Spanish-speaking applicants. There, the visitors spoke their native Spanish to staff people and applicants and saw applicants being assisted and tutored.

The group's month-long itinerary, November 14-December 13, also included trips to the United Nations, Allied Printing Trades Council of Greater New York, AFL-CIO in New York City; and the International Union, United Automobile. Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, Ford Motor Co., in Detroit.

Copy to HB & GE for your

Black Women Employment Program

Little did the Workers Defense League realize when they set up the pioneer outreach program in 1964 to break the barriers of discrimination in the construction industry, that the concept would have such wide applicability. Since then, the original methods of recruiting rendering supportive services, tutoring, placement and follow-up have spread throughout the country. Until recently, outreach has been utilized to gain increased minority participation in what have been traditionally male occupations – construction, firefighters, law enforcement officers. But it is no longer a male exclusive, for it is presently being used in Atlanta, Georgia to help black females gain access to good paying professional, managerial and technical jobs in the private sector.

Last year, an analysis of the Atlanta Labor Market was done. One of the most glaring inequities that showed up was the under-utilization of the talents of black women with college training or equivalent experience in certain industries and job classifications. It was aiso discovered that because of the lack of opportunity beyond the white collar clerical and secretarial level, many capable black females were leaving Atlanta in search of more lucrative job markets.

In an attempt to make changes in this situation, the Southern Regional Council in conjunction with the University of Texas, Human Resources Center set up the Black Women Employment Program. The Director, Alexis Herman and her associate, Paulette Norvel, two very attractive college trained young black females were familiar with the reaching out process to help minorities. Alexis had done recruiting for the outreach office in Pascaoula, Mississippi and Paulette had been on staff at the National Office. In addition to recruiting and working with qualified black women to help them apply for the desirable jobs that were available, they also conducted an educational campaign to acquaint employers in industries such as banking, retailing and insurance with their program and what it had to offer.

Breaking through the barriers of the upper level white collar job market for black females hasn't been easy. There has been resistance at every turn. In spite of this, the Black Women Employment Program, which has been operating a little more than six months, has made 45 placements. The fact that employers are not knocking at their door with job offers for black females has not discouraged Alexis and Paulette the least bit. They only see that 45 black females are now holding jobs they would not have gotten without the program's assistance. The fact that inroads are being made is enough to keep them knocking on employer's doors seeking job commitments for the hundreds of qualified black women they have recruited.

HERE AND THERE FIELD OFFICE HAPPENINGS

About 250 guests attended R–T–P's Open House in September where Bayard Rustin exhibited art from his extensive African art collection. Both A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin were speakers. The occasion was used to help raise money for the financially distressed Knickerbocker Hospital. The affair grossed $2,000.

Among the group who recently completed the institute on "Unions in American Society in the next Decade" at the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center in Washington were R–T–P's Grenard Poles from Buffalo and Bobby Ogburn from Evansville.

R–T–P's institute has been re-scheduled to begin in the early spring due to its busy schedule of evaluating previous sessions and preparations for the 1973 R–T–P Conference.

Roland Grant, Assistant Comptroller at the national office, received an "Outstanding Young Man for 1972" citation from the New York State Chamber of Commerce.

Members of the BOSTON staff met with the president of the Building Trades Employers Association of Western Mass. recently to explore the possibility of expanding R–T–P's efforts in other cities in Massachusetts.

BROOKLYN's Project Director, Ulysses Jordan, is doing his thing as a member of the Saul Wallen Scholarship Committee of Cornell University. With his help and assistance, 34 apprentices, 1 journeyman and national office staffers Ruth Benjamin and Ethelyn Williams received scholarships to attend Cornell's Labor College.

490 William Street is the new address of the BUFFALO office. Finally the staff has secured location on the ground floor.

During their short 2½ months under the aegis of R–T–P, the EVANSVILLE office has placed 45 non-whites in the unions as apprentices, trainees and journeymen. Another 27 are in non-union jobs. Bobby Ogburn and company are moving right on.

Matthew Cockerham, Greensboro's Project Director, has been asked by the Mayor to serve on the committee which is working to formulate an affirmative action plan for that city. Also, the close working agreement Greensboro has with HUD to find out what contractors are not in compliance enables that office to place more workers on Federally funded construction jobs.

Bill Durante, Project Director of R–T–P, HEMPSTEAD and the staff are proud of the success of the Sheet Metal Training Program and their involvement in it. Of the 27 candidates originally recruited last spring, 18 are still with it; three (3) of them are now working as mechanics.

NASHVILLE continues its pioneering efforts. Quite recently they placed their first millwright apprentice in Local 1544, their first brickmason apprentice in Local Union 44, and their first glazier (who, incidentally is the first black ever to be accepted by that craft) into Local Union 1184.

Congratulations Carl (Assistant Project Director at the NEWARK office) and Mrs. Dawson. They became the proud parents of an 8 pound baby boy born December 15, 1972. Mr. and Mrs. Frank Williams (he's R–T–P's Comptroller) also are proud new parents of a bouncing baby boy who arrived on January 7, 1973.

Through the continuous efforts of Project Director Maurice Sykes and the NEW HAVEN staff, an agreement has been made with I.B.E.W. Local 90 to use that R–T–P office exclusively for recruitment, referral and supportive services for all minorities entering Local 90. The staff has also been named as special advisor to Local 90.

The Weekly Observer of Fern Park, Florida did a full page spread on the ORLANDO operation complete with pictures of Project Director Wardell Sims, Tutor-Recruiter Marvin Woodward and Secretary Lois Washington.

The office in PASCAGOULA proudly announces that they have just placed their first female apprentice for this contract year. Her name is Quincella Kyles, and she is now a sheetmetal apprentice.

In October, the John F. Wegman Foundation donated $2,500 to establish a revolving fund to assist needy applicants going into apprenticeship training through the ROCHESTER office.

By a unanimous decision of the SOUTH CAROLINA Welfare Coalition, Pat Flack of the CHARLOTTE office has been nominated to serve on the State Welfare Board.

The WYANDANCH office, together with other local community organizations, was instrumental in having a day care center constructed, which is 90% complete. The finished structure will house 120 children and forty (40) staff members.

.... ABOUT APPRENTICES

Martin Griffin, a third year sheetmetal apprentice, was cited by Local 55, Sheetmetal Union of Suffolk and Nassau County, as the outstanding apprentice in this craft for the year 1971-1972. A $100 savings bond and a certificate of Outstanding Achievement were part of the award.

At the recent Plumbers Local 2, graduation, many awards were given. Among the R–T–P graduates who received trophies for achieving perfect attendance records for the five-year training were **Victor Woo, Chester Mullen** and **James Dones.** This trio received other citations. **James Dones** was also awarded a trophy for placing third in the fifth year contest.

The Cleveland office reports that painter's apprentice **Harold Johnson** has won second place for his wood staining-open grain panel entry at the annual Ohio State Panel Contest in Columbus.

New York's Local 3, I.B.E.W. and the N.Y. Institute of Technology report that **Peter Padilla**, a second year electrical apprentice is the finest candidate to ever enter the program. Peter is an honor student.

Congratulations **Johnnie E. Conyers, Gregory Cooper, Junius S. Copeland, Willie Perkin, Albert Warren**–new journeymen in New York's Sheetmetal Local 28. **James Carter**, also placed through the Booklyn office, graduated as a painters journeyman.

Willie Felton, one of the few blacks in the Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers Union Local 46 became a journeyman last year, and was recently appointed shop steward.

When the Boston office held its first "Annual Awards Night", 29 apprentices won awards for outstanding performance. The honorees were joined by their families, representatives from community organizations, members of local building trades, contractors, and the press. **Mr. Carrol P. Sheehan**, regional director for the U.S. Department of Labor, presented the awards. Project Director, **Jim Clark** delivered a stirring speech in which he emphasized the importance of deeper and regular communication between project people, unions, contractors, and minority workers. . . . He also discussed the role of the family in helping the apprentice through his lengthy training process. One of the awardees, to be named at a later date, will have the honour of attending R–T–P's forthcoming annual conference.

Journeyman ironworker **Jimmy Lewis**, who was placed in 1966, is leaving the trade temporarily. He's been accepted as a Petty Officer in the U.S. Navy's Seabees where he will learn underwater welding.

Pioneers Honored in Lexington Ceremony

Two young black men, one a trainee, one an apprentice, were honored at a special banquet held in Lexington, Kentucky, December 4, 1972. The apprentice, Robert Andrews, who was placed in the Electrician's Apprenticeship Program four years ago, became the first electrical journeyman recruited by the Lexington staff. Andrews, a member of I.B.E.W. Local 183, was presented a Certificate of Achievement by the local's business agent, Jessee Steele. Donald Davis, the second honoree, is the first black trainee to complete the Kentucky Highway Training Program.

Robert McGlotten, staff representative of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department in Washington was main speaker. Joining honorees and guests were R–T–P national office staff members: Executive Director, Ernest Green; Charles Bremer, Deputy Director, special assistant, Professor Lamond Godwin; Program Director Donald Roffle and Lois Ricks, Administrative Assistant.

Local officials attending the affair included: Harry Sykes, city manager; Charles Gordell from the Electrician's International and Mitch Johnson, I.B.E.W. local 183; Jim Gary special representative from the Operating Engineers International; Charles Cantrell, president, United Steel Workers of eastern Kentucky.

Pictured from left to right are Carroll P. Sheehan, Regional Director of the Dept. of Labour, James C. Clark, Project Director, Boston R.T.P., Inc. and Bobby Hicks, Technical Representative, Xerox Corp.
Mr. Hicks is the first industrial apprentice placed with the Xerox Corp. by R.T.P., Inc.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

R–T–P's FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, "PERSPECTIVES 73: NEW DIRECTIONS IN MINORITY EMPLOYMENT", WILL BE HELD MARCH 5-7, 1973 AT THE MARCO POLO RESORT HOTEL, MIAMI BEACH.

The tutorial manual *General Aptitude Test Battery* which has been out of stock for some time is now available. Due to an increase in printing costs, we have been forced to raise the price from $1.00 to $1.25.

The Black Women Employment Program will hold its first conference, "Thresholds, Ways to Deal with the Future", January 19 and 20, at Atlanta's Air Host Inn.

CHARLES LUCAS: In Memoriam

Charlie Lucas, friend, brother and craftsman will be remembered by us as a warm, capable and committed human being.

Lucas, a member of the first group of R–T–P recruits who entered Local 301 of the Ornamental Ironworkers in 1968, became a journeyman ironworker in June, 1972. Throughout the four years required to achieve journeyman status, Charles neither forgot the busy people at the Harlem office through whom he was placed nor did he forget the needs of the brothers who passed through behind him – their *inner and* outer struggles to get through the test, the interview, and "holding on" during the rigorous years of on-the-job training and classroom work.

Because of his obvious enthusiasm, drive and natural leadership capability, the more than 100 apprentices who formed Harlem's follow-up club, Trades Unlimited, elected him president. The Club was well organized and just beginning to realize its strength and potential when Charlie met his untimely death, September 30th.

Lucas, who had carved a niche in the hearts and lives of his family, his friends, fellow craftsmen, the members of Trades Unlimited and the staff of the Harlem office, will be greatly missed.

COMINGS AND GOINGS

Carmen Gonzalez and **Sharon Gorman** are the newest additions to the National Office's secretarial staff. In the Finance Department, **Lottie Richbow** moved up to senior accountant; **Viola Brown** has been appointed financial administrative Assistant; **Reggie Easton** is back from temporary tutorial duties at the Brooklyn office, and **Frances Caldwell**, a junior accountant, is the most recent staff addition.

The expanded Contractors Training Development Office staff based at the National Office now includes secretaries **Mel Robinson** and **Denise Young**, senior accountant **Jim Strange**, accountant **Kirk Shah**, senior estimator, **Jesse Ghoah** and **Fitzgerald Grant**, field representative. Former manager **George Knowles** who returned to CTDO's home office in Newark as the new operations manager was replaced by **Herb Waldhauser**.

In BROOKLYN, **Lloyd Eli**, formerly with the Finance Department, has been assigned follow-up duties. **James Champion** moved from the New York Plan to handle tutorial work.

When HARLEM project director **Jerry Dawson** left to go with the Urban Development Corporation, **Bob Sutton**, second in command, was upped to the top spot. **Naomi Franklin** became assistant project director, **Roy Wingate** took over follow-up and **Jose Ramos** is now journeyman recruiter.

Jean Gillis, secretary at the HEMPSTEAD office, is on sick leave until February 1st.

In NEWARK, **George Brown** has replaced **Eugene Black** as placement counselor-tutor. **Gene** is the acting coordinator for the State of New Jersey Highway Program, the spot vacated by **James Seawright**.

Angel Roman is the field representative for the New York Plan in East Harlem. **Carmen Jurjo** is his secretary.

Copy for EV folder NAHRW Institute

Highway Projects Moving

In order to meet the equal employment opportunity obligation called for by the FHWA Interim Order 7-2 (3), three states, Kentucky, New Jersey, and Connecticut have awarded sub-contracts to R–T–P, Inc. Under these contracts the R–T–P will provide supportive services in connection with approved on-the-job training programs for highway construction trainees to be placed on federally aided state-wide Highway Construction projects.

Other contracts provisions are:

1. Recruitment of trainee candidates, especially minorities and the disadvantaged.
2. Testing, screening and selecting prospective candidates.
3. Giving pre-job orientation to candidates.
4. Provding on-going counseling to trainees.
5. Conducting special tutoring and review sessions in craft-related areas.
6. Follow-up of trainees completing the program for a period of eighteen months.

Although these contracts are quite new, we have already begun to receive favorable reports from Department of Highway Commissioners. R-T-P state coordinators responsible for executing the contracts are: Thomas Stepp, Kentucky, and John Ribot, Connecticut. Eugene Black from the Newark office is acting coordinator for the State of New Jersey.

NON-PROFIT HOUSING CONFERENCE

On September 13, 1972, Mr. Ernest Green served as guest speaker and co-chairman at the Non-Profit Housing Center's National Conference at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington, D.C. Other panelists with Mr. Green were co-chairman Burt Jackson, Director of the Housing Specialist Institute, Samuel J. Simmons, former Under Secretary of HUD and Richard J. Gruenwald, Assistant Secretary for Employment Standards, U.S. Department of Labor.

After making his opening remarks, Ernie then introduced Mr. Gruenwald to the conference participants.

The Conference is given by the Non Profit Housing Center annually for its members to gather together for an exchange of information and discussion of the housing field.

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February 1, 1973

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Emory Via,

On March 4-7, 1973, R-T-P, Inc. will hold its Fifth Annual Conference at the Marco Polo Hotel in Miami Beach, Florida. This is the second year that the conference is being held outside New York.

You probably gathered from the Conference and Post Conference Reports that the New Orleans gathering was a big success and provided a good deal of momentum for this year's conference. We hope that Miami will be a like success.

For some time now our efforts have been directed toward securing impressive participants for the panels. Because of your interest in R-T-P, Inc. and continuing support for our outreach efforts, we would like for you to share in the dialogue, and think it will be helpful in your program.

The accompanying information sheet will give you an idea of the accommodations that are available.

We look forward to having you join us.

Sincerely,

Ernest Green

Ernest Green
Executive Director

EG/rvb
Enclosures

Recruitment and Training Program

162 Fifth Avenue. New York, New York 10010 (212) 691-0660

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156 Dixwell Avenue
New Haven, Conn. 06511
ORLANDO, FLA.
310 West Church Street
Orlando, Fla. 32805
PASCAGOULA, MISS.
1615 Convent Avenue
Pascagoula, Miss. 39567
ROCHESTER, N.Y.
314 Hudson Avenue
Rochester, N.Y. 14605
WILMINGTON, N.C.
608 Red Cross Street
Wilmington, N.C. 28401
WYANDANCH, N.Y.
1319 Straight Path Road
Wyandanch, N.Y. 11798
YOUNGSTOWN, O.
1933 Hillman Street
Youngstown, Ohio 44502

The National Conference of R-T-P, Inc. will be held on March 5-7, 1973 at the:

Marco Polo Resort Hotel
192nd Street - Collins Avenue
Miami Beach, Florida 33160
(305) 959-1461

If you are interested in attending the conference, please submit to Richard J. Easton, Director of Finance, prior to February 9, 1973, $115.00 plus air fare from your point of departure (see attached list).

This $115.00 entitles you to the following:

1. Four nights stay at the hotel, March 4, 5, 6 and 7. However, you must share a room, or there is an additional cost of $11.00 per night.

2. Coffee and Danish in the morning, March 5, 6 and 7.

3. Two Luncheons - March 5 and 6.

4. Banquet - March 7.

5. Night Club Show - March 7.

Please make checks payable to R-T-P, Inc.

I look forward to enjoying the pleasure of your company at the conference.

Sincerely,

Ernest G. Green
Executive Director

State of South Carolina

Executive Department

Office of Secretary of State

Columbia, S. C., July 24, 1973

Mr. Patrick Flack

P. O. Bolt Dr.

Anderson, S.C.

Dear Sir:

I am instructed by his Excellency the Governor to inform you that your Commission as Member, S.C. Board of Department of Social Services for unexpired term enc ng May 13, 1975 (for 3rd Cong. Dist.).

will be issued on receipt of your duly executed oath, on the other side, sworn to before some officer authorized to administer obligations, which must be returned by you to the Secretary of State, and not to the Governor.

Very respectfully,

O. FRANK THORNT

Secretary o State.

July 31, 1973

Mr. Pat Flack
Recruitment and Training Program
2135 Beatties Ford Road
Charlotte, North Carolina 28216

Dear Pat:

Congratulations on your appointment to the South Carolina Board of the Department of Social Services. Great!

Thanks for keeping me informed.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV/gms

REPORT ON THE JOURNEYMAN TRAINING FEASIBILITY STUDY OF THE JOINT APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM OF THE WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE/A. PHILIP RANDOLPH EDUCATIONAL FUND

PREFACE

In March 1970, the Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense League/ A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund received a grant from the AFL-CIO Executive Council to develop a "research in action" project on journeyman programs for minority workers in the construction industry. More specifically, our mandate was to study alternative strategies for increasing the number of minority journeymen and clarify the basic issues concerning the feasibility of these various strategies.

One of the most important objectives of this project was to facilitate and improve communication between the construction industry and minority groups. We therefore, established a special committee which included representatives of building trades unions, contractor associations, minority community groups, and persons from the academic community who were knowledgeable about minority employment programs in the industry.

The committee represented a wide range of experience - including that of the unions and contractors in many areas, of the Joint Apprenticeship Program WDL-Randolph Institute, in 21 cities, of the Urban League in 35 cities, of the Mexican American Opportunity Foundation, and others. Members of this committee participated in field research activities which included visits to program sites; seminars with local labor, employer and community groups; detailed interviews with program administrators and minority protest leaders. The committee made special visits to Boston and Chicago for in-depth studies of programs in those cities.

It must be emphasized however, that this is not an exhaustive analysis of programs. While such a study would be extremely useful, the limited resources available to us would not permit us to undertake such a project. Moreover, many of these programs have not been in existence long enough to be meaningfully evaluated.

REPORT ON THE JOURNEYMAN TRAINING FEASIBILITY STUDY

This report is submitted by the Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, Feb. , 1971.

This report is necessarily an interim report. The training of minority journeymen for the building and construction trades is a complex area in which a great variety of methods and programs are now in operation. We have not been able to make a comprehensive study of all programs and their interrelationships. This report is an initial summary of our study and our recommendations, which will need to be expanded and updated as time goes on.

The committee feels that we have obtained enough insight from our study to clarify the major issues and make the following preliminary judgments. Our preliminary conclusions are based upon the following assumptions:

(1) There are non-apprenticeable routes of entry into the trades which could be made available to minority workers.

(2) It is essential that programs for minority workers do not result in the dilution of journeyman skills and union standards.

(3) It is essential that the graduates of minority training and upgrading programs should be fully qualified craftsmen with marketable skills, and not partially trained second-class mechanics.

FINDINGS

(1) Apprenticeship Outreach has been successful in increasing the number of minority youth in apprenticeship training programs. By October 1970, programs operating in over 80 cities under the

sponsorship of either the Urban League, or the Joint Apprenticeship program or the Building and Construction Trades Councils have placed 7,813 minority youths in apprenticeship programs in the building and construction trades. (See Table 1). In Chicago, during the few months of operation of the Chicago Plan, between its beginning and December, 1970, 184 minority apprentices were indentured (See Table 2). (In Chicago, apprentice outreach has been going on for several years, and has placed more than 600 minority youths as apprentices.) In Boston, outreach placed 107 minority youth as apprentices in the period between October 1968 and September 1970. (See Table 3). Thus, in spite of declining employment during 1970, outreach programs continue to recruit and indenture minority youth in substantial numbers in apprenticeship programs.

(2) It is important that the local affiliates of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department continue, in accordance with their policy adopted in October, 1969, to recruit qualified minority craftsmen who are able to work as journeymen and become full union members. Special outreach efforts to recruit minority journeymen should be initiated where they have not yet been started. While the number of fully qualified minority mechanics who are not union members is not large in most crafts and areas, there are nevertheless a group of such persons who should be encouraged to enter the unions. In Chicago, for example, 203 minorities were placed as journeymen under the Chicago Plan by December 1970. (See Table 2). In Boston 148 minorities were placed as journeymen between October, 1968 and September, 1970. (See Table 3). Implementation of journeymen outreach programs nationwide will reduce unnecessary conflict between the minority community, the contractors and the building and construction trades unions.

(3) The nature and role of training-upgrading programs for partially skilled minority workers is a complex area which involves a variety of experimental programs. We have not, in the limited time alloted to us, been able to make a comprehensive study of all these activities and their interrelationships. However, we did study the training-upgrading programs now starting to operate in Boston and Chicago. In both these cities and others as well minority workers are being trained to be journeymen in special programs. In Chicago 192 minorities were placed in upgrading-training programs by December 1970 (See Table 2), in Boston 44 persons were placed in upgrading-training programs by September, 1970 (See Table 3). These programs are at a beginning stage and full evaluation of them will require additional research.

(4) In many areas, including the cities of Boston and Chicago which we visited, minority staff involved in recruiting, tutoring, counseling and motivating minority workers have made a significant contribution to the success of these programs.

(5) However the limited experience of these programs suggests to us that minority workers who possess some but not all of the skills of a journeyman should be given upgrading-training subject to two principles:

(a) That the apprenticeship programs are not undermined.

(b) That the minority worker is provided skills that will make him a full journeyman with union membership.

(6) Journeyman upgrading-training for minority workers should include:

(a) On-the-job training.

(b) Related instruction off the job site.

(c) Wages commensurate with the productivity of the worker as compared to a full journeyman.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Apprenticeship outreach programs should be continued and expanded.

2. Journeymen outreach programs should be established as soon as possible. Existing Apprenticeship Outreach Programs should provide the mechanism for successful journeyman outreach programs.

3. Upgrading-training for partially qualified minority mechanics should be developed in ways consistent with the practices and requirements of each craft. Also, there should be further study as to the most effective ways by which upgrading-training programs can be developed.

4. It is essential that the communities along with the contractors and the building and construction trades unions participate in the implementation of these programs for the following reasons:

(a) There will be less hostility among the parties in accomodating their legitimate interests.

(b) There will be greater chance for success in overcoming certain conflicts that emerge from these interests.

(c) Programs become stronger and more workable since communication is enhanced and mutual respect is developed through such participation.

NOTE:

We would like to stress that this Committee was composed of the representatives of many diverse groups (see the attached list),

including the building and construction trades unions of the AFL-CIO, Contractors Association, Civil Rights groups, minority contractors and several universities. That such diverse groups was able to meet periodicly, exchange views and come to some common areas of agreement is of some very real importance. Each of our organizations benefited from the exchange of ideas and information, and from the research which we jointly conducted.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS A VITAL FACTOR:

To the degree that there is scarcity in the economy, to that same degree social changes becomes difficult. To the degree that there is abundance in the economy, to that same degree social change becomes increasingly possible. Therefore; if there is, in the near future, a recovery from the present recession in the construction industry, we can expect a more rapid and complete implementation of our mutual aims.

Submitted by Bayard Rustin and
Donald Slaiman,
Co-Chairman for the
Committee.

APPENDIX A

COMMITTEE FOR THE JOURNEYMAN FEASIBILITY STUDY

Mr. Peter J. Brennan, President
New York State Building Trades Council

Mr. James F. Lally, President
Pittsburgh Building Trades Council

Mr. Marcis Loftis
Assistant to the President
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

Mr. John H. Lyons, President
International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers

Mr. John W. Hardesty
General Organizer, Iron Workers

Mr. William J. McSorley
Assistant to the President
Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO

Mr. Thomas J. Murray, President
Chicago and Cook County Building Trades Council

Mr. Michael Dismond
Executive Director
Bidwell Cultural and Training Center

Mr. Philip S. Lyon, President
National Construction Association and President and Chairman of the Board
K. F. Pritchard Company

Mr. Frederick O'Neal
Executive Vice-President
AFL-CIO

Mr. Fred Ramsey, Secretary
Boston Building Trades Council

Mr. William Sidell
First General Vice President
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

Mr. Donald Slaiman, Director
Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO

Mr. J. C. Turner, Vice President
International Union of Operating Engineers

Mr. Martin J. Ward
Assistant General President
United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry

Mr. Robert M. McGlotten
Executive Director
Human Resources Development Institute
AFL-CIO

Professor John T. Dunlop
Academic Dean
Harvard University

Mr. Leo A. Garcia, Director
Mexican-American Opportunity Foundation
Youth Apprenticeship Program

Mr. Manuel Diaz
New York Urban Coalition

Professor Ray Marshall, Chairman
Department of Economics
University of Texas

Mr. David Reed
Administrative Committee of the
Chicago Plan

Mr. Robert J. McConnon, Director
Office of National Projects
U. S. Department of Labor

Mr. Charles Scholibo, Director
Labor Relations
National Electrical Contractors
Association

Dr. Vivian Henderson, President
Clark College

Mr. Napoleon B. Johnson, II, Director
Labor Education Advancement Program
National Urban League

Dr. Daniel Quinn Mills
Assistant Professor
Sloan School of Management
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

Mr. Joseph R. LaRocca
Executive Vice President
National Erectors Association

Mr. Ray Dones, President
National Association of Minority Contractors

TABLE 1

APPRENTICESHIP OUTREACH PROGRAMS

Cumulative thru October, 1970

SPONSOR	INDENTURES VOL	DROPPED DIS	INDENTURED	ASBESTOS WORKERS	BRICKLAYERS	CARPENTERS	CEMENT MASONS	ELECTRICIANS	ELEV. CONST.	GLAZIERS	IRON WORKERS	LATHERS	MACHINISTS	OPER. ENG.	PAINTERS	PIPE TRADES	PLASTERERS	ROOFERS	SHEET METAL	TILE SETTERS	MISCELLANEOUS TRADES	CUMULATIVE TOTAL
SUMMATION OF ALL PROGRAMS																						
URBAN LEAGUE	406	104		25	245	597	150	307	27	37	168	43	30	243	274	240	37	202	139	7	85	2863
WOMEN'S DEFENSE LEAGUE	240	62		23	72	335	84	319	80	51	100	20	47	49	277	280	58	92	190	4	140	2222
BUILDING TRADES COUNCILS	273	96		13	98	683	130	174	36	26	200	35	10	100	150	165	35	196	168	32	77	2335
OTHERS	88	44		10	40	168	57	78	28	13	50	13	78	70	53	97	7	35	68	1	70	936
TOTAL	1013	306		71	455	1783	421	878	171	127	524	111	171	462	754	788	137	521	565	45	372	8356

The detailed breakdown by craft and job category of workers placed through the Chicago Plan as of December 14, 1970, is presented in the table below:

TABLE 2

Craft	Trainees	Apprentices	Journeymen
Operating Engineers	120	67	4
Painters	0	0	5
Cement Masons	9	0	2
Plumbers	0	0	77
Glaziers	0	4	8
Sheet Metal	0	0	7
Carpenters	8	88	15
Ironworkers	1	0	2
Asbestos Workers	20	0	8
Electricians	0	25	62
Bricklayers	0	0	3
Pipefitters - Welders	34	0	6
Plasterers	0	0	1
Roofers	0	0	3
TOTAL	192	184	203

In addition, the plumbers, glaziers, electricians and cement masons have agreed to take the following number of trainees. Plumbers 25; glaziers 5; electricians 25; and cement masons 25.

TABLE 3

BOSTON

TRADES	APPREN.	DROP OUTS	TRAINEES	DROP OUTS	JOURNEY.	DROP OUTS	TOTALS
ASBESTOS WORKERS	3	2	0		0		1
BRICKLAYERS	3	1	3	0	11	0	16
CARPENTERS	27	3	22	3	74	0	117
CEMENT MASONS	4	1	0		2	0	5
ELECTRICIANS	18	1	10	0	4	0	31
GLAZIERS	2	1	1	0	1	0	3
IRON WORKERS	4	0	3	0	28	0	35
LATHERS	0		0		0		0
OPERATING ENGINEERS	7	0	1	0	8	0	16
PAINTERS	9	0	1	0	0		10
PIPE TRADES	17	0	1	0	13	0	31
PLASTERERS	0		0		2	0	2
ROOFERS	5	1	0		0		4
SHEET METAL	5	0	1	0	1	0	7
TILE SETTERS	1	0	0		2	0	3
SPRINKLER FITTERS	1	1	0		2	0	2
SURVEYORS	0		1	0			1
ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS	1		0		0		1
MISCELLANEOUS							
TOTALS	107	11	44	3	146		285

COMMENTS: CHART REPRESENTS TOTAL FROM OCT. 1968 – SEPT. 1970

RTP INC.

RECRUITMENT and TRAINING PROGRAM

OFFICERS & BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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ROWLAND WATTS — Vice Chairman
EDWARD GONZALEZ, JR. — Secretary
RICHARD RAVITCH — Treasurer
JOHN SOMERS — Counsel
BERNARD J. ENGLANDER,
DOROTHY I. HEIGHT,
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

National Office:

162 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010
PHONE: 691-0660 (212)

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William M. Ross, *Deputy Executive Director*
Donald L. Roffle, *Director of Operations*
Frank Williams, Jr., *Director of Finance*

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New Haven, Connecticut 06511

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Evansville, Indiana 47713

KENTUCKY
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Lexington, Kentucky 40503

MASSACHUSETTS
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Boston, Massachusetts 02121

MISSISSIPPI
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Pascagoula, Mississippi 39567

NEW JERSEY
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Newark, New Jersey 07103

NEW YORK
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Bronx, New York 10459

1315 Fulton Street
Brooklyn, New York 11216

490 William Street
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316 Hudson Avenue
Rochester, New York 14605

1319 Straight Path Road
Wyandanch, New York 11798

127-03 111th. Ave.
Richmond Hill, N.Y. 11429

NORTH CAROLINA
2135 Beatties Ford Road
Charlotte, No. Carolina 28216

501 Umstead Street
Durham, No. Carolina 27707

610½ Gorrell Street
Greensboro, No. Carolina 27406

608 Red Cross Street
Wilmington, No. Carolina 28401

OHIO
10616 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Construction Equal Employment Program
1846 W. 25th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44113

1933 Hillman Street
Youngstown, Ohio 44502

RHODE ISLAND
200 Cranston Street
Providence, Rhode Island 02007

TENNESSEE
1033B Jefferson Street
Nashville, Tennessee 37208

TEXAS
Minority Women Employment Program
2626 Calumet Drive
Houston, Texas 77004

75M/9/73

File

RTP INC. Recruitment and Training Program

WHAT R-T-P IS

R-T-P, Inc., Recruitment and Training Program, is the pioneer organization of the apprenticeship outreach movement in the United States. It is a non-profit corporation engaged in assisting minorities to gain entry into the skilled crafts within the building and construction trades unions.

HOW IT ALL CAME ABOUT

In 1963 the Workers Defense League, a human rights organization founded in the 30's, responded to civil rights groups picketing construction sites in Harlem, lower Manhattan, Brooklyn and Queens by surveying employment opportunities in the construction industry for Black and Puerto Ricans in New York. WDL soon discovered that minorities never had access to apprenticeship information and had never been recruited. Traditionally, employment opportunities were communicated by word-of-mouth within ethnic groups and through nepotism, closed systems that necessarily excluded non-whites. Using its resources and staff, WDL embarked upon an exhaustive trek to uncover information on training opportunities. This search resulted in a handbook, *Apprenticeship Training in New York,* a guide which was circulated among civil rights organizations, community groups, vocational guidance counselors, and other agencies directly or indirectly involved with minority youth.

THE OUTREACH CONCEPT

Though this handbook represented an informational milestone, it soon became apparent that information alone was insufficient. Announcements of craft openings sent to community groups failed to attract minorities.

Something else was needed.

The outreach concept is based on the assumption that recruitment machinery should be easily accessible to the minority population or in the heart of areas where minorities reside. Further, the staff people heading the recruitment effort should be like the target population, people who know and understand the language, nuances, and consequences of the minority experience. Thus, "reaching out" to the people became a revolutionary concept applied to the construction industry by WDL that has since been applied to non-construction situations.

In 1964, with a $34,000 grant from the Taconic Foundation, WDL opened the first field office in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn. Two years later, in 1966, the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund joined WDL as a co-sponsor and the organization was named the Joint Apprenticeship Program (JAP). In 1967, JAP received its first contract award from the U.S. Department of Labor to maintain its operation and to expand in other cities. The Department of Labor is still the primary funding source. In April 1972, JAP became R-T-P, Inc., Recruitment and Training Program, a separate legal entity.

WHAT R-T-P DOES

With the cooperation and endorsement of local building trades councils and contractors associations, R-T-P, Inc. utilizes local employment agencies, minority community groups, community and youth organizations, churches, public school vocational counselors, and the media to:

RECRUIT minorities, 18-26, with extensions for military service for present and prospective openings in certified apprenticeship training programs. R-T-P directs most of its energy to placement in the high-paying mechanical trades, (e.g., sheet metal, pipefiitters, electricians, iron workers, plumbers, operating engineers). Although greater emphasis is placed on these mechanical trades, opportunities are also available for the general and trowel trades like carpentry and bricklaying. Most trades require a high school diploma or equivalency. Some, however, require less than completion of high school.

ASSIST recruits in completing *the application process.* This includes securing important documents like high school transcripts, giving loans for application fees, carfare or transportation, medical examination.

PROVIDE *supportive services* to prospective apprentices, by counseling them on both the positive and negative aspects of the construction industry, and the availability of apprenticeship opportunities, by tutoring them for examinations which cover mechanical reasoning, spatial relations, mathematical computation, problem-solving, and verbal comprehension; coaching the applicants for union interviews through the use of simulated dry-run situations, and providing follow-up services on applicants on and off the job through contact with the individual, written correspondence, and job-site information checks.

Today the R-T-P structure and approach through which more than 6500 Blacks and other minorities have been placed in the building trades apprenticeship programs, stands as a prototype for other apprenticeship outreach programs throughout the nation.

JOURNEYMAN OUTREACH

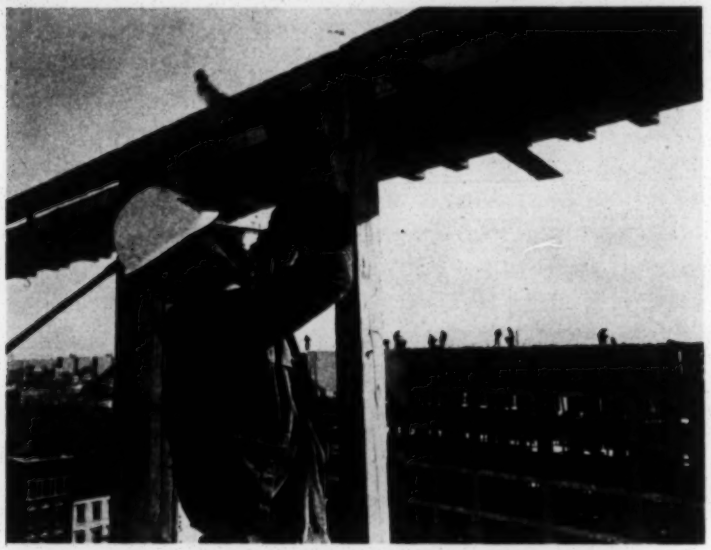
In 1971, R-T-P, Inc. was awarded an extended Department of Labor contract to recruit minority journeymen for the skilled craft unions. This journeyman component permits applicants with limited or extensive experience to have normal age or education requirements waived.

Reaching out for non-white trainees and journeymen has also been facilitated by contracts with the Cleveland Equal Employment Opportunity Plan and the New York State Urban Development Corporation.

THE TRAINING INSTITUTE

R-T-P, Inc. is the only apprenticeship outreach program that maintains a training program for its own staff as well as personnel from other outreach programs. Staff and personnel from governmental agencies working closely with outreach programs are also able to take advantage of this training opportunity. During these week long sessions, the "nuts and bolts"

tasks of initiating, operating, and developing outreach projects are taught, as well as the AOP's relationship to other programs. Participants also learn about the legislation which supports their affirmative action efforts.



THE OUTREACH CONCEPT EXTENDED

Utilizing the sound outreach techniques — recruitment, counseling, supportive services, tutoring, placement, follow-up — developed through years of working to get minority males into the building trades unions, R-T-P, Inc., has successfully applied these techniques to other employment areas:

CORPORATIONS: Minority placements have been made in large corporations — Eastman Kodak, Xerox, Exxon, Burroughs — to name a few.

CIVIL SERVICE: R-T-P is assisting the National Association of Firefighters in recruiting and tutoring prospective minority firemen in 12 cities.

ROAD BUILDING: Through supportive services contracts with the Department of Transportation in Connecticut, Kentucky and New York, R-T-P has applied the outreach concept to road building.

SHIP BUILDING: The outreach office in Pascagoula, Mississippi is working with minority males as well as Black and white females to place them in skilled craft training in the Litton shipyards.

R-T-P, Inc. is also beginning to address itself to the problems that minority females have in seeking certain kinds of jobs. Based on the experience gained from working closely with the pilot Black Women Employment Program in Atlanta, Georgia, R-T-P opened the Minority Women Employment Program in Houston, Texas this year. This program recruits Black and Chicano college trained women and finds professional, managerial and technical jobs to match their capabilities in both the public and private sector.

PUBLICATIONS

To supplement its supportive services program R-T-P issues several publications. Among those currently available for nominal costs are:

Mathematics for Apprenticeship and General Aptitude Test Battery by Dr. Dennis Derryck, *Black Craftsmen Through History* by Robin Myers, *The Minority Experience in Construction* by Eddie Johnson and the new *Construction Apprenticeship Handbook*. *"Breakthrough"*, the Corporation's quarterly newsletter, serves as a vital communications link between the organization and the public.

COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

Realizing that the Corporation is in the human relations business as well as the recruiting business, staff members on both local and national levels are involved in community affairs. These activities are designed to help people and organizations in cities served by R-T-P and to call attention to the work and mission of R-T-P. In Rochester, for example, R-T-P staff people were instrumental in preparing the training component of the Northeast District Council's Housing Proposal. The proposal, which provides for new housing for Rochester's 7th Ward, is an answer to the housing shortage in the area as well as its environmental upgrading. In Youngstown, the staff conducted a city-wide kidney fund campaign for pipefitter applicant, John Fitzgerald that yielded $10,000. John, whose brother donated a kidney, underwent a successful transplant operation.

On the national level R-T-P brings its work to the attention of the general public through the sponsorship of several community affairs activities which have included: an exhibition of fine African Art from the collection of Bayard Rustin; "Mother and Child" an art exhibition showcasing ten Black artists; and the co-sponsorship of the Fourth Annual Westside Folk Festival chaired by Rev. F. D. Kirkpatrick an aide de camp of the late Martin Luther King, Jr. Noted folk singer Pete Seeger also took part in the Festival.

E.V.a. corp

May, 1966
Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta, Inc., 5 Forsyth St., N.W. 30303

Joint Apprenticeship Committees of Metropolitan Atlanta Area, approved by Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor.

Atlanta Electrical Joint Apprenticeship & Training Committee 872-6146 *	Mr. Walter Griffin, Training Director Rm. 137-795 Peachtree St.,Atlanta, Ga.30308
Atlanta Painters JAC 373-1463 *	Mr. J.J. Webb, Coordinator 263 Casson St., Atlanta, Ga.
Atlanta Ironworkers JATC 524-1223*	Mr. Benjamin Lowry, Coordinator 1014 Edgewood Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 3030
Atlanta Bricklayers JATC 522-2736 *	Mr. Elmer Holden, Chairman 121 Memorial Dr., S.W., College Park, Ga.
Central Georgia Sheet Metal JAC 873-3706 *	Mrs. Ruth Stanley, Office Secretary 250 Tenth St., N.E. Atlanta, Ga.
Atlanta Carpenters JAC 522-3648*	Mr. Charles Ingraham, Chairman c/o Flagler Co, N.E. Atlanta, Ga. 522-3648
Atlanta Plumbing & Pipefitting JAC 873-1793 *	Mr. Curtis F. Greene, Training Director Suite 200, Mechanical Institute Bldg. 742 Ponce de Leon Place, Atlanta, Ga.
Atlanta Roofers JAC 577-3535*	Mr. Harold Gray, Chairman 45 Third St., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia
Atlanta Printers JAC 873-1805*	Mr. William Baker Printing Industry of Atlanta 881 Piedmont Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Capitol City Machine Shop 522-7739*	Mr. W.H. Strickland Capitol City Machine Co. 301 Pryor St., S.W., Atlanta, Georgia
Atlanta Plasters & Cement Masons JAC 525-1233*	Mr. Edward C. Couch 60 Haynes St., Atlanta, Georgia
Atlanta Lathers JAC 636-0202*	Mr. H.N. Bowen 158½ Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
National Biscuit Company 758-7461*	Mr. Lonnie Johnson, Chairman National Biscuit Co., 706 E. Hardin Ave. College Park, Georgia
Lockheed-Georgia Company	Mr. H.H. Mann, Mr. Jack Powell or Mr. Bennet Norris Apprenticeship Training Coordinator Lockheed-Georgia Co., Dept. 89-01 Marietta, Georgia

(Note: Telephone *)

Compile

ATLANTA ELECTRICAL JOINT APPRENTICESHIP & TRAINING COMMITTEE JAN-MAY, 1966
Mr. Walter Griffin, Training Director (872-6146)
Rm. 137, 795 Peachtree St., Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Class of approximately 25 begins each July. Applications are taken all year round, but application must be made by April 30 in order to get in class. Information and application forms are available at the Training Director's office. Applicant must be between 18 and 24 years of age (may be as old as 28 if he's been in military service), present a birth certificate, a copy of high school record proving he has a high school education, or have taken and passed a G.E.D. test. Applicants must take an aptitude test at the Georgia State Employment Office and be interviewed by the JAT Committee.The Committee sends recruiting leaflets or information to the State School Superintendant, to the Labor Journal and to the local newspapers. The Committee is made up of 3 labor representatives and 3 management representatives.

ATLANTA IRONWORKERS JATC
Mr. Benjamin Lowry, Coordinator (524-1223)
1014 Edgewood Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30307

Classes begin when there is a need for ironworkers and whenever various complex and complicated circumstances warrant, so the coordinator said. Anyway, there is no definite starting time and he put the Council on his mailing list to be notified of times to make applications. They have not needed to advertise in order to fill the training classes up to now, but for the next class they plan to send out information to the city vocational schools and high schools and to the Georgia State Employment Office. Applicants must be between the ages of 18 and 30, have a high school education, take an aptitude test and be personally interviewed.

ATLANTA PAINTERS JAC
Mr. J.J. Webb, Coordinator (373-1463)
263 Casson St., Atlanta, Georgia

They train people as they qualify, no definite number of people in a class, applications taken anytime. Applicants must be between 18 and 24 years of age, have a high school education or equivalent, be in good health. Each applicant is interviewed by the board of the JAC, which is made up of 3 labor and 3 management representatives. They plan to send out notices to schools superintendents, etc., since they do need trainees. Information and application forms may be obtained from the coordinator.

ATLANTA BRICKLAYERS JATC
Mr. Elmer Holden, Chairman (522-2736)
121 Memorial Dr., S.W., Atlanta, Georgia

A new training program begins every 3 months. In order to get in the April program, applications must be in by March 15. To get information or to make application, a person should go to the office on Memorial Dr., (2 block behind Capitol)or to the State Labor Building on Trinity Ave.. Applicants must be between 17 and 24 years of age. There are no educational requirements to be met. They have not done any advertising or active recruiting in the past. Their board also has 3 labor and 3 management representatives.

ATLANTA GEORGIA SHEET METAL JAC

Mrs. Ruth Stanley, Office Secretary (873-3706)
250 Tenth St., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30309

The training program runs with the public school year. Applications are taken in June, July and August for the class which begins in September, the first Tuesday after Labor Day. Applicants must be between 18 and 26 years of age, have a high school education, pass a math test and an apptitude test (Georgia State Employment Office). They are interviewed by the committee, which is made up of 3 labor and 3 management representatives. Recruiting has been done by sending notices of beginning classes to State School Supt., and to the Journal of Labor.

ATLANTA PLUMBING & PIPEFITTING JAC

Mr. Curtis F. Green, Training Director
Suite 200, Mechanical Institute Bldg.
742 Ponce de Leon Place, Atlanta, Georgia

There are two training classes beginning each year, corresponding to semesters in public school, i.e.g., in January applications are taken for the class which will begin in February and in the summer applications are taken for the class which will begin in September. It is a 5-year course with the trainee working on the job during the day at union wages and going to school at night. Applications are made only through the Georgia State Employment Office where a general aptitude test is given. Applicants must be between the ages of 18 and 25, pass the tests given at the Georgia State Employment Office, pass math test at the JAC office, be a high school graduate, and be personally interviewed by the committee. The Committee is made up of 4 labor and 4 management representatives. No advertising.

ATLANTA CARPENTERS JAC

Mr. Charles Ingraham, Chairman (522-3648)
c/o Flager Company
305 Techwood Dr., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia

Applications maybe made at any time at the local Carpenters Union (250 Tenth St., N.E.). Applicants must be between the ages of 18 and 24 unless a veteran, in which case older people may apply. A high school education or equivalent is required and the applicant must pass an aptitude test at the Georgia State Employment Office. The training program is continous with trainees being taken at any time they qualify. It is a 4-year program consisting of on the job training during the day and classes at night two nights a week. The Apprenticeship Committee is made up of three union members and three management members who screen the applicants when they meet once a month. They have not sent out announcements on the training program in the past.

ATLANTA PRINTERS JAC

Mr. William Baker, Chairman (873-1805)
Printing Industry of Atlanta (this is a Trade Assn.)
881 Piedmont Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia

There are actually two apprenticeship committees set up - one is for Pressman, and one is for Compositors. The training programs last from 4 to 7 years on-the-job training, depending upon the job you want. A high school education or

Address

equivalent is necessary and the applicant should be between 19 and 25 year of ages. The first step is to go to the Printing Industry Office on Piedmont and fill out an application blank and talk to the Chairman to get an over-all picture of the printing industry. Then make an application with a printing company. After you have the job, so to speak, you must go over to the Georgia State Employment Office to take an aptitude test. If you qualify, then you are screened by the apprenticeship committee. The Chairman says they need more workers but that they make no announcements of training programs and do no advertising except to go to high schools on "Vocational Day"and talk about printing to interested students.

CAPITOL CITY MACHINE SHOP

Mr. W.H. Strickland, Capitol City Machine Shop
301 Pryor St., S.W., Atlanta, Georgia (522-7739)

Staff or U.S. Department of Labor? Free or not? Program

The Capitol City Machine Shop is a private industry and they run their training program to train their own employees. They are independent of the union and of the Dept., of Labor too, but they are registered with the latter. They require a high school education and the applicant must apply at the shop. The training consists of working 4 years under a journeyman. Mr. Strickland says recruiting is no problem; they always have boys wandering in who want to work.

ATLANTA LATHERS JAC

Mr. H.N. Bowen, Instructor of the Training Program (home-636-0202)
Mr. Alexander Jackson, Bus.Mgr., for the Union (525-4478)
158½ Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia

Applicants must have an eighth grade education, pass an aptitude test, be between 18 and 24 years of age. They apply at 158½ Auburn Ave., on Monday and Wednesday nights at 6:30. The apprentice goes to school two nights a week and works three years on the job under a journeyman. They take apprentices as they need them, always keeping the ratio of one apprentice to 5 journeyman. They have been integrated for years and have about the same number of Negro and white workers. When I asked whether they would accept a woman, Mr. Jackson said they did not want to discriminate, but he did not really think its suitable work for a woman. He likened it to a man applying for a bunny's job at the Playboy Club!

Why have not had for other

NATIONAL BISCUIT COMPANY

Mr. Vinson, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Turner, National Biscuit Company (758-7461)
Mfg. Plant, 1400 Murphy Ave., S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

This also is a private industry program training apprentices to work in its own machine shop. Applicants should have a high school diploma and/or some training in high school or vocaional school or some work experience. They should be between 18 and 30 years of age although exceptions are made in some cases. Applicants are first hired by the company and then apprentices are screened by the committee. It is a 4 year on the job training program with school two nights a week. The recruits come through the union or word of mouth. To Mr. Turner's knowledge no Negroes have ever applied.

Why not compared up for other

LOCKHEED-GEORGIA COMPANY

Mr. H.H. Mann, Apprentice Training Coordinator
Lockheed-Georgia Co., Dept., 89-01 (424-2782)
Marietta, Georgia

Lockheed always has more than enough applicants for their apprentice programs (in March they started two classes, 30 apprentices altogether, and there were 640 applications). They do not have regular classes beginning at certain times, but they train in groups. About 2/3 of the apprentices are from the Lockheed plant and the other 1/3 have been recruited through their advertising in the newpapers. Applicants must be between the ages of 18 and 26 and have a high school diploma. They must pass a rigid test battery, and a strong background in math is essential. They are interviewed by a sub-committee and then screened further by the full committee. They are integrated but Mr. Mann thinks the heavy math requirements are responsible for having so few Negroes. The 3-year apprentice program is divided into 12-week periods (9-week job assignments and 3-week class instruction). During the last of the training program tests are given to channel some people into management.

ATLANTA ROOFERS JAC (688-2543)

Mr. Larry Shields
208 Red Rock Bldg., Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Larry Shields, Executive Secretary, Master Roofing and Sheet Metal Contractors of America Inc., says top pay for a journeyman is $2.85 an hour. Common laborers in Atlanta get $2.40("why should anyone want to be an apprentice and go to school for 2 years to get $2.85?") Unions can't pay more - the government and Contractors restrict the union wages. Roofing is hard work and un-glamorous, to say the least. 25% of the work force on a job have to be replaced each week because they don't really want more than a temporary pay period. They recruit at the city jail, Decatur St., triangle, union mission, etc.,

Last March, the Sheet Metal workers roofers,carpenters, construction etc., set up a "Construction Career Day" at Georgia Tech for high school seniors in Atlanta, spent much money and time on publicity program, etc.. 45 people showed up, mostly girls interested in secretarial positions.

Apprenticeship

Southern Regional Office

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

LABOR
EDUCATION
ADVANCEMENT
PROGRAM

BEN LEWIS

February 2, 1967

Dear Emory:

Again you are out of town - why not stay with us some time as we continue to need all that you provide.

Seriously, I called the First Federal Building and we are too late to get any room except Room "E" and after "Al" mentioned it was not good, I had to revamp my thinking for the meeting of 2/16/67.

Would it be possible for us to have it in the Conference room of the Southern Regional Council?????

It must be as I sent the invitation out indicating same.

I have some good news.....one of the youngsters I sent to apply for the Sheet Metal Apprenticeship program has been accepted and will begin his training Monday, 2/6/67. How about that??

See you soon.

B.L.

Jane: rate for us to be prepared for this meeting - chairs, pads, where to order lunch, drinks, etc. 12 - 2:30

25

Proposed Agenda for Atlanta Agency Meeting
on
Discrimination in Employment and Training

Thursday
February 16, 1967

I. Introductions

II. Brief explanation of meeting

III. Acceptance of remainder of agenda.

IV. Introduction to draft of working apaper on a proposal for ending discrimination in apprenticeship programs in the Atlanta Metropolitan area.

V. Consideration of the working paper.

   A. Additional statistical information

   B. Section by section consideration.

VI. Discussion of possibility of an agreement for common action.

VII. Next steps.

VIII. Time for next meeting

IX. Adjournment.

EV

The Wall Street Journal
Thurs. Mar. 30, 67
p 5

Labor Agency Raps 500 Apprenticeship Programs on Their Alleged Discrimination

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—The Labor Department has threatened disciplinary action against some 500 union-employer-run apprenticeship programs for assertedly failing to comply with nondiscrimination regulations.

The action was disclosed in a memorandum from Assistant Labor Secretary Stanley Ruttenberg to Hugh Murphy, head of the Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. Mr. Ruttenberg said programs that hadn't shown progress in filing proof of nondiscrimination in line with 1964 regulations should be decertified; that is, Federal sanction of the union-employer programs as meeting certain minimum standards would be removed.

As a result of the Ruttenberg order, letters were sent early this month to some 500 apprenticeship programs in 21 states warning them they were expected to comply by April 10; some 1,700 such programs in these states are registered with the bureau. Among programs specifically criticized were those involving the plumber's union and the typographical union. Plumber's union president Peter Schoemann told his local unions involved in the Rutteberg order to disregard the compliance command until they checked with him; Mr. Schoemann denied his union was discriminating.

The bureau of apprenticeship and training has jurisdiction over programs in 21 states that don't have their own apprenticeship councils. By meeting certain minimum standards, union-employer-run apprenticeship programs can register with, and be recognized by, the bureau. The procedure is entirely voluntary and several large apprenticeship programs don't register with the bureau.

The recognition accorded the programs permits the hiring of apprentices on Federal construction jobs at less than journeyman rates.

If an apprenticeship program still doesn't choose to comply with the nondiscrimination regulations, there is little the bureau can do beyond removing the program's badge of respectibility. However, other Federal agencies might step in with disciplinary action on the ground the program is violating Federal civil-rights law.

The Government doesn't directly finance apprenticeship programs, but various types of manpower-training funds can be funneled through them. To qualify for these funds, the programs have to meet nondiscrimination tests.

The Ruttenberg order was viewed in some quarters as a move to force the bureau to move more aggressively in seeking compliance on nondiscrimination regulations. The bureau has been criticized in some union and Government circles as lacking sufficient zeal when it comes to helping eliminate discrimination in union programs.

PACT

Minutes of the P.A.CCT.TMeeting
April 27, 1967

The meeting was opened by Emory Via who served as chairman in the absence of Ben Lewis. Dr. Brantley of Clark College was introduced as was Mr. Richard Prim who substituted for Mr. Linwood Whitlaw.

The purposes of P.A.C.T. were briefly reviewed. These included a summary of the information gathered to date, the focus on apprentice programs in the building trades for the present, and a concern for the eventual ending of discrimination in all skilled training and employment.

Mr. Ben Brown was welcomed again as a new staff person with the Atlanta Urban League working with their LEAP project. Mr. Brown reviewed some of his activities since the last meeting that related to the group's interests. He had met with Dr. Standridge and felt that the meeting was a good beginning. He was sorry not to have had questions and suggestions from other PACT members to take to Standridge. It was suggested that Standridge might be invited to a subsequent PACT meeting. Also Mr. Lockhart might be an alternate visitor.

Brown also talked with Mr. Butler, President of the Atlanta Labor Council. Butler was interested in our project and expressed willingness to cooperate in work with unions regarding the employment of Negroes.

Contact had been made by Brown with the American Can Co. There will be some possibility of work there even though their skilled programs are not apprentice programs.

Brown also visited with some high school counselors regarding skill training opportunities for high school graduates. He reported that the Urban League office now has 200 cards of young men interested in skilled training.

Seven students from several of the schools were scheduled to take the Employment Service test to qualify for apprentice programs the next day (Friday, April 28). They are hoping to qualify for the electricians apprentice program. It was recognized that though the time was short and the students were taking the test with less preparation than would be desirable, that it was good to move ahead in order to be prepared for the cut off date for the cut off date for the electrician's program. Dr. Brantley suggested that some follow-up be conducted to determine where the students felt they had difficulty or strengths in the testing procedure. Mr. Brown will consult with Dr. Brantley on such a follow-up procedure.

It was suggested that further since the chances of failure on the part of these first seven might be high, that Mr. Brown and PACT be prepared to consult further with the young men to keep morale high and to provide them with an opportunity to prepare for

the next opening.

It was suggested that Mr. Via follow up with Earnest Greene of the Workers Defense League apprentice program in New York about using Greene and Dennis Derrick for consultation with PACT, and other agencies interested in problems of recruitment and training. Mr. Brown sais that he would like to cooperate in coordinating such an undertaking.

Comments were made about the role of unions, management and government in employment discrimination. Miss Cooper thought it would be wise to determine if students at Southern Technical Institute would be interested in further skilled training. It was agreed that their status--whether they should consider apprentice programs, skilled employment, or other training--should be investigated.

Dr. Brantley told the group that the University of Georgia is engaged in a project to identify students for vocational and skilled training. Their Project FAIT has published a directory which should be of great interest to Pact.

Dr. Brantley observed, with general agreement, that the counselors themselves needed assistance in knowing about skilled traing opportunities and as to when to recommend such training to their students.

The time for the next meeting was set for May 11, 12:00, Urban League Office, 4th Floor, 78 Marietta St., N.W.

PACT members + addresses

Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
SRC
5 Forsyth St.

Ben Brown
Richard Lylee
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue

Richard Primm
Harold Kramer
EEOC
1776 Peachtree St., N.E

Eliza Paschall, Director
Atlanta Commission on Community Relations
City Hall

Robert Bennett
Labesar's International Union
Local 438
1004 Edgewood N.E.

E.T. Kehrer
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Depart.
Southern Office
40 Marietta St., N.W.

Al Henry
Ga. Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie St., N.E.

B.R. Brazeal
Morehouse
223 Chestnut St.,SW

Fred Bennett
Breadbasket
SCLC
334 Auburn Ave.

Dr. Brantley
Clark College
240 Chestnut St.

Eunice Cooper
N.A.A.C.P.
Southeastern Region
859½ Hunter Street

Noyes Collinson
American Friends Service
Committee
41 Exchange Place.

All addresses are in Atlanta, Georgia.

Southern Regional Office
78 Marietta St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LABOR
EDUCATION
ADVANCEMENT
PROGRAM

BEN LEWIS

May 5, 1967

Dr. Emory Via

FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

PACT

Dr. Via

Negro and unions can't close gap

By SAMUEL SHARKEY JR.
Star-Ledger Washington Bureau

SUNDAY STAR-LEDGER, April 23, 1967

Of the AFL-CIO's 13.5 million members in 129 unions, 1 million to 1.5 million are Negroes. Yet only three AFL-CIO unions (with 20,000 members) have Negroes as presidents, and only one Negro sits on labor's top governing body, the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Sixteen international unions and more than 150 locals still are not desegregated despite all-out efforts from AFL-CIO President George Meany on down.

As of last week, 1,333 charges of discrimination by

Sharkey

trade unions had been filed with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

At least 128 union locals still are balking at complying with federal anti-bias rules on apprenticeship.

Seniority rules, parallel white and Negro promotion lines, and dual black and white locals still form effective barricades against trade union integration.

Although many Negroes hold subordinate offices in unions, few stand an early chance of being elected to a presidency.

This situation exists despite years of pledges, speeches, statements and resolutions from all levels of the AFL-CIO on ending union discrimination.

* * *

The rate of progress is [illegible] Even the most optimis- [illegible] labor leaders concede it will be years before their ringing promises of full racial equality in unions will be close to realization.

Part of the problem is that nobody really knows exactly how many Negroes are members of unions. Top AFL-CIO officials estimate the figure is about 1.5 million. They admit, however, it could well be as low as 1 million.

Some unions refuse to classify their members by color, saying this is a racist action.

Others do keep numerical lists in the belief that the best way to measure progress is to count their minority members periodically.

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz took that position last fall in reversing a long-standing Labor Department policy of not keeping statistics by race.

Wirtz is undeterred by charges of racism by civil rights groups, so the federal government is beginning to improve its understanding of just how extensive the plight of Negro workers really is in relation to trade unions.

* * *

New government information shows many Negores are affected not merely by discrimination in hiring, apprenticeship entry, promotions and seniority, but more importantly by fear of those barriers, which are often thrown up by unions themselves.

The result is a running contradiction between officially stated AFL-CIO high purposes and bias in lower level implementation of those promises.

William F. Schnitzler, AFL-CIO secretary treasurer and chairman of its civil rights department, and Don Slaiman, director of the department, are optimistic on the future but candid on current shortcomings.

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In interviews, both pointed to progress, particularly in reducing the number of dual black and white locals. But both agreed serious problems remained in union barriers in hiring, apprenticeship entry and promotion.

The variety of unions involved indicates the difficulties in solving problems, as each union has a distinct set of issues, rules or policies. Schnitzler and Slaiman ticked off these unions:

The musicians, iron workers, steel workers, painters, sheet metal workers, lathers, roofers, plasterers, paper makers, plumbers, carpenters, cabinet makers, meatcutters, pulp makers, printers and at least one rail brotherhood.

* * *

Where dual unions are concerned — the musicians form the major group — the lack of integration frequently is a result of refusal by the Negro local to merge with the white one in the same city.

Negroes fear loss of control, loss of prestige, loss of their local money chest, loss of delegate privileges at conventions, lowering of status in the community and similar problems.

In many cases, Negro locals are richer or have better employment rates than their white counterparts, and are strongly opposed to giving up those advantages.

On apprenticeships, Schnitzler and Slaiman acknowledge some unions have established perhaps arbitrarily high standards in order to limit or control those seeking entry.

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Dr. Emery
via

AFL-CIO News 5-7-67

Apprenticeship Rolls Reach 18-Year High

The number of persons training in government-registered apprenticeship programs rose to an 18-year high in 1966.

Labor Sec. W. Willard Wirtz reported that 207,000 apprentices were receiving skilled training in programs registered with the Labor Dept. or with state apprenticeship agencies at the end of the year.

He said the 1966 figure was the highest "since the influx of veterans in the immediate post-World War II period replenished the war-starved ranks of apprentices."

The net increase of 23,700 apprentices between 1965 and 1966 was the largest since the 1945-46 period when the one-year gain was 74,200.

The Labor Dept. also cited these other statistics:

- The 85,000 new apprentices registered in 1966 was a 19-year high and 16,500 more than in 1965.
- Last year 26,400 trainees completed their apprenticeships, the largest number in five years and 6 percent more than in 1965.
- With a nationwide 11 percent net increase in the number of apprentices, the eight states with the biggest gains were: Illinois, up 31 percent; Indiana, 30 percent; Michigan, 27 percent; Ohio, 23 percent; Connecticut, 20 percent; Wisconsin, 18 percent; Texas, 17 percent, and Pennsylvania, 14 percent.

Wirtz cited "these solid and growing advances" as indicating "the vitality of labor and management in this training system."

The Labor Dept.'s role, he said, is to help unions and employers expand the apprenticeship system and assure equal opportunity in its functioning.

Southern Regional Office
78 Marietta Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

BEN LEWIS

TO ALL PACT MEMBERS:

The next meeting for PACT will be this Thursday, May 11, at 12:00 noon, 4th Flr. Conference Room, National Urban League Office, 78 Marietta St. N.W., Please telephone me to confirm your attendance so that I will know how many lunches to order. Thank you.

G. Massey
Gloria Massey, Sec'y
688-8778

5/8/67

PACT MEMBERS

Members Present

Eunice Cooper	NAACP
Noyes Collinson	American Friends Service Committee
Richard Lyle	Atlanta Urban League
Ben Brown	Atlanta Urban League
Richard Primm (re: Linwood Whitlaw)	Equal Employment Opportunity Compliance Office
Emory Via (Presiding)	Southern Regional Council
Dr. Brantley	Clark College

Members Absent

Benjamin Lewis	Nat'l Urban League (LEAP)
Fred Bennett	Breadbasket ($CLC)
B.R. Brazeal	Morehouse College
Al Henry	Ga. Council on Human Relations
E.T. Kehrer	AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept
Harold Kramer	E.E.O.C.
Eliza Paschall	City Hall - Atl Commission on Community Relations
Robert Bennett	Laborer's International Union, Local 438

MINUTES OF THE P.A.C.T. MEETING
APRIL 27, 1967

The meeting was opened by Emory Via who served as chairman in the absence of Ben Lewis. Dr. Brantley of Clark College was introduced as was Mr. Richard Primm who substituted for Mr. Linwood Whitlaw, of Equal Employment Opportunity Compliance Office.

The purposes of P.A.C.T. were briefly reviewed. These included a summary of the information gathered to date, the focus on apprenticeship training programs in the building trades for the present, and a concern for the eventual ending of discrimination in all skilled training and employment.

Mr. Ben Brown was welcomed again as a new staff person with the Atlanta Urban League working with their LEAP project. Mr. Brown reviewed some of his activities since the last meeting that related to the group's interests. He had met with Dr. Standridge and felt that the meeting was a good beginning. He was sorry not to have had questions and suggestions from other PACT members to take to Dr. Standridge. It was suggested that Dr. Standridge might be invited to a subsequent PACT meeting. Also, Mr. Lockhart might be an alternate visitor.

Mr. Brown also talked with Mr. Butler, President of the Atlanta Labor Council. Mr. Butler was interested in our project and expressed willingness to cooperate in work with unions regarding the employment of Negroes.

Dr. Brantley of Clark College asked Mr. Brown what the procedures were for providing manpower for the various unions. Mr. Brown replied that the men who plan to attend college and are interested in this apprenticeship training program are given the opportunity to do so. Brown further explained the various methods of how men are selected, referred, and placed. He mentioned interviewing, counseling, testing, referral, and follow-up. Selection and referral to the unions, employers, apprentice programs, etc., depended upon the skill, knowledge, training, pre-vocational training, basic education, and work experience of the individual concerned.

Emory Via told members he felt that we must reach the persons who may never get to college; to try to train them for the apprentice program in order to have a trade. There is wasted and unknown talents in many a disadvantaged person who may never reach college, but they can be reached for training and developing their talents and skills. Dr. Brantley spoke about working on a project to identify students for vocational and skilled training. The University of Georgia is engaged in this project, called, FAIT, which has published a directory which should be of great interest to PACT. The counsellors can sometimes identify the good students, and they are the key to the problem of providing the manpower for the training program.

Emory Via suggested pre-test training, for those contemplating on taking examinations, since those that have never had any experience or knowledge in taking tests, are disillusioned when they fail the tests. There were some men that had passed the Sheet-Metal tests and were then able to secure the jobs. Via further suggested that the proper instructors, or experienced knowledgeable persons, with materials for pre-test training, sample examinations, etc., could be set up to prepare a student to pass the examination. Mr. Brown concurred. Dr. Brantley observed that the need necessary for students to pass tests, was to have a number of experiences relating to the test, so that he would have knowledge of what he is doing and the test he is taking.

Contact had been made by Brown with the American Can Company. There will be some possibility of work there even though their skilled programs are not apprentice programs.

Brown also visited with some high school counselors regarding skilled training opportunities for high school graduates. He reported that the Urban League office now has 200 cards of young men interested in skilled training.

Seven (7) students from several of the schools were scheduled to take the Employment Service test to qualify for apprentice programs the next day (Friday, April 28). They are hoping to qualify for the electricians apprentice program. It was recognized that though the time was short and the students were taking the test with less preparation than would be desirable, that it was good to move ahead in order to be prepared for the cut off date for the electricians' program. Dr. Brantley suggested that some follow-up be conducted to determine where the students felt they had difficulty or strengths in the testing procedure. Mr. Brown will consult with Dr. Brantley on such a follow-up procedure.

It was further suggested that since the chances of failure on the part of these first seven (7) might be high, that Mr. Brown and PACT be prepared to consult with the young men to keep morale high and to provide them with an opportunity to prepare for the next opening.

It was suggested that Mr. Via follow up with Earnest Greene of the Workers Defense League Apprentice program in New York, about using Greene and Dennis Derrick for consultation with PACT, and other agencies interested in problems of recruitment and training. Mr. Brown said that he would like to cooperate in coordinating such an undertaking.

Comments were made about the role of unions, management, and government in employment discrimination. Miss Eunice Cooper thought it would be wise to determine if students at Southern Technical Institute would be interested in further skilled training. It was agreed that their status--whether they should consider apprentice programs, skilled employment, or other training--should be investigated.

Dr. Brantley observed, with general agreement, that the counselors themselves, needed assistance in knowing about skilled training opportunities and when to recommend such training to their students.

The time for the next meeting was set for Thursday, May 11, 1967, at 12:00 noon, National Urban League Office, 4th Floor Conference Room, 78 Marietta St. N.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

PROCEEDINGS

of the

TWELFTH NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

AFL-CIO

First Day

June 12, 1967

WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D. C.

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE W. WILLARD WIRTZ, SECRETARY OF LABOR

SECRETARY WIRTZ: Thank you very much.

I know this program is running behind on time. I see people waiting here in the wings whose words are more important to you than mine. I am going to forego any speech and use these ten or twelve minutes simply to bring several matters of business to your attention, and be done with it.

As a matter of fact my luck with speaking engagements is running very poor recently. Several weeks or months ago I

agreed to two speeches for the last two days. One was at 11:00 o'clock last night, the other at 10:00 o'clock this morning. The one last night came just at the moment in which the Security Council was meeting on the subject of the problem of the Near East and my speech was to the Israel Independence Ball. I knew exacty what to say. It is another quirk of history that this morning two things hapened at 10:00 or 11:00 o'clock. One is my remarks to you, and the other is the convening of the House Committee on the Railroad Legislation, to which George Meany has just referred.

They are not very good breaks as far as a speaker's schedule is concerned.

On the matter of the Railroad Legislation, let me say just this—and really none of it in contradiction to what George has just said.

Nobody that I know likes the prospect of legislation on the railroads. I am not the least bit inclined to argue as to what it ought to be called. It doesn't make any difference. There is no question about the fact that there is an element of finality and an element of compusion in it. The important thing as far as I am concerned is this: Every single effort was made to avoid that matter coming to a head. And by every single effort I mean efforts of some ten to twelve months, participated in by the parties, and by the Government. Twice the Congress extended the legislative period in the hope that collective bargaining could be made to work. There are two emergency Boards that were set up to help make the matter work. It didn't work.

The situation today is that unless there is an alternative answer, this country's railroads come to a halt on June 19.

I don't defend the legislation in terms of principle. I defend the legislation in terms of necessity, and express the deep commitment, the idea that we must today, under the present circumstances in the work and the Nation, have the services of the railroads, and beneath that, the complete dedication to the idea of collective bargaining to the belief that compulsory arbitration is wrong, and to the proposition that everything must be done in this country to preserve free collective bargaining, to its fullest opportunity.

I express only the feeling that this, as I say, is legislation

of necessity. I would wish greatly the matter never had come up again.

With respect to the legislative program before you I take as my checklist the same checklist that you have. I will run down the five items that are on there and very quickly.

There is little I can say with respect to on site picketing, HR-100, which you haven't said, which Leo Hant said, which George Meany hasn't said, and which I haven't said dozens and dozens of times before. The time for the relevance of talk as far as Situs-Picketing is concerned is passed. As far as the talk is concerned, I just say here simply and on the line, I am for, one hundred percent, that legislation and will do everything possible as I have in the past to support it in the interests—

(Applause.)

and I say beyond that, whether there will be this legislation this year depends in my judgement on what you people do in the next two days. And it is just that simple.

You are going to hear, because I have heard it, a dozen times a week for the past two or three weeks, the people who previously agreed to support this legislation now find some reason in the Supreme Court decision not to support that legislation.

I say to you that there is no connection between the two, and anybody who takes that position is trying to get off what he thinks is a hook and he should not be permitted to get off it. The proposition is just as right—

(Applause.)

And furthermore, it isn't a hook. If he would stop talking about labels and start talking about the simple question of whether there is the same justification for picketing and for striking in the construction situation that there is in every other situation, the answer to that would be dead clear, and the issue is just that simple.

I wish you the best of luck and offer you the fullest cooperation, but say to you, what happens on that is very much in your hands. I am just as plain spoken about it as I can be.

With respect to the other matters on this list, with respect to trade promotion funds, we are working with you, with your legislative representatives on that, in complete source of it.

Apprenticeship

Similarly the police option agreements and the Davis-Bacon action. Similarly and with a special strength of feeling about the construction safety program which we have talked too much about and we haven't done enough about. And we look forward along the lines we have been pressing. Surely with respect to the Social Security Amendments there can be no question or doubt whatsoever.

I should like to add at this point, because that is all I propose to say about the legislative program, which is that we are one hundred percent in support of every piece of this program. I should only like to add to that the expression of gratitude for the opportunity to work with Neil Haggerty, and for a man for whom I have the greatest admiration and respect, your legislative representative on this.

Walter Mason and I have worked together for 20 years now, in one way or another. I know of no other situation in which one man has expressed the continued dedication to the purpose of the Situs-Picketing legislation. I know of no other situation in which anybody has been caught by as many unfortunate accidents, including the unseemly performance of last year.

As far as that bill is concerned, Walter Mason, I take my hat off to Walter for the kind of work he has done in this situation.

I would like to spend the last four or five minutes on a matter which has come up in one form this morning which underlies a good deal of this legislation. I would like to speak briefly and directly to the point on which George Meany touched in connection with the Model Cities Program.

Gentlemen, in the Building and Construction Trades there is one area in this whole affair with respect to which there has been a lack of complete working understanding between the Building Trades and the Department of Labor. This has to do with the apprenticeship program and it has to do particularly with the matter of the employment of minority members or the bringing of minority group members into the apprenticeship program. I would like to say these few things and very briefly.

The past, and by the past I mean the past three or four years, has been characterized by the pointing of a finger on the matter of racial discrimination at the building trades which is totally unfair. There is no question about two things: First, that there has been a differentiation on the basis of race as the

product of history in the Building Trades, of most building trades which is not characteristic of others.

The second truth, that there is today, there has been recently, as far as my fairest appraisal of it is concerned, as complete, as honest, as sincere and as potential effective a movement to meet this problem in the building trades as in any other American institution in the labor movement or outside it.

Unfortunately this may be a period in which every single case of there being no minority member in an apprenticeship program has been the subject of front page attention and headlines. And there has been no comparable attention to all of the things which have been done to meet that problem. I wish that there were some way of getting just not equal time but ten percent time for the kind of thing that is going on, and Pete Brennan knows what I am talking about, in New York—so does Harry Van Arsdale and a lot of others—the way we worked out in New York, and by we, I mean the Department of Labor and Civil Rights group, the programs in New York City, Westchester, Buffalo and Cleveland.

I wish there could have been just a little attention last week when the leaders of the Building Trades Council of Baltimore sat down with the President of the National Urban League and the local Urban League to work out a program there for meeting this problem.

I wish there could be a little attention to the fact that the same thing is going on in Detroit, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Portland, Atlanta, Georgia.

I wish there could be just a little attention to what the Building Trades, Jay Turner and his colleagues, taking the lead, have done with the Government and with the Civil Rights groups here in the City of Washington so that you can stand today and say with complete fairness, that the matter of the color of a boy's skin when he comes to an apprenticeship in Washington, D. C. doesn't make one single bit of difference. I say it that way.

(Applause.)

You know and I know that parts of the problem remain. You may not know what I know, that when four years ago, now three years ago, we sent out requests through the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training for statements of compliance

by the Apprenticeship Program in this country, compliance with the Civil Rights Rules, 44,000 went out, and as of today only 7,000 have been returned. That is three years later. And that presents a problem which wuold be a mistake for anybody to disregard. It is not being disregarded.

You know, some of you, and all of you should, a little of the current status of this matter. I would like to just tell you of the telephone call which Pete Schoemann, Stanley Ruttenberg, our Manpower Administrator had, now about five or six weeks ago, and what has come as a result of that.

There has been the establishment of a meeting on May 2 or 3, of a five-man committee from the Building Trades, of which Pete is a member and Hunter is a member, Gordon is a member, Morris is a member, Fosco is a member. Neil Haggerty will be with them, that will be meeting a week from today with Under Secretary of Labor Jim Reynolds, with Stanley Ruttenberg, the Manpower Administrator, with Hugh Bradley, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, and I want very much to attend part of that meeting, in which we will say to each other what has been the reason for the misunderstanding. There may be a lack of confidence. There hasn't been a lack of communication in terms of volume, but there may be a lack of communication in terms of understanding. The time has come to move on from here.

I would like to call to your attention two recent reports on this subject. The facts are pretty thoroughly assembled. The first document to which I call your attention is the report of the New York City Commmission of Human Rights of about two weeks ago, which as far as I am concerned represents zero contribution to the understanding of this problem because it deals with all of the stereotypes of five to ten years ago, purports to be a study of what is being done about minority participation in apprenticeship programs in New York City; says almost nothing about what Pete and Harry and their colleagues have done, and take that or eight unions which had the hardest time and leaves out of account the unions which have moved rapidly ahead in this particiular area, and comes up with the kind of report which attracts front page headlines.

Then I would like to you to know about a report entitled "Negro Participation in Apprenticeship Programs" which has been prepared by the Manpower Administration of the Depart-

ment of Labor, by Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Briggs, which has come out now, several months ago, with a formal release very recently. We can get no newspaper attention to it at all because it is as fair-minded a document as I have ever seen. It criticizes you, it criticizes me, it points out the inadequacies in meeting the problems of discrimination. But it then goes to point out, very deliberately, and very carefully and in detail, the problem of bringing qualified minority group members to the apprenticeship program.

It says to you and says to us, you have some things left to do as far as eliminating discrimination is concerned.

But the problem here is central today, the problem of being sure that there are people of all races qualified for these programs, and it concentrates on the problem of the disadvantaged.

I hope with all my heart that next Monday will be a turning point in the history of lack of complete understanding, of lack of communication. I hope with all my heart that as of that point we will recognize clearly that the time for recrimination is past, that the information is now before us, and that we are in a position to move ahead to meet a problem which has been distorted out of all reasonable perspective.

I ask you for your cooperation, your confidence now, and your understanding. I offer you our complete cooperation and confidence and our understanding of this situation.

As this point of minority group participation borders on the apprenticeship program, let me just say this in words which parallel the words George Meany already used: As far as I am concerned the Apprenticeship Program is the best work training program which has ever been designed in this country. It will remain the best work training program in this country. It should be conducted by those who know their business, as George said. It ought to be recognized that these apprenticeship programs are joint programs in the communities in which they are developed. It ought to be recognized that the answers should come basically through this apprenticeship program.

In that connection one final point of business, again a matter of being sure there is as little misunderstanding, and as much understanding as possible. You will know, some of you, that I took the position last year, a position of question about the

deferment under the Selective Service Act of some apprenticeship programs. I just want to be sure that you understand my position on that. I have been opposed personally to any deferments from the Selective Service program, including college deferments.

(Applause.)

The sentiment of the country and the sentiment of the Congress is apparently different from that. I respect that different view. And with the Selective Service Act under consideration now and apparently based on the deferment of college students, I shall be the strongest to insist in every way at my command that those boys who are getting their education in the school of hard knocks, as well as in college, get similar treatment.

(Applause.)

And that means, as far as I am concerned, the apprenticeship program, and it means the other job training program. I hope for as much democratization of that process as possible.

In conclusion let me simply refer to what George Meany has already suggested. The only things that ever interest us properly are those immediately ahead. We couldn't move ahead without a realization of where we have come. This is not a year of great promise as far as legislation is concerned. This is part of an expanding development in this country which as far as all of us in this room are concerned we will recognize as representing a larger advance for the wage earner, which is the term of your responsibility and by statute the term of mine, in any comparable period in the history of this country.

I want to pay my respects not as a matter of duty but as a matter of deep conviction, my respects to a Congress and to a President who have in the course of the last three or four years brightened the future as far as the human values in this country are concerned, in a way comparable to what the scientists are doing as far as their concern.

George mentioned Medicare. He mentioned the Minimum Wage Law. He mentioned the Education bill. He can go on. And every man and woman in this room could go on to list the charter of progress, a charter of human advantage, a charter of a recognition of individual rights, charter of freedom in the sense that it cmes into people's homes and in people's lives,

which has been written in the last three or four years, beyond any forum. It is not a matter of duty. It is not a matter of formality. It is a matter of something I feel so deeply inside me that I can hardly express it. A matter of being proud of being associated with a labor movement, proud of being associated with a Congress of the United States, of being proud of being associated with President Lyndon Johnson and Vice President Hubert Humphrey in the architecture of a program of human progress which is the kind of thing I have dreamed about all my life.

I want to say thanks to you and to them for what has been done in the last three or four years. I want to express to you the feeling that in the years ahead of us there still lie opportunities for doing an infinite amount and a great deal more.

I want to express finally and in conclusion a personal pleasure which I share with you in having come here a year ago, with Neil Haggerty not feeling very well, that I come here today to say, Neil, it is grand doing business with you and with all the members of the Building and Construction Trades Department. I am just delighted that you are back in the saddle again.

Thank you very much.

(Standing ovation.)

PRESIDENT HAGGERTY: Thank you, Mr. Secretary, for your remarks to this Conference, particularly those pertaining to myself as the speaker at the moment.

I appreciate your being here and discussing from your point of view some of the problems which confront both you and those of us in labor who must take part in their adjustment.

Carl Albert, Majority Leader of the House, is our next speaker. He is a great and distinguished American statesman. He has been a member of Congress for more than 20 years. He is a man respected and loved by all who know him. His Democratic colleagues in the House of Representatives elected him to serve as the Majority Leader in 1962, the position he now holds.

Needless to say, he is a real friend of labor. And it is an honor and a privilege to present to this Conference the Majority Leader of the House, the Honorable Carl Albert.

(Standing ovation.)

NEWS from U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

Apprenticeship

USDL - 8298

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Thursday, June 8, 1967

URBAN LEAGUE TO PREP BALTIMORE NEGRO YOUTH FOR APPRENTICESHIP

The Urban League and the AFL-CIO construction trades unions will start a cooperative program in Baltimore to prepare and train Negro youth for participation in apprenticeship programs, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz announced today.

Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League, was in Washington today to sign a $46,400 Manpower Development and Training Act contract with Assistant Secretary of Labor Stanley H. Ruttenberg who heads the Manpower Administration.

Approximately 300 Baltimore youth will be recruited from the disadvantaged sector of the community by the Baltimore Urban League and the Baltimore Building Trades Council for participation in the educational preparatory program, called LEAP (for Labor Education Advancement Program).

The program sponsors hope to place a minimum of 30 youths in apprenticeable construction trades. Classes will consist of from 25 to 75 youths, depending upon the apprenticeship opportunities available at a given time, and will run from 4 to 10 weeks prior to the apprenticeship test date.

One of the features of the program will be mock interviews conducted to prepare the applicant for the actual screening sessions held by the various joint apprenticeship committees. Qualified personnel will be recruited by LEAP to assist in the tutoring of applicants.

LEAP was organized under the joint sponsorship of the National Urban League and the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations through a grant from the Ford Foundation to help motivate and prepare Negro youth for participation in apprenticeship.

All Federal and local agencies in the Baltimore area will be utilized in the program, including the field staff of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, the services of the Apprenticeship Information Center, the Baltimore Central Labor Council, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and the various civil rights organizations.

The program is similar to the pioneering efforts of the Workers Defense League in New York City.

The Technical Assistance Division of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission aided in planning this program.

(867-3136)

# # # # #

Arkansas Gazette June 11, 1967

Foes of the Negro Are Foes Of Labor, One of LR's Nine Tells State AFL-CIO Meet

Gazette State News Service

HOT SPRINGS — Ernest Green, one of the Little Rock Nine who now helps New York minority group youths prepare for the building trades, returned to Arkansas last week to tell the State AFL-CIO that the Negro's enemies generally were labor's enemies.

Green, now a field representative of the Workers Defense Apprentice Program in New York, was one of the nine Negro students whose enrollment in previously all-white Central High School at Little Rock in September 1957 created a stormy confrontation of state and federal authority. He became the first Negro to graduate from Central High.

There have been many changes since Little Rock 1957, he told the union members at their annual convention here but they have not altered the basic economic problems of most of the people. There are thousands of Negro youths who can't get a proper high school education, have no chance of getting into a good college and for whom there are no jobs.

The spread of automation, he said, is eliminating thousands of semiskilled jobs for Negro and white workers. Hundreds of thousands of white persons in the South are victimized by these conditions, Green said.

"Both [white and Negro] are victimized by inadequate jobs at substandard pay", he said. "Both want better education, which they either can't get or can't afford. Both are being cut back and being cut out by the spread of automation. Both are being used by union-busting industries as the cheapest source of labor in the South. Both are being forced to work in shops where the unions cannot bargain, and if it weren't for a federal minimum wage . . . Negro and white workers in the South would still be earning less than a dollar an hour."

'Right-to-work' Laws Blamed for Low Pay

Why is it that the majority of the states that have so-called right-to-work laws are Southern states and why is the poverty level in these states lower than in others?" Green asked.

"It follows that the solution of the problems that plague the Negro and white wage earners, particularly in the South, will depend to a large extent upon whether we of both groups are able to recognize the nature of our common enemies," he said.

These enemies, he said, start with racism—"not in the sense that whites hate Negroes, but in the deeper sense that those who are in power are happy to exploit race hate for the simple expediency of setting the black and white working class against each other."

The other common enemies, he said, are "state's rights" and "opposition to federal programs."

"If we relied on state's rights do dictate the nature of life in parts of the South," he said. "we would hve no federal spending and no federal minimum wage; we would certainly have chronic low income, inferior education for Negroes, chronic unemployment and for certain people permanent poverty."

Says Birch Society Is Another Enemy

The John Birch Society is another enemy, he said. It not only is anti-Negro and anti-Semitic, he charged, "but also antisocial reform and pro-big business. It claims to speak nobly of human initiative and American freedom but fundamentally it is dedicated to quite opposite propositions—that those who do not have it do not deserve it; that people are poor because they are lazy; that it is not the duty of the government to take a compassionate interest in their social condition, and that ultimately we should all return to the law of the social and economic jungle where only those who have it have a natural right to make it."

The growth of all these common enemies, Green said, has developed out of a special Southern attitude towards Negroes, poor whites, labor unions, big business and social privilege.

". . . it would seem to me that the social and economic deprivation that blights the lives and futures of so many white families in the South is too high a price to pay simply in order to maintain a sense of their whiteness," he said.

Calls for Unity To Gain Improvement

There is no alternative, he said, but that Negroes, white workers and farmers must unite behind the labor movement in a struggle against unemployment, low wages, discrimination and poverty.

He cited his job of working with Negro and Puerto Rican youths in New York to train and help them get jobs in the building trades as an example of this sort of effort.

"But we must go further, and strive towards uniting Negro and white working people behind the programs to tear down slums, rebuild sections of our cities and call for full employment programs that will force the federal government to spend more money in public works programs all across the nation," he said.

NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE V-67-6-16-1258:BAT

TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP COUNCIL TO PREPARE
200 DETROIT NEGRO YOUTH FOR APPRENTICESHIP

Detroit's Trade Union Leadership Council, Inc., (TULC) will start a cooperative program in the Motor City to prepare and train some 200 primarily Negro youth for apprenticeship programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA).

The contract for this project is being executed today for Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz by William C. Webb, regional director of the Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT), in a ceremony at the TULC offices at 8670 Grand River Avenue.

Signing the contract for $94,980 in MDTA funds with Mr. Webb will be Robert Battle, president of the TULC. The Detroit Building Trades Council and the Michigan Building Trades Council are cooperating in the development and administration of the program. Representing them at the ceremony were their respective secretaries, Jack Wood and Stan Arnold.

Neil B. McArthur, the Labor Department's deputy assistant manpower administrator from Washington, D. C., represented Manpower Administrator Stanley H. Ruttenberg at the ceremony.

Webb stated that the project is intended to bring more minority group members into the apprenticeship programs, and, in practical terms, to anticipate the work of preparation for apprenticeship tests.

The approximately 200 Detroit youths will be recruited from the disadvantaged sector of the city.

The staff of the TULC and of the Building Trades Councils will work jointly in the development of job opportunities in apprenticeable occupations, and in recruitment of applicants for these jobs. Qualified personnel will be recruited to assist in tutoring of applicants.

It is expected that there will be 25 to 75 youths in a class, depending on the apprenticeship opportunities available at a given time. Each class will

(MORE)

run from four to ten weeks prior to the apprenticeship test date. During this period the youths will receive training and tutoring to prepare them for their craft test.

One of the features of the program will be mock interviews conducted to prepare the applicant for the actual screening sessions held by the various Joint Apprenticeship Committees.

Federal and local agencies in Detroit will be utilized fully in the development and administration of the program. These include the BAT field staff, MESC, the Apprenticeship Information Center, and various civil rights organizations.

This program is similar to the pioneering efforts in apprenticeship preparation by the Workers Defense League in New York City.

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Issued by Information Office, 851 Federal Office Building,
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Labor Program —
Publicity

JOINT APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

OF

THE WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE/
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH EDUCATIONAL FUND

4th Annual Conference

February 3-5, 1972
Sheraton-Charles Hotel
211 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

Wednesday, Feb. 2

7:00 P.M. Cocktails
Canal and Gravier Rooms

Thursday, Feb. 3

Morning

8:30–9:00 A.M. Registration & Coffee
Mezzanine

9:00–10:00 A.M. Welcome & Introduction
Jackson Room

Ernest G. Green
Executive Director,
Joint Apprenticeship Program,
WDL/APREF

Honorable Moon Landrieu
Mayor, City of New Orleans, La.

A.P. "Pat" Stottard
President, New Orleans AFL-CIO

Rowland Watts
Executive Director,
Workers Defense League

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director,
A. Philip Randolph Institute

10:00–10:30 A.M. Keynote Address
John Lewis
Director Voter Education Project
Atlanta, Georgia

10:30–11:30 A.M. Panel
Manpower and Minority Employment

Chairman:
Rowland Watts
Executive Director,
Workers Defense League

Presentation:
Marvin Friedman
Vice President,
Stanley H. Ruttenberg
& Associates, Inc.

Response:
Roy Kirkley
Associate Extension Specialist,
Rutgers University

Robert McGlotten
Executive Director,
Human Resources Development
Institute, AFL-CIO

William Weinberg
Administrative Vice-President,
Rutgers University

11:30–12:15 Panel Discussion

12:30–2:30 Luncheon Meeting
Beauregard Room

Chairman:
Charles E. Bremer
Deputy Executive Director,
Joint Apprenticeship Program,
WDL/APREF

Remarks:
Robert Tucker
Executive Administrative Assistant
to the Mayor of New Orleans, La.

Film:
Phela Ndabacend
of The Dialogue
Comment: Nana Mahomo

Afternoon

2:45–3:45 P.M. Panel
Jackson Room
Labor and the Minorities

Chairman:
Ernest R. McKinney
Assistant to the Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

Presentation:
F. Ray Marshall
Chairman, Economics Department,
University of Texas

Response:

Bernard Anderson
Associate Professor of Economics,
Wharton School of Finance,
University of Pennsylvania

Walter Davis
Director of Education, AFL-CIO

D. Quinn Mills
Assistant Professor:
Sloan School of Management,
Massachussetts Institute of Technology

3:45–4:45 P.M. Panel Discussion

Evening
6:00–7:30 Reception
Canal and Gravier Rooms

7:30–10:30 P.M. Awards Banquet
Beauregard and Clairborne Rooms

Master of Ceremonies:
Ernest G. Green
Executive Director,
Joint Apprenticeship Program
WDL/APREF

Speaker
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director,
A. Phillip Randolph Institute

Awards

Friday, Feb. 4

Morning
9:30–10:00 A.M. Coffee
Jackson Room

10:00–11:00 A.M. Panel
Jackson Room
Housing for the 70's

Chairman:
William M. Ross
Director of Operations,
Joint Apprenticeship Program,
WDL/APREF

Presentation:
Richard Ravitch
Executive Vice President,
HRH Construction,
President, Citizens Housing
& Planning Council of
New York, Inc.

Response:
Dennis Besse
Southwest Regional Assistant,
Nonprofit Housing Center

John Evans
Director, Department of Urban Affairs,
AFL-CIO

Donald L. Roffle
Program Director,
Joint Apprenticeship Program,
WDL/APREF

11:00–12:00 Panel Discussion

12:15–2:15 P.M. Luncheon Meeting
Beauregard Room

Chairman:
Ernest G. Green
Executive Director,
Joint Apprenticeship Program,
WDL/APREF

Luncheon (continued)

Remarks:
Robert McConnon
Director, Office of National Projects,
United States Department of Labor

Donald Slaiman
Director, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO

Afternoon
2:30–3:30 P.M. Panel
Jackson Room
Economics and Politics

Chairman:
Ernest G. Green
Executive Director,
Joint Apprenticeship Program,
WDL/APREF

Presentation:
Tom Kahn
Executive Director, League for
Industrial Democracy

Response:
Lamond Godwin
Assistant Professor,
Labor and Industrial Relations,
Rutgers University

Napoleon B. Johnson, II
Director of Urban League, LEAP

Emory Via
Director,
Resources Development Center,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

3:30–4:30 P.M. Panel Discussion

4:30–6:30 P.M. Adjournment – Cocktail Party
Lagniappe Room

Saturday, Feb. 5

Morning
9:30–10:00 A.M. Coffee
Jackson Room

10:00–11:00 A.M. Administrative Staff Meeting
Jackson Room
National Staff and Regional Supervisors

11:00–12:00 General Supervisor's Meeting
Jackson Room
Sr. Field Representatives and Supervisors

12:00 Noon Adjournment

Table 21
Analysis of Employer Demand and Net Training
Requirements for Important Technical, Skilled, and Clerical Job Titles
By Periods, Summer 1962 to 1967

ATLANTA SMSA

Skilled Category and Job Title	Current Employment Sum 1962	Employer Demand: Net Job Openings[a] 1 Year	3 Years	5 Years	Net Training Requirements[b] 1 Year	3 Years	5 Years
Technicians:							
001 Acc't-Gen & Cost	1,691	164	405	645	68	287	448
025 Electronics Tech	1,137	176	431	687	157	344	542
033 Industrial Tech	635	57	150	243	11	28	40
022 Draftsman-Structural	489	58	85	113	18	46	48
028 Estimator	460	69	107	144	67	99	132
021 Draftsman-Mech-Furn	432	46	100	155	32	64	94
014 Commercial Artist	338	20	83	147	6	56	101
009 Civil & Const Tech	322	61	79	98	59	78	95
045 Mechanical Tech	309	21	68	115	-3	44	74
050 Production Planner	300	19	64	109	5	36	62
049 Proc-Descrip Writer	274	6	17	28	-33	-22	-37
053 Quality Control Tech	274	33	80	127	21	65	103
Subtotal	6,661	730	1,669	2,611	408	1,125	1,702
Per Cent of Total	70	70	69	69	67	67	67
All others	2,889	319	754	1,182	200	552	846
Total	9,550	1,049	2,423	3,793	608	1,677	2,548
Skilled Workers:							
249 Painter	2,442	172	271	372	111	169	202
221 Electrician	1,873	727	1,093	1,461	641	969	1,253
212 Carpenter (Non-mfg)	1,743	335	358	381	322	332	338
204 Automobile Mechanic	1,670	113	320	530	71	269	444
267 Sheet-Metal Worker	1,518	83	155	228	76	130	187
241 Machinist	1,379	134	355	576	125	304	491
205 Auto Body Repr-Paint	1,161	55	197	340	55	125	220
243 Maintenance Mechanic	1,037	50	141	234	26	115	189
242 Maintenance Man	967	92	197	303	82	180	274
244 Mason (Brick, etc)	958	36	24	13	36	-4	-34
278 Welder	921	116	268	420	79	221	342
202 Aircraft Mechanic	894	32	122	212	20	91	160
262 Plumber	767	303	524	746	156	292	359
218 Diesel Mech-Non-mfg	641	31	83	134	16	53	83
210 Cabinetmaker I	552	23	54	86	23	50	80
203 Air-cond or Ref Mech	522	95	189	284	45	115	160
246 Millwright	488	13	36	59		23	37
276 Truck Mech (Non-mfg)	442	45	101	158	39	92	142
264 Printer-Compositor	419	5	41	77	3	17	37
257 Offset-Press Man	403	42	89	136	-3	26	31
216 Cylinder-press-Pr & Pb	369	70	120	171	24	59	69
257 Pipe & Steam Fitter	336	192	326	459	162	264	357
272 Structural Ironwkers	319	8	19	31	8	19	31
234 Jig & Fixture-Bldg	305	12	31	50	10	30	48
238 Lineman (lt, ht, pw)	300	3	19	35	-7	-30	-46
Subtotal	22,426	2,787	5,133	7,496	2,120	3,911	5,454
Per Cent of Total	81	85	84	84	89	89	90
All others	5,114	504	980	1,462	250	478	627
Total	27,540	3,291	6,113	8,958	2,370	4,389	6,081
Clerical Workers:							
406 Stenographer	6,710	955	2,158	3,404	910	2,013	3,163
401 Accounting Clerk	6,049	672	1,689	2,754	557	1,310	2,120
408 Typist	5,097	844	1,912	3,006	782	1,823	2,857
402 Bookkeeper	2,273	299	715	1,151	255	608	973
405 Statistical Clerk	1,727	247	611	988	196	448	715
Subtotal	21,856	3,017	7,085	11,303	2,700	6,202	9,828
Per Cent Total	87	68	73	74	87	84	87
All others	3,248	1,390	2,656	3,939	407	1,140	1,407
Total	25,104	4,407	9,741	15,242	3,107	7,342	11,235
TOTAL FOR AGGREGATE	62,194	8,747	18,277	27,993	6,085	13,408	19,864
TOTAL FOR JOBS LISTED	50,943	6,534	13,887	21,410	5,228	11,238	16,984
PER CENT OF TOTAL	82	75	76	76	86	84	86

[a] Equals net increase in employment based on employer expectations plus age separation effects.

[b] This requirement is derived by subtracting the number to complete company training by periods from net number of job openings.

The following tabulation shows the most important technical, skilled, and clerical jobs in the Atlanta Area on the basis of job openings and training requirements in the next five years.

	Net Job Openings in 5 Years	Net Training Requirements in 5 Years
Technicians:		
Electronics	687	542
Accountant-Gen & Cost	645	448
Industrial Tech	243	40
Draftsman-Mech-Furn	155	94
Subtotal	1,730	1,124
Skilled Workers:		
Electrician	1,461	1,253
Plumber	746	359
Machinist	576	491
Auto Machanic	530	444
Pipe & Steam Fitter	459	357
Welder	420	342
Carpenter (Non-mfg)	381	338
Subtotal	4,573	3,584
Clerical Workers:		
Stenographer	3,404	3,163
Typist	3,006	2,857
Accounting Clerk	2,754	2,120
Subtotal	9,164	8,140
TOTAL	15,467	12,848

The totals from the above 14 jobs will account for 55 per cent of the job openings in five years and 65 per cent of the net training requirements.

Scott Green is Ernest Green's brother. In the long roll of the history of the civil rights movement, both names will be duly recorded. Scott Green is the first Negro apprentice to be admitted to Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers Union, the first Negro to break the color barrier of the most recalcitrant of the building trades unions.

His brother, Ernest, gained national spotlight by being the first Negro to be graduated from Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. From there Ernest Green went to Michigan State University. He is now Assistant Director of the Workers Defense League Apprenticeship Program situated in the heart of Bedford-Stuyvesant. Along with Ray Murphy, Director of the project and a former New Jersey employment specialist, it is Ernest Green's job to open the closed doors of the craft unions to Negroes and Puerto Ricans. It is only fitting that the first of the WDL Apprenticeship candidates to crack the unions be his brother.

Scott Green became a Local 28 member in April of 1964 as a result of a court ruling ordering the Local to end 78 years of discrimination and to administer tests for entrance. That year he was the only Negro to qualify. The next spring nine Negro and two Puerto Rican young men, recruited and tutored by the WDL, passed the test and were admitted to the Sheet Metal Union's apprenticeship program.

"To want a Cadillac is not un-American; to push a garment rack is."

—Bayard Rustin

Now Scott Green is working on the construction of a new school in the Brownsville area in Brooklyn — JHS 292 on Pitkin and Wyona Avenues — and is glad to be out of the dead-end job he held in the garment district.

"Anything is better than that," he says of his garment days. Scott, a rugged six-footer, is a veteran of the Air Force where he completed his school education. When WDL ran classes in preparation for the historic Local 28 apprenticeship tests under the supervision of Dr. Kenneth Clark, Scott jumped at the chance to become an apprentice.

"This is much more rewarding work," Scott says. And a sheetmetal worker who has completed the four years of schooling is rewarded with $182.50 for a thirty-five hour week; apprentices begin at 40% of the journeymen wage rate. Their salaries increase periodically until they have completed the apprenticeship program and earn the full journeyman wage.

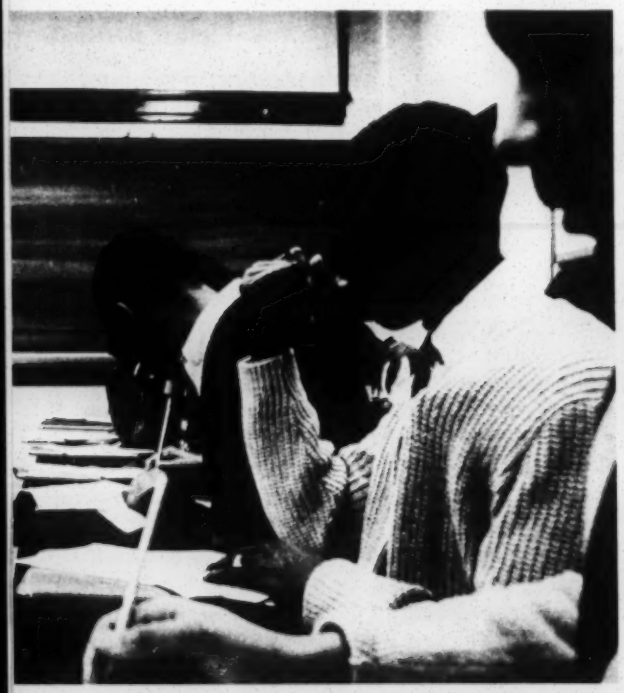
"WDL's is the best kind of anti-poverty program because it helps young people find meaningful work at good wages"

—Michael Harrington

The WDL Apprenticeship program is the only one of its kind in New York City and, perhaps, the nation; its aim is to place Negroes and Puerto Ricans into the well-paying building trades jobs. Most of the programs dealing with minorities and the poor have shied away from the seemingly fruitless attempts to prepare applicants for craft union jobs. HARYOU-ACT, for example, concentrates on mass industrial jobs.

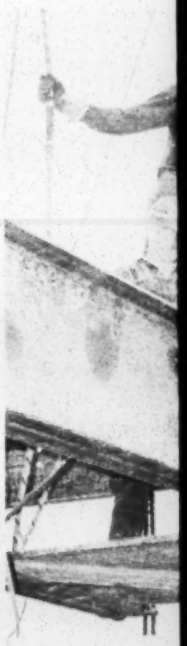
Green and Murphy are considered experts in the field now. Yet, when the WDL received a Taconic Grant in 1964, to undertake the apprenticeship program there was no body of experience from which to draw.

"We started from scratch," Ernest Green says. "There was no one to show us how to go about it. Most people thought we were crazy to work on such a program. After all, no Negroes had gotten in the building trades for years, and the civil rights groups were concentrating on areas of mass unemployment. Remember, it takes a highly motivated kid to apply for the craft jobs."



A Tutoring Session for Sheetmetal applicants

Ernest Green and Harry VanArsdale, President Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, hold impromtu conference.



Apprentice Ironwo Ronald Bowers lea a journeyman.

In the last year, Green and Murphy have placed approximately 100 Negro and Puerto Rican youth ranging in age from 18 to 24 in the coveted craft apprenticeships. Besides the sheetmetal breakthrough, WDL got the first two Negroes into Local 40 of the Iron workers, the first Negro into District 15 of the Machinists and the first Negro chef's apprentice in the Regency Hotel. The program has also placed 25 to 30 Negro and Puerto Rican young men into Local 3 of the Electrical Workers. When Local 3 announces its tests in the fall for apprenticeship openings, Green and Murphy hope to be swamped by more than 2,000 applicants.

"Most vocational school students and kids from the Ghetto want to be electricians," Murphy says, "because they've actually seen Negro apprentices."

ONLY WDL
Recruits, Tutors and Places The Applicant

The WDL recruits the youngsters from a variety of sources: churches, civil rights groups, vocational high schools, poverty agencies such as Mobilization for Youth and HARYOU-ACT. Candidates are interviewed by the staff and then told of approaching test dates. They are then given Otis I.Q. tests. When an apprenticeship test date is announced, WDL begins a tutorial program to prepare the candidates for the test. These programs consist of 3-4 weeks study, supervised by Dennis Derryck, a former math teacher who turned down higher paying jobs to become WDL Tutoring Coordinator.

Tutoring sessions last for two-and-a-half-hours; Derryck teaches mechanical reasoning and special relations as well as test-taking techniques.

"Unfortunately, the city's vocational schools don't even teach the kids how to take a test," Green comments. "What the kids do in the tutorial program is similar to preparing for college exams."

Candidates are admitted into some union apprenticeship programs on the basis of the test results and an interview with the joint union-management committee. Before the second sheetmetal exam WDL asked personnel people from the Western Electric Co. to go through a role playing session with the applicants. The volunteers played hostile white bosses; they were particularly effective. In fact, the candidates found the Western Electric volunteers much tougher than the actual screening committee.

The Workers Defense League conceived of the Apprenticeship program following the demonstrations which stopped construction at Harlem Hospital in 1963. An indication of how far the program has come is the relationship between the WDL staff and the craft unions. At the Building Trades Unions' Executive Committee luncheon recently, the guest speaker discussed the necessity of opening the union registers to Negroes and Puerto Ricans. His name: Ray Murphy, Director of the Workers Defense League Apprenticeship Program. Last February, Peter Brennan, President of the Building Trades Council, told a WDL

rkers, Raymond Richie and rn the trade from John Diabo

Top: Maizie Fulston, foreground, interviews electrical union applicants. Bottom: Ray Murphy and Ernie Green talk to potential ironworkers.

Speakers at WDL Career Conference for Vocational School Youth. Seated left to right: Cecilia Sarashon, Supervisor of Guidance, Board of Education; Raymond Murphy; standing left to right: Bayard Rustin, Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute; David Crockett, Vice President, Local 6, Printers Union; and Peter Brennan, President, Building Trades Council.

sponsored career conference for vocational school youth, "You are wanted in the building trades . . . We don't want minority groups to think this is just talk. Anyone in the building trades who doesn't want to cooperate, we'll knock them into line."

The Workers Defense League is a human rights organization devoted to full equality before the courts, on the job and in the union. Founded nearly 30 years ago, WDL has steadily fought racial, economic and political exploitation. From the Negro sharecroppers to West Indian migrants and Freedom Fighters in Hungary, WDL has stood for the rights of free men everywhere.

Unlike civil liberties organizations WDL does not refuse cases that will not establish a legal precedent — the hundredth violation of a given right is as important to us at the first. Unlike legal aid organizations WDL does more than defend a right or a liberty in court. When the case has significant social impact WDL organizes campaigns of public education to see that the injustice is exposed and corrected.

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

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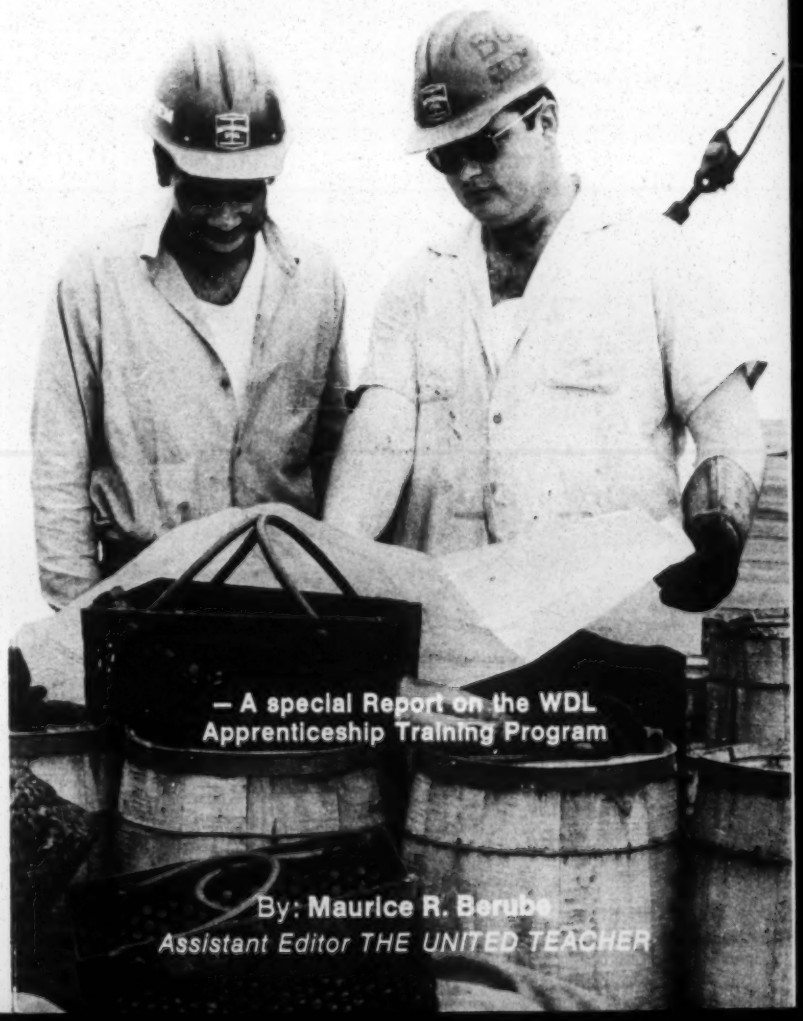
Breaking the Barrier in the Building Trades Unions



— A special Report on the WDL Apprenticeship Training Program

By: Maurice R. Berube
Assistant Editor THE UNITED TEACHER

P.A.C.T.

(Planning, Action, Coordination(or communication) Team)

(1) Purpose.

~~Purpose:~~ The purpose of the organization will be to assist in ~~ending any form of discrimination~~ achieving the fact of equal opportunity in employment in the Atlanta Metropolitan area through a concerted, planned effort. ~~We understand that "employment" as used here includes such equal opportunity~~ can be achieved only ~~come~~ if all phases of the employemnt process are fully open to all persons. The organization's interest extends, but is not limited, to the problems of motivation, recrutiment, training, on the job relations, up-grading ~~promotion~~, as well as to the actual hiring of an employee. Because of the ~~special~~ need for providing employment of sufficiently high caliber to insure good income and continued employability, the organization will be especially interested in the skilled trades and training programs for those trades. ~~the skilled trades.~~

A first interest of the organization will be to secure ~~with the availability of~~ training opportunities for Negro youths in the building trades. It is recognized from the outset that this is just a beginning step towards our long range objectives. ~~in much broader range~~

(3) ~~Kinds of activities~~ Kinds of Activities ~~Types of activities:~~ ~~P.A.C.T.~~ It will develop and circulate information. It will call attention to problems both privately and publicly as it deems appropriate for the particular situation. It will elicit the cooperation of public and private groups and individuals in the achievement of its purposes. It will assist in the development of programs, and offer ~~consul~~ consultative services where it is deemed appropriate and within the ability of the organization. It will serve a "watchdog" function to see that discrimination in employment is ended and that new efforts toward equality are successful. It is understood that through its cooperating agencies and ~~persons~~ individuals, and as the result of agreed to strategies, the following kinds of activities will be a part of P.A.C.T's program.

Southern Regional Office

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

From
BEN LEWIS

LABOR
EDUCATION
ADVANCEMENT
PROGRAM

Emory Via

For your Information.

PACT

Dr. Emory Via

specific jobs available at Respondent's plant, or in terms of the racial composition of Respondent's work force.[1] In the absence of evidence that the tests are properly related to the jobs and have been properly validated, Respondent has no rational basis for believing that employees and applicants who pass the tests will make more successful employees than those who fail; conversely, Respondent has no rational basis for believing that employees and applicants who fail the tests would not make successful employees. Respondent's testing procedures, therefore, are not "professionally developed." Accordingly, since Respondent's testing procedures serve to perpetuate the same pattern of racial discrimination which respondent maintained overtly for many years before it began testing, we conclude that there is reasonable cause to believe that Respondent, thereby, has violated and continues to violate Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

(Decision signed by Marie D. Wilson, Secretary to the Commission, December 2, 1966.)

[1] According to *Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests and Manuals* published by the American Psychological Association (1966), tests should be revalidated at least every 15 years. The Otis tests were devised in 1922, the Bennett in 1940, the Wonderlic in 1942 and the PTI in 1950.

Intelligence Test

SUMMARY OF CHARGES

The Charging Parties allege discrimination because of race, as follows: After Negro applicants had qualified for employment by passing a dexterity test (GATB), they have subsequently been systematically excluded by the Respondent through the use of an intelligence test (Wonderlic). Negroes who have been able to pass the intelligence test have sometimes not been employed, and white applicants have been hired either without testing or when they have applied at later dates than qualified Negro applicants. The change in standards for employment works to the disadvantage of Negroes in the community because of low educational attainment. In addition, the Respondent's use of the local state employment service office for initial screening of applicants results in disadvantage due to traditional discriminatory practices by that facility —where Negro applicants may not sit, where they encounter rudeness and offers of domestic work instead of industrial work, and where they suffer delayed referrals or are refused referrals to industrial employment. Charging Parties and the local CORE chapter (on behalf of Negro citizens) contend that Respondent utilizes certain methods to avoid hiring substantial numbers of Negroes. Furthermore, they allege that the company and the local power structure have agreed to limit the number of Negro women to be hired, to avoid disturbing the domestic work force.

SUMMARY OF INVESTIGATION

The Respondent's facility for processing poultry for frozen and canned food products received widespread publicity prior to opening in June 1966. As early as the summer of 1965 applicants at the state employment office requested referrals to the company; screening tests began in the winter of 1965. As of October 6, 1966, Respondent had hired 1,011 persons, including 176 Negroes, classified as follows: 124 unskilled and 19 semi-skilled workers, 18 service workers, 8 skilled workers, 5 technicians, and 2 clerical workers. Several hundred job opportunities are expected to materialize and be filled within the next few months as the plant operation achieves full production. The majority of jobs available fall into the category of unskilled work involved in dressing, cooking, and packaging poultry.

Investigation disclosed that selection processes used by Respondent have lent themselves to discriminatory practices:

Application Evaluation: Initial screening of more than 6,000 applications eliminated immediately those with less than eight years' school,

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erratic or inappropriate work histories, over 50 years of age, and incomplete applications; in addition, preference was given those with industrial work experience. All criteria were not rigidly adhered to, in that some past 50 and a few with less than eight years' school were employed. About 1,500 applications were rejected; nearly three-quarters of these were from Negro applicants, with schooling a major factor. Negroes comprise nearly one-half of the population in the county, and more than half in neighboring counties, but of those over 25 years of age who did not complete eight years of school in Sumter, 62 per cent are Negro. Eight years of schooling is no more valid an indicator of job qualifications than is a passing score on the intelligence test such as the Wonderlic.

Physical Examination: No detailed examination was made of medical records. However, investigation disclosed that there may be a slight disadvantage for Negro applicants because of the large proportion of rejections for medical reasons.

Reference Checks: Reference checks, which are not required in writing, are a major stumbling block, and often barrier, to many Negro applicants inasmuch as some employers (especially private households and farmers) are reluctant to lose this source of low-paid labor. Of those Negroes already hired, at least one-half were formerly domestics, paid at the rate of $3.50 per day.

Manual Dexterity Testing: At least 40 per cent of the females referred by the state employment office were Negroes who had passed the GATB finger and manual dexterity testing. One technical irregularity in the use of this test was noted, in that one critical score of the GATB B-238 series (validated for poultry laborers) was not being used. Section IV of the Manual for the USES General Aptitude Test Battery, published by the Department of Labor (1966), sets forth finger dexterity (F) and manual dexterity (M) factors as important aptitudes in the selection of poultry-dressing workers (D.O.T. Code 525.887). An earlier (1962) version of Section III of the *Guide to the Use of the GATB* also refers to aptitudes F and M. The correlation between these aptitudes and supervisory ratings of current employees was 0.53. This validity coefficient is moderately high and is quite adequate for the predicition of applicants' subsequent performance on the job.

Neither the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (D.O.T.) nor the GATB Manual contain any information to substantiate the notion that general intelligence, verbal ability, numerical ability, or spatial ability are required for the performance of this kind of unskilled work. Since the Wonderlic Personnel Test is heavily loaded with the verbal, numerical, and abstract reasoning components of "general intelligence", its content is irrelevant to job content and employee performance among poultry-dressing workers.

Intelligence Testing: One month after hiring began, Respondent introduced the Wonderlic test. A trial with the Wonderlic had been conducted during the spring; Negro and white personnel who failed to achieve qualifying scores in this early testing were hired despite the results and have proved to be satisfactory employees. Respondent personnel who administer the Wonderlic have no training for or experience with testing; they use for guidance a small booklet accompanying the test. They have arbitrarily subtracted more than one point from the score designated by publishers of the test as the national norm for persons completing eight years of school. A certain number of irregularities in test administration and scoring were noted, in that a number of records revealed questionable scoring and improper grading, as well as alterations on test papers. Respondent contends these were clerical errors.

Seldom will there be independent evidence that Respondent intended its educational and testing requirements to eliminate a disproportionate number of Negro job applicants, but it is elementary that a person must be held to intend the normal and forseeable consequences of his actions. If Respondent did not anticipate the results of its screening procedures, it is certainly aware of them now. This is

not to suggest that in all circumstances it is improper for an employer to utilize selection devices which may incidentally reject a disproportionate number of Negro applicants, *but where, as here, the educational and testing criteria have the effect of discriminating and are not related to job performance, there is reasonable cause to believe that Respondent, by utilizing such devices, thereby violates Title VII.*

Nine of the 30 Charging Parties are included among 2,000 applicants awaiting consideration since June 1966; when hiring is done, the Respondent states that applications are selected from the file in a "random" fashion and with no attempt to hire in the sequence in which people had applied. This does not explain why only 17 per cent of the current employees are Negro, whereas 40 per cent of the applicants referred by the Employment Security Commission as being qualified are Negro. Negroes account for nearly one-half the population in the county where the plant is located, and more than 60 per cent in counties to the South and East and 66 per cent in the county to the North. Despite this, a pattern of rigid segregation persists in the area.

The majority of the jobs to be filled require no special skills. Those classified as skilled maintenance jobs do require that the applicant read and write. The Respondent is using job descriptions developed for operations in similar plants at other locations until such can be written for this facility.

Inspection of the plant revealed that Negro employees were not segregated within working areas, and there were no signs of differential treatment with respect to any plant facilities. Some jobs appear to be dominated by one sex, but this does not appear to result from any claim for a bona fide occupational qualification. Female employees were observed to operate forklift trucks, a non-traditional assignment. However, male and female employees are assigned separate series of clock numbers, and personnel records are segregated by sex.

DECISION

Reasonable cause exists to believe the Respondent has violated Sections 703(a)(1) and (2) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as follows:

It has failed to hire Charging Parties and others similarly situated, because of race, by arbitrarily and discriminatorily setting educational standards that are not justified for the job sought, as a means of restricting the number of its Negro employees; and

It has limited the selection of its employees in a way that tends to deprive the Charging Parties and others of employment opportunities, because of race, by the discriminatory use of testing procedures which are not exempted by Section 703(h).

(Decision signed by Marie D. Wilson, Secretary to the Commission, December 6, 1966.)

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Atl. Council
Apprenticeships
report

July 1st
Fed. Govt. Info Center

The report of the Council which planned the June 1-2 White House conference on civil rights made a series ofrecommendations, the first of which is

"Establish Metropolitan Jobs Councils in All Major Urban Areas to Plan, Coo dinate, andImplement Local Programs to Increase Jobs".

The recommednation is restated "What Should Be Done":

"Metropolitan Jobs Councils should be established in each major urban area with a substantial Negro population. With urgen support from the highest levels of the national government, the initiative in establishing such councils should be taken promptly in all major cities of theUnited States."

The need for coordinating job councils is not new, nor is the suggestion that they be established new. The part of the picture which is still missing is WHO should establish Councils. WHO is to take the initiative and even more important, at whose initiative will other groups respond, os that the Jobs Council includes those actually involved in manpower programs rather than those who comment on manpower programs. TO WHOM issuch a Council tobe accountable and WHAT CONTROLS could it or should it exert over the "jobs system" of the community?

The apprentice training picture in Atla ta illustrates clearly the need for coordination and stimulation of more efforts, but it illustrates just as clearly the present diffusion of responsibility and authority and the resulting confusion to those for whose beneift the programs are being developed.

Some lead in sentences — such as —
For example, the Atl. Council's efforts at secur info have shown many difficulties

2

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA, INC., 5 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Ga.

In 1963 the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta prepared a summary of training programs available in the metropolitan Atlanta area, including apprenticeship programs. In order to do this it was necessary for a Council representative to go to the regional office of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the U.S. Dept., of Labor located in Atlanta, copy from records their names and addresses of individuals listed for each of the approved programs, individually contact each of these individuals and obtain from each pertinent information for each program.

In 1966 the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta prepared another summary of training programs, including apprenticeship programs. In order to do this it was not necessary to go to the office, because due to our acquaintanceship of the past 3 years, we knew the persons well enough to telephone and ask for a list of the approved programs with the contact person for each, but there was still no list already prepared for general distribution - (We received an individual list from a regional labor office, as a result of a conversation with the right person at the right time) As in 1963 some of the names, addresses and telephone numbers were out of date. As in 1963, it took many telephone calls, as many as 12 in one instance, to reach the individual concerned - ie., it was not possible simply to call a certain "office" and get the information. As in 1963, the Council on Human Relations asked to be placed on lists to receive information about the programs. We have yet to receive a notice from any office announcing any new programs or details of any current apprenticeship programs.

As in 1963 it was pointed out by the Labor Dept., staff that the Labor Dept., acts as a consultant only in apprenticeship-training programs. "They contribute no money, have no supervisory powers, can only encourage". Their legal responsibility is to notify the state employment service and the state school superintendent of approved programs. The apprentice programs are in the hands of Joint Apprenticeship Committees (JACs) composed of representatives of labor and management. (Actually in the Atlanta area, the assistant regional director of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, goes around to the high schools talking about the programs to students, guidance counselors and principals, but this seems to be a one man operation.) Does this system of developing apprenticeship programs provide for metropolitan Atlanta's needs for skilled workers?

Should Schools be part of target

In 1963 there were 11 programs for the Atlanta area registered with the U.S. Dept., of Labor Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

In 1966 there are 19 programs for the Atlanta area. A U.S. Dept., of Labor Bullentin states "all major industries train apprentices and there are over 350 apprenticeable occupations under the following general classifications".. a list of 93 trades follow.

The Georgia Skill Study published in 1963 by the Georgia Dept., of Labor predicted that metropolitan Atlanta would need for the 5 year 1962-67 period a net increase of 5454 skilled workers trained. Many of the 19 apprenticeship programs accept applicants "as they need them" or "as they apply", but if the Electrical program, which does admit a specific number each year is typical, the numbers being trained is woefully inadequate to fill the job openings. It was reported at a conference held during the spring of 1966 that labor and management in Atlanta had turned down a suggestion for public Apprenticeship Information Center. We question the need for or even the desirability of such

must attached

Shd of an overall job & training info center, with some specific responsibility & power, it seems there is an argument in the paper for an app. info center

Some recognition of why so few programs

Jobs needed, interest, whether that industry is in area — # of applicants needed to start a program, etc.

Perhaps here may apprentices in Atl. area.

can we do something on other trades than electrical alone.

Atlanta needs 1253 trained for eletrical jobs for the 5 year period. The Electrical JAC accepts a class of 25 a year ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ for apprenticeship.
~~Atlanta xxxxx~~

2a insert

Labor spokesmen generally say that managment is not enthousiastic about apprenctice programs because apprentices earn more than some other trainees and the program takes longer.

Managment spokesmen generally say that labor wants to keep the number down, to keep wages up.

23

a specialized type of Information center. It would seem more profitable to have such information available at all points where people go for job counseling and information. If the Labor Dept., nor the JACs have money for a simple operation such as a publicly available listing of the programs available with requirements, etc., for each, how would there have been money for an Apprenticeship Information Center? If on the other hand, there is money for such a Center in Atlanta, why can't some of that money be spent in giving the facts to those individuals and groups in a position to advice possible applicants?

x x x

How about 1965 manpower Study

The 1963 Report of the President of the United States to the Congress on "Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization and Training" states "the only current data on potential supply of craftsmen come from registered apprenticeship programs. In 1962 approximately 160,000 apprentices were in registered programs. It has been estimated that an equal number of apprentices may be in training under unregistered programs.

"Despite the fact that this Nation's economic development and well-being depend upon an increasing number of well-trained craftsmen, limited progress has been made in recent years in expanding apprenticeship programs and enrollments. Yet most training authorities agree that apprentice training, which takes account of ... provides workers with an all-round background of great assistance in adjusting to changing job requirements... Unless apprenticeship training is increased it will provide only a small percentage of the journeymen needed by 1970".

In discussing the training of electricians, the Report says "Unless electrician apprenticeships are greatly increased in the years ahead, most new entrants into electrician jobs.. will continue to be workers who "pick up" the skills. This informal procedure usually takes longer.. and weldom results in all-round mastery of the trade".

x x x

A 1963 U.S. Dept., of Labor Bulletin on "Manpower Problems and Local Action" describes the National Manpower Advisory Committee, appointed by the President. One of the recommendations of the Committee, on which Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., served as one of the 3 Public Representatives, was that "manpower advisory committee be established in each state" and that local committees be appointed for local labor market areas. A local manpower committee is described as "a small group of persons who are vitally interested in the economic welfare of a community and its citizens, and who are familiar with the area's employment opportunities and its manpower problems." While the Bulletin deals specifically with the MDTA program, it also states that "It is the function of a local committee to deal with all aspects of the community's manpower problems and activities.."

Should this be a separate fight — but perhaps not

When the subject of the appointment of a local Atlanta manpower committee was discussed with Mayor Allen, he indicated his opinion that the office of the Mayor ~~is~~ was not the proper office to initiate of name such a committee.

On Jan. 2, 1964, a meeting on Training was called by the Atlanta Coordinating Committee, which had been appointed by Mayor Allen in response to the creation of the ~~Summit Leadership Conference~~. The meeting was attended by representatives of state and federal agencies, labor, management, and civic organizations. Again the desirability of a community wide committee was agreed upon, but there was no answer to the question of who should initiate such.

Will readers know this and understand "stand what in response to" means

A report ~~in~~ of the Council on Human Relations dated Jan. 14, 1964 records an interview with the Supervisor of Community Employment Programs of Georgia Dept., of Labor who answered "yes" - the program calls for that" who in answer to the question "would it be good to have a community-wide committee?" The next question was "who would appoint such" and the answer was "We would. We're working on that now".

At that same time, a Council ~~representative~~ staff member

But contacts with Ga. Dept. of Labor revealed that The Ga. Advisory Committee serving the Atlanta area -

~~Conversation with person~~ in regional Labor Dept., office indicated that one of the requirements for MDTA projects ~~is~~ was to have a local Advisory Committee. Telephone call to office of Mr. Marion Williamson (Director, Bureau of Employment Security in Georgia Dept., of Labor) to ask about state Advisory Committee; secretary said she would have someone call me. Mr. Steens secretary called and gave me thename of T.M. Forbes, as "Chairman of Georgia Advisory Council". When I asked for the rest of the name of the Council, she asked Mr. Steen, who said it is the Georgia Dept., of Labor Advisory Council. He told the secretary that he did not have the names of the members of the Council, that they could be secured from Mr. Forbes (34 Peachtree Street, N.E.).

Jan 1966

Within the Georgia Dept., of Labor there is still no advisory committee for metropolitan Atlanta nor is there any administrative head for metropolitan Atlanta (at least according to their office staff. When we asked to speak to the person in charge of the Atlanta area, we were asked what program we were interested in, told there is no one "head" for the Atlanta area). Programs (MDTA, etc.) are administered separately, and the Georgia Advisory Committee to the Bureau of Employment Security of the state department serves Atlanta. That committee is appointed by the state Commissioner of Labor, an elected official, and meets on call. ~~Its present composition is~~ On the local Atlanta level there seems to be no structure requiring consultation between those who have the jobs, those who want the jobs and those who are setting up programs to train those who want the jobs for the jobs available. One might expect to find this on the Board. Conspicously absent from the Board, members of which are appointed by the mayor and the chairman of the Fulton County Commission, are representatives of the Employment Service or any part of the state Dept. of Labor, the vocational training system, the Chamber of Commerce, the federal government which is probably still the largest single employer in the area, or any major industry which employs large numbers of persons. The business men who are members are employed in banking, real estate, insurance, automobile agency, business representative and blueprinting.

Should there be area, general info office? Under this auspice?

have jobs to offer?

or unions?

Economic Oppr. Atlanta

what function are you arguing that this is the agency to serve

7 5

Check: Melvin Taylor

Within the U.S. Dept., of Labor conditions there is also diffusion of responsibility and authority and lack of built in ~~condition~~. The Manual organization chart for the Dept., in the U.S. Government Organization ~~Chart~~ shows the "Manpower Administrator, the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, the Bureau of Employment Security, and the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training" all with equal relationship to the Under Secretary of Labor. On the regional level, i.e, in the Atlanta region, there is no one "regional director", but a rotating chairman of a Regional Staff Committee, which includes representatives of the 13 Bureaus.

check latest issue

Watered? how relate to Atlanta

There is now a new President's Committee on Manpower Coordination. Secretary of Labor Willard Writz is chairman and members include

Perhaps it would not be presumptious to suggest that there be enough coordination within each department so that the programs already in operation can be reviewed and evaluated realistically. The question as to <u>who</u> should establish the Metropolitan Job Councils which the White House conference recommended remains unanswered, at least for metropolitan Atlanta.

In fact,

The question is not only who should bell the cat, but which cat should be belled!

The Bldg Trades Unions (Alphabetic by Trade details given Name of Union)

Are there ~~Do they Have~~ Apprentice Programs in Ga in this Trade	Is there an JAC * ATLANTA yes or No	Negroes Now in [Atlanta] CRAFT	Negroes Now in [Atlanta] union	Negroes Now in [Atlanta] Apprentice Program	Appr. in Trade in Atlanta Area	Appr. in Apprentice Program Atlanta Area	Eligibility	Where Apply	When Apply	Classes Begin
		yes	NO	NO						

Compiled by - Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta, Inc., 5 Forsyth St., N.W., 523-1581

APPRENTICE PROGRAMS IN ATLANTA AREA REGISTERED WITH U.S. DEPT. OF LABOR

JAC 15 X Omit

TRADE	CLASSES BEGIN & WHEN APPLY	ELIGIBILITY	WHERE APPLY	MAKEUP OF JAC*
1. Electrical	July by April 30	18-24 yrs. old or 28 if vet., eqiv. of h.s. ed., copy of birth cert., pass apt. test at GSEO & interview by comm.	Rm. 137, 195 P'tree or GSEO, Mr. Walter Griffith, Coordinator	3 labor & 3 management
2. Ironworkers	When there is a need for ironworkers	18-30 yrs. old, h.s. ed., pass apt. test at GESO & interviewed by Comm.	1014 Edgewood Ave. Mr. Ben Lorry, Coordinator	
3. Painters	Anytime	18-24 yrs. old, h.s. ed., equiv. interviewed by Comm.	With coordinator Mr. J.J. Webb, 263 Casson St., 373-1463	3 & 3
4. Bricklayers	every 3 by 15th of month previous month	17-24 yrs. old, no ed. requirements	121 Memorial Dr., S.W., Mr. Elmer Holden or St. Labor Bldg. (Trinity)	3 & 3
5. Sheet Metal	September Jun-Aug.	18-26 yrs. old, h.e. ed., pass math & apt. test at GSEO, & interviewed by C.	250 Tenth St., N.E., or St. Empl. Office 873-3706	3 & 3
6. Plumbing & Pipefitting	February January September Summer	18-25 yrs. old. pass apt. test at GSEO, h.s. ed. pass math test at JAC, & interviewed by Comm.	GSEO: Mr. Curtis Green, Training Dir., 200 Mech. Inst. 742 Ponce De Leon St., Atlanta	4 & 4

*Joint Apprenticeship Committee

The Building Trades and ATLANTA AREA APPRENTICE Information

[This Chart is based in Part on ~~work~~ information compiled by the Atlanta Council on Human Relations]

Cont'd 2

TRADE	CLASSES BEGIN-WHEN APPLY	ELIGIBILITY	WHERE APPLY	MAKEUP OF JAC
7. Carpenters	Apply anytime	18-24 yrs. old unless vet., h.s. ed. or equiv. pass apt. test at GSEO, interview by Comm.	Carpenters Union 250 Tenth St., N.E., Mr. Charles Ingraham, Dir. c/o Flagler Co., 305 Techwood Dr., N.W.	3 & 3
8. Printers (Pressmen & Compositors)	Apply anytime	H.s. ed., 19-25; or equiv. apt. test at GSEO, screened by Comm.	Printing Industry of Atl. 881 Piedmont Ave., Mr. Baker 873-1805; apply with Printing Co.	
9. Machinists (Capitol City Machine Shop - pvt. industry) Not Construction	Apply anytime	H.s., el.	Capitol City Machine Shop 301 Pryor St., S.W. Mr. W. H. Strickland; 522-7739	
10. Lathers	Apply Mon. & Wed. 6:30 p.m. at JAC, as they need them, always keeping ratio on apprentice to 5 journeymen (?)	8th grade, apt. test; 18-24	158½ Auburn Ave., N.E., Mr. H.N. Bowen, Inst., Mr. Alexander Jackson, Bus. (525-4478)	
11. Natl. Biscuit Co. Machinists Not Construction	Pvt. Co. training program for machine shop Apply anytime	18-30; h.s. ed and/or vocational sch. or work exp.	Apply with Co., screened by Comm. Mr. Vinson, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Turner, Natl. Bis. Co., Mfg. Plant, 1400 Murphey Ave. S.W., (758-7461)	
12. Roofers	Apply anytime	No special requirements	JAC, Mr. Larry Shields, 208 Red Rock Bldg., 688-2543	
13. Lockheed-Ga. Not Construction	Apply anytime	19-26; h.s. ed. dip. pass test battery; strong in math; intview by subcomt., screened by full comm.	Mr. H.H. Mann, Apprentice training Coordinator, Lock-Ga., Dept., 89-01, Marietta (424-2782)	
14. Plasters & Cement Masons	Apply anytime	18-26; familiar with construction work	Mr. E.C. Couch, 60 Haynes St., 525-1233	

	Approx. No in Trade in Atlanta	Eligibility	Where apply	When Apply	Classes Start
1.					
2.					
3.		17-24 years old no educational requirements	121 Memorial Dr., S.W Mr. Elmer Holden or St.Labor Bldg. (Trinity)	15th of previous month	Every 3rd month
4.		18-24 years old unless veteran high school education or equiv. pass apt. test at GSEO; interview by Comm.	Carpenters Union 250 Tenth St., N.E. Mr. Charles Ingraham, Dir. c/o Flagler Co.,350 Techwood Dr., N.W.	Apply anytime	
5.		18-24 yrs. old or 28 if veteran; equiv. of high school ed; copy of birth cert., pass apt. test at GSEO & interview by comm.	Room 137, 195 Peachtree or GSEO, Mr. Walter Griffith, Coordinator	Apply by April 30th	July
6.					
7.					
8.			"		
9.		18-30 years old, high school education; pass apt. test at GESO & interviewed by Comm.	1014 Edgewood Ave. Mr. Ben Lorry,Coordinator	When there is a need for ironworkers	

	Approx No. in Trade in Atlanta	Eligibility	Where apply	When Apply	Classes Start
10.					
11.		8th grade, apt. test; 18-24	158½ Auburn Ave. N.E., Mr. H.N. Bowen, Inst. Mr. Alexander, Bus. (525-4478)	Apply Mon&Wed. (keep ratio of 5 journeymen to one apprentice)	6:30 p.m.at JAC, as they need them.
12.					
13.		18-24 years old, high school education or equiv.; interviewed by Comm.	With coordinator Mr. J.J. Webb 263 Casson St., 373-1463	Anytime	Anytime
14.		18-26; familiar with construction work	Mr. E.C. Couch, 60 Haynes St. 525-1233	Apply anytime	
15.		18-25 yrs. old.; pass apt. test at GSEO, High School ed. pass math test at JAC and interviwed by Comm.	GSEO:Mr. Curtis Green Training Dir ; 200 Mech. Inst.; 742 Ponce De Leon St., Atlanta	January or Summer.	February September
16.		No special requirements	JAC; Mr. Larry Shields; 208 Red Rock Bldg., 688-2543	Apply anytime	
17.		18-26 years old. High school education. Pass math and apt. test at GSEO& interviewed by Comm.	250 Tenth St., N.E. or State Employment Office 873-3706	Jun-August	September
18.					

The Building Trades and Atlanta Area Apprentice Information*

The Building Trade Unions	Are there Appr. Pro. in Georgia in this trade	Is there an Atlanta JAC	Negroes Now in (Atlanta) Craft	Union	Appren. Prog.	No. in Appren. Prog. in Atlanta
1. Asbestos Workers; International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and						
2. Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders; Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers International Brotherhood of						
3. Bricklayers, Masons and Plasters' International Union of America	yes	yes			yes	
4. Carpenters and Joiners of America; United Brotherhood of.	yes	yes			yes	
5. Electrical Workers; International Brotherhood of	yes	yes				
6. Elevator Constructors; International Union of.						
7. Engineers; International Union of Operating						
8. Granite Cutters' International Association of America; The						
9. Iron Workers; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental	yes	yes				

*This chart is based in part on information compiled by the Atlanta Council on Human Relations

	The Building Trade Unions	Are there Appr. Pro. in Georgia in this trade	Is there an Atlanta JAC	Negroes now in (Atlanta) Craft	Union	Appren. Prog.	No. in Appren trade in Atlanta
10.	Laborers' International Union of America						
11.	Lathers International Union; The Wood Wire and Metal	yes	yes			yes	
12.	Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers and Marble Mosaic and Terrazzo Workers' Helpers; International Association of;	yes					
13.	Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; Brotherhood of.	yes	yes				
14.	Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association of the United States and Canada; Operative	yes	yes			yes	
15.	Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada; United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the	yes	yes				
16.	Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers Association United Slate, Tile and Composition	yes	yes			yes	
17.	Sheet Metal Workers' International Association	yes	yes				
18.	Stone Cutters Association of North America; Journeymen.						

Apprenticeship

PAST *and* PRESENT

A STORY OF APPRENTICESHIP IN THE SKILLED TRADES . . .
SINCE COLONIAL DAYS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, *Secretary*
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
Washington, D.C.

Revised
1964

TABLE 20.1

UNION MEMBERSHIP AND PER CENT OF NONAGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT ORGANIZED, SOUTHERN STATES AND UNITED STATES,

1939 - 1964

	Union Members (thousands)			Per Cent of Nonagricultural Employment Organized		
	1939	1953	1964	1939	1953	1964
Texas	111	375	370	10.3	16.8	13.3
Tennessee	71	187	184	15.3	22.5	17.6
Alabama	64	168	151	16.1	24.7	18.0
Virginia	68	156	179	12.8	17.3	15.5
Kentucky	85	155	187	22.5	25.0	25.7
Florida	44	136	201	11.3	16.3	13.1
Georgia	36	136	150	7.0	14.3	12.7
Louisiana	38	136	147	9.6	19.5	17.1
North Carolina	26	84	89	4.2	8.3	6.7
Arkansas	25	68	112	12.7	21.5	26.2
Mississippi	13	50	53	6.5	14.7	11.6
South Carolina	12	50	52	4.0	9.4	7.9
South	593	1,701	1,875	10.7	17.2	13.5
United States	6,518	17,860	17,187	21.5	34.1	29.5

Source: Nonagricultural employment figures from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, July, 1958 and U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States; Union membership figures: Leo Troy, Distribution of Union Membership Among the States, 1939 and 1953 (National Bureau of Economic Research, occasional Paper 56, 1957); 1962 figures, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

33 programs

GEORGIA –

Facts (update) – Long?

4/1/65 – 6/30/65

Trade Classification (1)	Active at Beginning of Period[1] (2)	Actions During Period Covered: New Registrations (3)	Completions (4)	Cancellations (including suspensions) (5)	Active at end of Period (6)
Construction Trades Group					
1. Bricklayer, stone mason	210	31	4	10	227
2. Carpenter	267	88	3	53 ?	299
3. Cement mason	41	2	-	--	43
4. Electrician	316	130	-	4	442
5. Floor coverer	8	-	-	5	3
6. Glazier	-	-	-	-	-
7. Lather	23	4	-	8	19
8. Operating engineer	-	-	-	-	- ?
9. Painter-decorator	188	38	3	19	204
10. Plasterer	39	1	-	-	40
11. Plumber-pipe fitter	376	6	2	8	372
12. Roofer	88	2	-	-	90
13. Ironworker erector	75	8	-	-	83
14. Sheet-metal worker	130	18	5	11	132
15. Sprinkler fitter	56	8	-	9	55
16. Tile and terrazzo worker					
17. Miscellaneous construction trades					
Metal Trades Group					
18. Aircraft mechanic	57	-	-	2	55 ?
19. Automotive body builder-repairman	3	-	-	3	0
20. Automotive mechanic	35	1	-	9	27
21. Blacksmith	-				-
22. Boilermaker	7	-	-	-	7
23. Electroplater					
24. Engraver					
25. Heat treater					
26. Heavy-duty equipment mechanic					
27. Lead burner					
28. Machinist	29	-	-	1	28

Trade Classification (1)	Active at Beginning of Period (2)	Actions During Period Covered: New Registrations (3)	Completions (4)	Cancellations (including suspensions) (5)	Active at End of Period (6)
29. Molder-coremaker					
30. Patternmaker & model maker					
31. Ironworker-fabricator					
32. Tool-and-die maker	31	4	-	-	35
33. Miscellaneous metal trades					
Printing Trades Group					
34. Bookbinder, bindery worker					
35. Compositor (printer)	71*	1	-	-	72
36. Electrotyper	10	-	-	6	4
37. Lithographer					
38. Mailer					
39. Photoengraver					
40. Printing pressman	9	-	-	-	9
41. Stereotyper	7	-	-	5	2
42. Miscellaneous printing trades					
Other Selected Trades					
43. Baker					
44. Butcher-meat cutter					
45. Cabinet maker					
46. Carman	13	-	-	-	13
47. Draftsman-designer					
48. Electrical worker (light & power)					
49. Cable splicer					
50. Lineman	4	-	-	-	4
51. Powerhouse electrician					
52. Electrical worker (other)	2	-	-	-	2
53. Glazier-glass worker					
54. Maintenance mechanic-repairman	57	-	-	-	57
55. Metal polisher-buffer					
56. Millwright	4	-	-	-	4
57. Optical technician					
58. Orthopedic - prosthetic technician	1	-	-	-	1
59. Dental technician	1	-	-	1	0
60. Painter (except construction)					
61. Photographer					

*Includes 2 formerly listed on 42.

Trade Classification (1)	Active at Beginning of Period (2)	Actions During Period Covered: New Registrations (3)	Completions (4)	Cancellations (including suspensions) (5)	Active at End of Period (6)
62. Powerhouse engineer					
63. Powerhouse operator					
64. Stationary engineer					
65. Telephone lineman					
66. Telephone worker					
Other Trades Not Included Above (Specify)					
67. Granite workers	41	-	-	41	0
68. Radio/TV repairman	1	-	-	-	1
69. Upholsterer	7	-	-	-	7
70.					
71.					
72.					
73.					
74.					
75.					
TOTAL ALL TRADES	2,207	342	17	195	2 337

[1] Number of apprentices active beginning (10/30/65) of calendar quarter should agree with number reported (2,381) for end of previous calendar quarter. If different, give reasons for differences using space below. (2,514) (12/31/65)

Prepared by: James O. Long Title Ga. State Supv., Atlanta Date / /65

The Reporter
Aug 12, 1965

Integrating the Negro Teacher Out of a Job

BARBARA CARTER

HOUSTON HAMPTON BOOZER, principal of the only Negro school in the little town of Munday, Texas, has long been in favor of school integration. "We've seen it coming for the last five years," he told me, "and we've tried to prepare the children for it. We've told them their school was not up to par, and how much better integration would be for them. And we've taken every chance we could find, things like scrimmage football and track meets with students from white schools, to get them used to an integrated situation." Now the great day has come: when the three formerly all-white schools open this fall, the Negro children from the Dunbar School will be enrolled in them. The Dunbar School is no more—and all but one of its seven teachers have lost their jobs.

What has happened in Munday has had a number of interesting side effects that could well become patterns as desegregation, speeded up by Federal pressure, gains momentum in the South. Foremost, of course, is the increasing number of Negro teachers who have been put out of work as a result of the desegregation they themselves have advocated. When the year began, only a third of the South's school districts had been desegregated. In the southwestern state of Oklahoma alone nearly four hundred Negro teachers have been displaced in the decade since the Supreme Court decision.

The problem is only now beginning to be recognized. There are no over-all statistics on the number of Negro teachers who have already lost their jobs because of desegregation, but Samuel Ethridge, a field director of the National Education Association (NEA), the largest professional association of teachers, estimates that the jobs of as many as 5,500 Negro teachers in the eleven Southern states may be endangered over the next several years. At present, from the scattered reports collected by the NEA and the NAACP, Ethridge can "document" only 250 or so cases of Negro teachers who definitely lost their jobs in the spring because of desegregation, but a far larger number, he explained, are currently in a kind of limbo, their contracts neither officially terminated nor renewed. Much depends on how many Southern Negro students, given the choice of attending white schools, will do so—for in the larger cities, unlike Munday, desegregation means only that a certain number of Negro pupils will be allowed to transfer to white schools; the Negro schools will remain intact. In larger Southern cities, then, many Negro teachers will be able to keep their jobs for the time being; and a few may even be allowed to teach in predominantly white schools.

It was in February that Hampton Boozer first learned officially from the superintendent of schools in Munday that the Dunbar School, with its small enrollment of 137 in twelve grades, would be completely shut down at the end of the semester. His wife, Vernice, who was head of the school's English department, felt confident that something would be worked out. Their own position, at least, appeared strong. After all, both were fully certified teachers, both had nineteen years' teaching experience, both had a B.S. degree in education, and both had earned a number of hours toward a master's degree. But Boozer was not so confident about the future as his wife was.

February was also the time when, according to custom, the school principals of Munday were notified if their contracts would be continued. The three white principals were so notified; the principal of the Dunbar School heard nothing, nor was he even considered along with the rest. Boozer, qualified as a math teacher and athletic coach as well as a principal, asked the superintendent if he and his wife could apply for teaching jobs in the other Munday schools. The superintendent said he would do all he could to help.

In early March, again according to custom, the Munday teachers learned whether their contracts would be continued. At least the white teachers were notified; the seven Negro teachers at Dunbar heard nothing. "All of my teachers have B.A.s or B.S.s," Boozer told me. "All of them have professional teaching certificates."

A Matter of Degree

When Negro schools are closed, Sam Ethridge observed, it often happens that their teachers are not considered part of the available supply, nor are their qualifications compared to the rest in the school system. This is in contrast to the normal school-consolidation procedures around the country, where a great deal is done to help the displaced teachers find new assignments in the school system. Ethridge, a Negro, is against any suggestion that Negro teachers be given preferential treatment. He thinks it only fair, however, to have them considered part of the available supply, to have their credentials justly compared with those of others in the system, particularly with those who hold only emergency or temporary certificates. "I'd just like to see them follow the rules," he said.

Many Southern school superintendents automatically assume that Negro teachers are generally inferior

to the white. In a recent survey by the Houston *Post*, only one superintendent could be found who did not make the easy generalizations about Negro teachers. Certainly, it is true that many Negro teachers are not well qualified, if only because of their segregated background and inferior education. Yet others are equally, if not better, qualified than a good number of white teachers. For one thing, Negro teachers have found it worthwhile to compete with whites for credits, since that entitles them to equal pay. Moreover, teaching is one of the few professions an educated Negro in the South can aspire to, with the result that many Southern communities have no shortage of Negro teachers. Thus people like Mrs. Boozer "would not dare," as she put it, apply for a teaching job in Texas without a degree.

The matter of degrees is tricky. Both the Boozers, for example, earned their B.S.s from Butler College, a Negro school in Tyler, Texas. Butler, however, along with two other Negro teachers' colleges, was warned by the Texas Commissioner of Education that if it doesn't come up to standard by 1967, its accreditation will be withdrawn. Yet it is precisely the inferior education offered by the segregated institutions in the South that has prompted many Negro teachers to seek their degrees in the North and to receive what may well be better preparation than the Southern whites who stayed home. Both the Boozers felt it necessary to go on to the University of Denver for their graduate work.

When Vernice Boozer learned that the contracts for the Negro teachers in Munday had not been renewed, she was still confident that something could be worked out. "It's hard to understand," Boozer said later. "The whites have been so good to the Negro children. They've even gone out and found jobs for the children who needed them most, and by and large helped them to do better. But when it comes to the Negro adults. . . ." Boozer stopped speaking, and made a sharp cut downward with his hand in a gesture of complete denial. "Mrs. Boozer had *too* much confidence in them," he said reflectively. "She felt surely the school system would integrate some of the faculty. With her qualifications and with the respect the superintendent had shown for her work down through the years, she didn't see how there could be any reason she wouldn't be considered. Now, of course, she's shocked."

Pattern Making

Before the semester was over, there was one last painful flurry of excitement at the Dunbar School—rumors that the school might not be abandoned and that its students would be given the option of remaining at Dunbar. The Negro teachers thought that some of their jobs might be saved—although the price, of course, would be continued segregation for the students who remained. Then the superintendent quickly confirmed that the closing was definite.

A week before school let out, the Boozers heard that one of the Dunbar teachers—a Mrs. Gipson, who

had taught for seventeen years—had been offered a contract with the Munday schools. What she would teach in the white school was not specified—it was a "no assignment" contract. Here is where events in Munday touch on another pattern in the making. For Mrs. Gipson was advised to take library science during the summer, and it is assumed that she is being groomed for a library job, or what is called a "short contact" job, having limited association with pupils. Other Negro teachers are reported to be taking assignments in newly integrated schools as guidance counselors to Negro children only. And still others are accepting positions as "teachers' helpers." Such downgrading is frequently excused on the basis of the reaction anticipated from white parents if a Negro teacher were in charge of a white class. Yet the Houston *Post* has reported that there was no such reaction when Negro teachers were given predominantly white classes in several larger Texas cities.

When Boozer learned of Mrs. Gipson's appointment, he met with the superintendent. He was told that Mrs. Boozer had not gotten the contract only because there was no place to fit him in as well, and yet he knew that a math teacher and coach had resigned from one of Munday's white schools, leaving a vacancy he felt he could fill. He told the superintendent he was going to fight. In reply, the superintendent confided that a school in Earth, Texas, might have an opening for Mrs. Boozer. He wanted to know, before sending on his recommendation, how much "static" Boozer planned to cause.

This incident reveals a good deal about the powerful leverage available to a superintendent. It also accounts in good measure for the otherwise puzzling apathy of many Negro teachers who, like Mrs. Boozer, have sent "applications galore" for teaching jobs and yet, upon getting no response, do nothing more than wait. Many Negro teachers won't even admit that they have been let go—they are afraid they will be considered troublemakers and denied the necessary recommendation.

Sometimes a superintendent's pressure is designed to forestall trouble. Henry Williams, principal of a Negro school in Palestine, Texas, and a member of the NEA's Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, recently saw a letter from one Texas superintendent to a Negro teacher. First it informed him that his contract was not going to be renewed and then asked him, if he wanted a favorable recommendation, to send in his resignation. Thus, the real number of Negro teachers who lose their jobs because of desegregation may never be known, and rumor is free to add to the tensions of the waiting game. The NEA has been able to confirm that 180 Negro teachers have been let go in Texas this year, but Mrs. Boozer has

heard rumors putting the figure as high as 1,100.

A few days after his conference with Boozer, the superintendent dropped by the Dunbar School to say he had sent on the recommendation for Mrs. Boozer. The Boozers, however, were not particularly hopeful, for Earth, Texas, was seeking to fill a vacancy in a white school; they were not surprised that they have heard nothing more about it. Shortly after school let out, Boozer went to the NAACP's offices in Dallas. He has decided to bring suit against the Munday school system, charging discrimination.

THERE ARE precedents at hand. Two suits involving Negro teachers' rights, one in Florida in 1963, another in Tennessee in 1964, have already been won on the grounds that the Supreme Court school desegregation decision of 1954 applies to teachers as well as students. Still another was won in Virginia this June, when the court found that the arbitrary action of a school board in dismissing seven Negro teachers deprived them of their rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. The number of such suits is sharply increasing now, with the Justice Department intervening in some cases.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not provide specific protection for Negro teachers' rights. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, however, has said that "it should be unmistakably clear" that his office's guidelines "do provide for review of policies or patterns with regard to teaching staffs which have a discriminatory impact on students." Keppel has adroitly shifted the emphasis from teachers' rights to students' rights to desegregated teaching. "If the Commission has the right to withhold funds, then the major part of the battle is over," the NEA reported in June. "If not, we may have a long hard struggle ahead."

At its June convention, the NEA voted to raise a million dollars to aid the displaced Southern Negro teachers. It is co-operating informally with the NAACP in compiling lists of districts where wholesale dismissals have taken place. Yet "dismissal based on race" may become increasingly hard to prove as the deep South, becoming more practiced, refines the tactics of token appointments and "short contact" jobs. Even objective attempts to compare teachers' qualifications are difficult, and they could prove to be the thorniest thicket yet encountered on the road to integration.

The new militancy on the part of the NEA is somewhat compromised by the fact that in four Southern states its affiliates still are associations "for whites only," although they are required to desegregate by July, 1966. In the other Southern states, the white teachers' associations have removed the barriers to Negro membership, but the Negroes have not rushed to join. They have, after all, their own teacher associations, affiliated with the NEA, through which they gain the national recognition they have been unable to obtain in their own states. They do not want to be members in name only, and they know the Southern white affiliates are not committed to their cause.

The NEA and the NAACP, however, are not the only ones who intend to help. One prominent teacher "still on leave of absence from Houston public schools," as President Lyndon Johnson describes himself, has promised special re-employment services

and Manpower Development and Training Act funds to help displaced Negro teachers. He has asked Congress to provide them fellowships, and perhaps of more significance, he has publicly directed his Commissioner of Education to "pay very special attention, in reviewing the desegregation plans, to guard against any pattern of teachers' dismissal based on race. . . ."

Meanwhile, retraining is as difficult for older Negro teachers from the South as relocation, and many have to face both. The New York State Commissioner of Education, for instance, has warmly urged the displaced Southern Negro teachers to come to his state, but the invitation is circumscribed somewhat in that New York's chief need is for physics and chemistry teachers and the fact that New York's certification standards are among the highest of all the states.

Indicative Endings

Early in June, the Boozers packed their 1957 Mercury and drove to Washington, D.C., in search of teaching jobs. "We knew by then we could only find a job outside the state," Boozer said. "We've spent over $2,000 since January looking for work." By the middle of July, both Boozers had finally found jobs in Prince Georges County, Maryland, teaching educable mentally retarded children. They must leave the three of their five children who are in college fifteen hundred miles behind in Texas, but both will be earning more money than before, Mrs. Boozer more than half again as much.

This happy solution, however, has not been achieved by the remaining teachers of the now abandoned Dunbar School, and their situation is more typical. It is perhaps indicative that two of them who had said that they would join the Boozers in their suit have now withdrawn. At last report, it was still only Mrs. Gipson who had found a job. "They're not doing anything to help themselves" Boozer said sadly.

For the rest of the summer, with the help of an expected loan from the NEA, the Boozers will take a few education courses at Prairie View A&M, a Negro college forty-five miles outside of Houston. Their daughter is attending school there now and will graduate this month—as a teacher. With no hope of teaching in Texas public schools, she is looking for work at the college itself. "It's a funny thing," Boozer said when asked what the Prairie View faculty was advising its students who major in education. "I've questioned Erma Jean a lot about this, but she says her professors simply won't talk about the situation. It's not discussed at all."

What's happening to the unions

Membership regains a little ground—but labor force grows faster

Year	Total members	Percent of nonfarm workers belonging to unions
1956	17,490,000	33.4%
1957	17,369,000	32.8
1958	17,029,000	33.2
1959	17,117,000	32.1
1960	17,049,000	31.5
1961	16,303,000	30.2
1962	16,586,000	29.9
1963	16,559,000	29.2
1964	16,841,000	28.9

How some major unions are doing

	1962	1964	Percentage gain or loss
AFL-CIO	14,835,000	15,150,000	+ 2.1
UAW	1,074,000	1,168,000	+ 8.8
USW	879,000	965,000	+ 9.8
IAM	868,000	808,000	− 6.1
Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	793,000	806,000	+ 1.6
Carpenters	739,000	760,000	+ 2.8
Laborers	429,000	432,000	+ 0.7
Retail Clerks	364,000	428,000	+17.6
Meat Cutters	333,000	341,000	+ 2.4
Building Service Employees	294,000	320,000	+ 8.8
Operating Engineers	297,000	311,000	+ 4.7
Communications Workers	279,000	294,000	+ 5.4
Union of Electrical Workers	295,000	271,000	− 8.1
Railway Clerks	300,000	270,000	−10.0
Plumbers	251,000	256,000	+ 2.0
State, County & Municipal Employees	220,000	235,000	+ 6.8
Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union	159,000	167,000	+ 5.0
Government Employees	106,000	139,000	+31.1
Teachers	71,000	100,000	+40.8
Teamsters [Ind.]	1,457,000	1,507,000	+ 3.4

Data: U.S. Labor Dept.

© Business Week

LABOR

Unions gain members, but the going's slow

Addition of 315,000 to labor rolls in two years is hailed as 'dramatic progress.' But gain is short of expectations, and the boom in the economy may deserve most of the credit

After the AFL and CIO merged a decade ago, its leaders talked confidently of doubling the federation's membership. In early December, the alliance will be 10 years old. Nevertheless, the big gains are yet to be made.

AFL-CIO has had its ups and downs since 1955. When it acted against the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and smaller unions in an anticorruption campaign, it gave up 1.5-million members. And its 130 affiliates have been hard-pressed to hold their own; few have made significant gains.

Today, about the most AFL-CIO can claim is that it is nearly as big without the Teamsters as it was with them in 1955.

Upturn. There's an upturn apparent now, however, though it's not a sharp one: Gains over the past two years totaling 315,000 are far short of AFL-CIO estimates of what it should be doing. Nevertheless, they are cited as "dramatic progress" and a forerunner of new gains to be made.

There's a big difference from the past in labor's predictions today: Organizing estimates are scaled way down; there's more talk of gains in the thousands than in the millions.

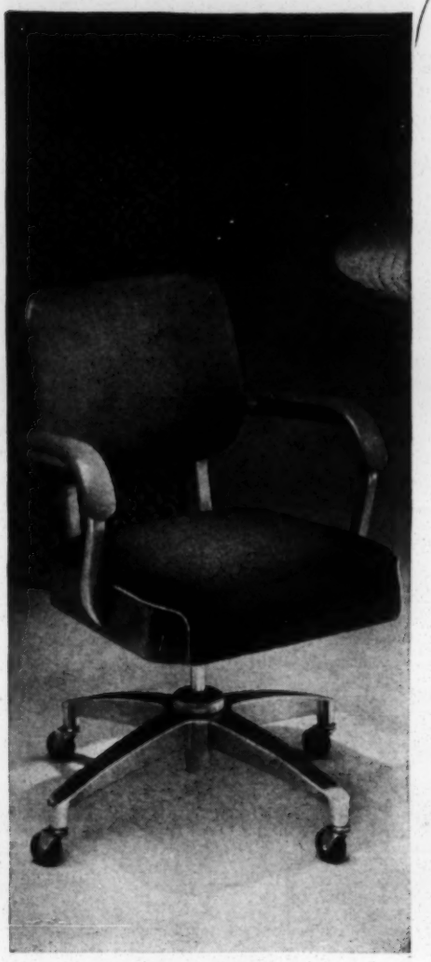
Unions blame legal restraints and the economy—particularly spreading automation—for the difficulties they are having. They lambaste the Taft-Hartley Act for creating conditions that make resistance to unions safer and easier for employers. They cite figures to show that today's labor force gains are in occupations traditionally hard to unionize. Furthermore, declines in the blueshirt or industrial force cause shrinkages in union memberships and in the unions' organizing potential.

Some union leaders say there's another reason the unions aren't forging ahead more: Labor, they say, has lost much of its former crusading spirit and possibly its appeal as a cause. The charge always sets off heated controversy. But even those who retort in strongest words concede that labor needs to examine possibilities for opening up new organizing fields.

New hope. Meanwhile, union hopes are rising with gains in membership. Leaders expect help from:

- Repeal of Taft-Hartley Section 14(b), which they say would lead to a more favorable "positive" climate for labor; union strategists talk of "thousands" of new members immediately, perhaps 100,000 within a year, possibly a half-million by 1970 if 14(b) goes in 1966.
- The civil rights situation, which they feel gives Negroes incentive and encouragement for joining unions.
- The Administration's endorsement of government unions, first granted during President Kennedy's term; this has had dramatic results already, and labor officials expect that in time it will mean gains in the hundreds of thousands.

The latest figures for union mem-



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bership are for 1964. With very few exceptions, unions look for further marked gains this year.

Stimulated gains. Actually, the state of the national economy, more than the union's own efforts, apparently is responsible for much of labor's recent growth. Union members laid off when their industries were depressed are back on the job—and counted once more in the official membership roll.

Unions are organizing—but work in the field is difficult, expensive, and often frustrating. Some unions with pinched budgets have greatly curtailed organizing work; now they're beginning to expand operations again. They say conditions for organizing are "improving" after years of troubles.

They cite National Labor Relations Board records: In the NLRB fiscal year that ended June 30, unions won 60.8% of the elections they entered, the best percentage since the late 1950s. AFL-CIO unions gained a potential of 115,232 new members, independent unions (the Teamsters particularly) another 106,492.

What's happened. Labor in this country reached its peak membership in 1956, when 17,490,000 belonged to unions in this country. Canadian members of U. S. unions boosted the total to 18,500,000. Then a downward drift set in. By 1961, membership had dropped to 16,303,000, excluding Canadians. There's been some up and down movement since then.

Recently reported figures, however, show that membership in 1964 rose from 16,559,000 to 16,841,000. Though this is still 641,000 below the peak, it is a substantial increase.

Unions are beginning to talk of new heights to be scaled.

Ratio is down. At the same time, labor's leaders are worried about another hard reality. The percentage of the eligible work force that belongs to unions is continuing to drop. Year by year, unions represent a smaller part of the working population.

In 1956, 33.4% of the nation's 52,408,000 nonagricultural workers were in unions. In every year except one since then, the percentage went down slightly. In 1964, only 28.9% of the 58,188,000 nonagricultural workers were organized. The number in unions had risen nearly 300,000 in the year, but the percentage had dipped from 29.2% in 1963.

AFL-CIO's gain. In 1964, AFL-CIO unions reported 15,150,000 members as compared with 14,835,000 two years before. And the U. S. Labor Dept. reported national unaffiliated unions (such as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters) had 2,825,000 members in 1964 as compared with 2,794,000 in 1962.

The most substantial gains in AFL-CIO were those of the United Auto Workers and United Steelworkers—and these suggest reasons why labor's 1964 gains aren't more significant.

In reporting membership, unions give figures only for dues-paying members. Those not working are exempt from dues. When many industrial workers are unemployed, union membership figures reflect it by dropping sharply. When the workers are recalled, they resume dues payments and union membership figures rise correspondingly.

Pattern in 1964. The industrial workers' ranks thinned in the early 1960s. UAW and USW suffered from heavy layoffs; at one time, the steel union said that more than 300,000 members were idle—and off its roll of dues-paying members.

During 1963 and 1964, the booming auto and steel industries recalled workers.

UAW membership went up from 1,074,000 to 1,168,000, a gain of 94,000 for the two years. Some were new members, of course, but a very large part of the total were UAW unionists back on payrolls.

USW membership rose from 879,000 to 965,000, a gain of 86,000 but still about 200,000 off USW's peak in the 1950s. Here, too, the very large part was made up of returned workers.

Boost for AFL-CIO. UAW and USW together contributed 180,000 to AFL-CIO's 315,000 increase in 1964. With about a seventh of the federation's total membership, UAW and USW are important factors in AFL-CIO growth: As they fluctuate, so does AFL-CIO.

Both are in tightly unionized industries: They have close to 90% of all who are eligible under union contracts. They have organizing money and manpower, but only scattered, small, hardest-to-unionize plants left as targets. Their growth potential is in their industries' further expansion, in large part, and in finding and cultivating new fields for membership—white-collar workers, technicians, and similar groups, for instance. Neither has yet done well in signing up white-collar and salaried workers.

Machinist losses. The International Assn. of Machinists is another union able to blame gains and losses on the economy. It was hard hit in 1963 and 1964 by aerospace and railroad layoffs, showed a membership decline from 868,000 in 1962 to

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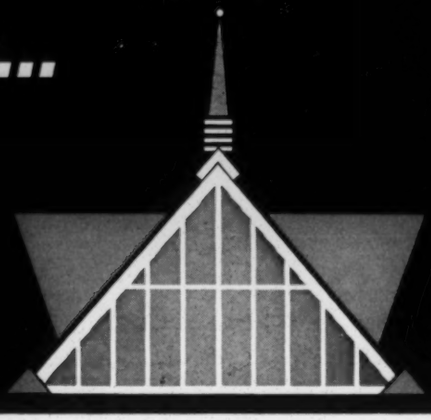

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808,000. More recent IAM figures would reflect marked gains: IAM members have been going back to jobs.

Services gain. In the expanding services, the Retail Clerks International Assn., up 64,000, and Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union, up 8,000, showed unexpected gains. So did the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen, largely a store union, with an 8,000 gain. And the Building Service Employees' International Union, also in an expanding field, reported a two-year gain of 26,000.

These gains were a result of hard organizing, not expansion of employment under labor contracts. To the contrary, automation is shrinking store jobs. For instance, RCIA's gain of 17.6% over two years actually understates the number it added to its rolls; by one estimate, the union must sign up 50,000 new members each year merely to hold its membership level steady.

On a treadmill. Softgoods unions also must organize hard to keep their totals. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, with memberships of 442,000 and 377,000 respectively, showed gains of only 1,000 each, although they enrolled many more workers than that in the reported period.

In the booming construction industry, major unions all reported gains—among them the Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners, up 21,000. The declining employment in the railroad industry was reflected in drops in memberships of all rail brotherhoods.

Government unions. Government unions showed large gains, owing in part to a more favorable attitude toward unions of public employees. The American Federation of Teachers added 29,000 members from 1962 to 1964; the American Federation of Government Employees picked up 27,000, and the American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees showed a 15,000 gain.

Otherwise, internal troubles in the International Union of Electrical Workers apparently were responsible in large part for a 24,000 loss, at least partially recouped this year.

More stabilized conditions in the Communications Workers of America, and harder organizing, added 15,000 members to its rolls in a period in which CWA complained that automation was costing it jobs.

Among the independents, the Teamsters reported a substantial increase from 1,457,000 in 1962 to 1,507,000 in 1964—the nation's top union membership. **End**

Fact - update - Dinsmore

Vocational Education Service
Trade and Industrial Education Classes - Mr. R. E. Hagen, Supervisor
1964 - 1965

Location of Class	Type of Class	Occupation or Subject	No. of Classes	Accumulative Enrollment
Coke Smith	FT Tech. Prep.	Electronics	2	20
" "	" " "	Electronics Technology	3	49
" "	" " "	Industrial Electricity	1	2
" "	" " "	Data Processing	3	33
" "	FT Trade Prep.	Radio & Television Servicing	1	7
" "	" " "	Beauty Culture	1	27
" "	" " "	Industrial Sewing	1	79
" "	" " "	Dental Assistant	1	5
" "	" " "	Welding	1	43
" "	" " "	Television Theory	1	11
" "	" " "	Tech. Illustration	1	8
" "	" " "	Automotive	1	20
" "	" " "	Radio & Television Theory	1	6
" "	PT Trade Prep.	Radio Service	1	21
" "	" " "	Machine Shop	2	52
" "	" " "	Refrigeration	1	27
" "	" " "	Beauty Culture	1	29
" "	Trade Exe.(App)	Electricity	6	99
" "	" " "	Sheet Metal	4	60
" "	" " "	Sheet Metal Welding	2	18
" "	" " "	Carpentry	2	84
" "	" " "	Electronics	2	32
" "	" " "	Welding	1	16
" "	Trade Exe.	Bluepring Reading & Drafting	1	57
" "	" "	SL-I FOUNDATIONS	2	50
" "	" "	SL-II Menu Planning	1	22
" "	" "	Welding	4	67
" "	" "	"	3	68
" "	" "	Auto Mechanics	1	23
" "	" "	Basic Lithographic Camera	1	20
" "	" "	Basic Lithographic Platemaking & Stripping	1	19
" "	" " (App)	Ironworking	2	74
" "	" "	Medical Terminology	1	33
" "	" "	Elevator Construction	2	93
" "	" "	Refrigeration, Air-Conditioning & Heating	1	24
ping Industry Program, 742 Ponce de Leon Pl., N. E.	Trade Exe,(App)	Drawing & Plan. Reading	1	37
" "	" " "	Pipe Welding	1	29
" "	" " "	Basic Plumbing	1	28
" "	" " "	Advanced Plumbing	1	16
" "	" " "	Basic Steamfitting	1	25
" "	" " "	Advanced Steamfitting	1	18
" "	" " "	Basic Welding	1	19
" "	" " "	Heliarc Welding	1	16

Location of Class	Type of Class	Occupation or Subject	No. of Classes	Accumulative Enrollment
Atlanta Gas Light Co., 240 Caroline St., S. E.	Trade Exe.(App)	Gasfitting	3	96
Fulton Cotton Mill	Trade Exe.	Loomfixing	1	19
" " "	" "	Supervision	3	44
" " "	" "	Textile Manu. Math & Technology	2	9
Piedmont Cotton Mill	" "	Loomfixing	1	9
Atlanta Steel Co. Conference Room	" "	Basic Arithmetic	1	18
Adm. Bldg.	" "	SL-I Foundations	2	46
157 Garnett St., S.W. Conference Room	" "	SL-III Nutrition	2	48
Adm. Bldg.	" "	SL-II Menu Planning	2	27
158½ Auburn Ave.	Trade Exe.(App)	Lathing	1	20
250 10th St.,N.E.	" " "	Painting & Decorating	4	135
60 Haynes St., NW	" " "	Plastering & Cement Masonry	1	35
Clark Howell School	Trade Exe.	School Building Main.	2	40
Russell High School	D. C. T.	Varied Occupations	1	35
College Park High	" " "	" "	1	27
Hapeville High	" " "	" "	1	27
Roosevelt High	" " "	" "	1	24
O'Keefe High	" " "	" "	1	31
Washington High	" " "	" "	1	39
L. J. Price High	Trade Exe.	SL-III Nutrition	1	24
" " " "	" "	SL-IV Food Preparation	1	19
Benteen School	" "	SL-IV Food Preparation	1	19
" "	" "	SL-IV Food Preparation	1	15
Carver Vocational	" "	Nutrition	3	41
" "	" "	Institutional Aides	2	48
" "	" "	Institutional Aides	1	24
" "	" "	Commercial Food Prep.	2	47
" "	" "	Nutrition 2PN	1	18
" "	" "	Painting & Decorating	1	11
" "	" "	Painting & Decorating	2	23
" "	PT Trade Prep.	Beauty Culture	2	32
" "	" " "	Radio & Television Servicing	1	12
" "	" " "	Auto Mechanics	2	30
" "	" " "	Machine Shop	2	24
" "	" " "	Tailoring	1	12
" "	" " "	Bricklaying	1	39
" "	FT Trade Prep.	Carpentry	1	14
" "	" " "	Auto Mechanics	1	32
" "	" " "	Tailoring	1	24
"	" " "	Dry Cleaning	1	32
" "	" " "	Beauty Culture	1	40
" "	" " "	Machine Shop	1	30
" "	" " "	Bricklaying	1	31
" "	" " "	Radio & Television Servicing	1	21
" "	" " "	Furniture Upholstery	1	15
" "	" " "	Power Sewing	1	26
" "	" " "	Plastering	1	8
" "	" " "	Commercial Cooking	1	27
" "	" " "	Show Repair	1	19
" "	General Contunuation	Adult Academic	1	19
			139	2991

14 programs

Fact sheet — Pub. Council — typ. Lite — M Taylor

JOINT APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEES
Metropolitan Atlanta Area

None	Atlanta Electrical Joint Apprenticeship & Training Committee — GATV + own	Mr. Walter Griffin, Training Director, Rm. 137 - 795 Peachtree Street, Atlanta, Ga.30308
None	Atlanta Painters JAC (2 in 1 cropped, drafted)	Mr. J. J. Webb, Coordinator 263 Casson Street, Atlanta, Georgia
none	Atlanta Ironworkers JATC — Test see GATV by Int'l	Mr. Benjamin Lowry, Coordinator 1014 Edgewood Avenue, N. E., Atlanta - 30307
yes	Atlanta Bricklayers JATC — about 70% white — locals 8 & 9 merged in 1962 20% N & 80% white — Referred there; GATV but had a job	Mr. Fred Summers, Chairman 706 E. Princeton Avenue, College Park, Georgia
None	Central Georgia Sheet Metal JAC — Test of Int'l	Mrs. Ruth Stanley, Office Secretary 250 - Tenth Street, N. E., Atlanta, Ga. - 30309
yes	Atlanta Carpenters JAC — GATV only	Mr. Charles Ingraham, Chairman c/o Flagler Company, 305 Techwood Dr., N.W. Atlanta
None	Atlanta Plumbing & Pipefitting JAC — own Test	Mr. Curtis F. Greene, Training Director Suite 200, Mechanical Institute Building 742 Ponce de Leon Place, Atlanta, Georgia
yes	Atlanta Roofers JAC — GATV — LG → Harold Jack Gray (B.A.)	Mr. Alfred L. Williams, Chairman 45 Third Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia
None	Atlanta Printers JAC — GATV — Some members in union by virtue of company consolidation	Mr. Richard Stout Printing Industry of Atlanta 881 Piedmont Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia
None	Capitol City Machine Shop	Mr. Bruce Baxter Capitol City Machine Co. 301 Pryor Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia
yes	Atlanta Plasters & Cement Masons JAC — Predominately Negro	Mr. Edward C. Couch 60 Haynes Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia
yes	Atlanta Lathers JAC — Usual 50-50	Mr. H. N. Bowen 158½ Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia
?	National Biscuit Company — maybe a couple of N.	Mr. Tom W. Vinson National Biscuit Company, 706 E. Hardin Avenue College Park, Georgia
yes	Lockheed-Georgia Company	Mr. John Lloyd Apprenticeship Training Coordinator Lockheed-Georgia Company, Dept. 89-01 Marietta, Georgia

Specific SAT B for most

Iron IBEW Pipefitters Sheetmetal Printers } all have Special Test — get from JAC

Employment Service Admin GATV

J.A.C administers own test when allow than G.A.T.V. — certified by State test can interpret GATV scores.

LABOR IN THE SOUTH

Ray Marshall

I. ORIGINS OF UNIONS IN THE SOUTH

A. The Earliest Unions
B. The Knights of Labor
C. The American Federation of Labor
D. Highlights of Developments by Trade and Industry Before the New Deal

1. Printing and building trades
2. Railroad workers and longshoremen
3. Coal miners and textile workers
4. Agricultural and lumber workers
5. Revolt of the textile workers
6. The 1930 organizing campaign

E. Depression and the New Deal

1. Upsurge in coal mining
2. Communists, Socialists, and sharecroppers
3. Growth of the CIO
4. Growth of some AFL unions

F. Impact of World War II
G. "Operation Dixie" and the 1946 AFL Organizing Drive

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF UNION STRENGTH IN THE SOUTH

A. Discussion of the Trends in Union Membership by States and Unions

1. General changes in union membership
2. Evolutionary and gradual changes

B. Factors Accounting for the Present Status of Unions in the South

1. Political factors - importance of political action for the growth of unions in the South
   a-the traditional political structure of the South
   b-the changing political structure - industrialization and social change
   c-the importance of favorable and unfavorable legislation for the growth of unions

2. Economic factors - importance of economic forces for the growth of unions in the South - the unions economic strength

a-the structure of the Southern economy - especially agriculture
b-importance of the level and structure of wages - will cause greater resistance, etc.
c-importance of the structure of firms operating in the South
1. the size of firms
2. the importance of branch plants
3. the extent of competition
d-importance of the economic objectives of the South's leaders

3. Social factors
a-labor's public image in the South
1. state and local officials - these people reflect local power structures
2. intellectuals in the South as compared with the non-South reflect the differences in the structuring of objectives - less anti-union here
3. the importance of race relations for union growth

a) has the issue been exaggerated as a factor hampering union growth?
b) how has it influenced unions?
1) - use in representation elections
2) - refusal by unions to organize some workers
3) - Negro-labor political coalitions
4) - unions' ability to organize where it would like to organize
5) - influence on internal union affairs and unity of workers
6) - potential effect on control of apprenticeship and other labor objectives

4. The internal strength of the labor movement
a-relationship of internal structure to organizing
b-financial strength and organizing
c-what accounts for the morale or spirit of a labor movement, and how important is this for organizing?
d-is the labor movement strong enough to shape the political, social, and economic trends in the South, or must it merely be shaped by those forces?

C. The Trends in Union Strength in the South

1. Favorable factors
a-industrialization
b-favorable legislation and administration - Negro-labor political coalitions
c-inflation
d-basic ecnomic strength of the unions
e-continuing importance of collective bargaining - gradual increase in white collar membership

2. Unfavorable factors:
   a-decentralization and smaller plants
   b-human relations approaches of companies
   c-composition of the labor force
   d-increasing living standards and weakening of identification with traditional goals of unions
   e-alienation of intellectuals and liberals within the labor movement

File: Const Proj. Atlanta Journeyman ~~Atlanta LEAP~~

APPRENTICESHIP OUTREACH PROGRAMS

Cumulative thru December 31, 1970

URBAN LEAGUE SPONSOR	CONTRACT SIGNED	TERMINATION DATE	TRAINEE GOAL	INDENTURES	DROPPED VOL	DROPPED DIS	INDENTURED ?	ASBESTOS WORKERS	BRICKLAYERS	CARPENTERS	CEMENT MASONS	ELECTRICIANS	ELEV. CONST.	GLAZIERS	IRON WORKERS	LATHERS	MACHINISTS	OPER. ENG.	PAINTERS	PIPE TRADES	PLASTERERS	ROOFERS	SHEET METAL	TILE SETTERS	MISCELLANEOUS TRADES	CUMULATIVE TOTAL
Akron	1/70	8/71	50	2	0					1	1		2	12		2	5		6	5	4	3		2	3		12	58
Atlanta	8/69	8/71	100	39	2					14	46		1	3				14	5	7	20	15	1	13	7			174
Baltimore	9/69	8/71	150	66	8				19	24	46		9	23	2		13			15	15	38		14	5		12	241
Charleston	6/70	8/71	30	0	0						3						1		1									5
Chicago	11/70	8/71	250	87	0				1	62	110		5	108		6	80	1		47	53	61		70	23		2	642
Colorado Springs	1/70	8/71	60	18	3					18	17			13	2		2			8	7	3		6	5		2	83
Columbia	6/70	8/71	30	0	0									1														1
Columbus, Ohio	6/69	8/71	50	10	4					1	9		14	9	2	4	4	1	2	5		4	5	7	3			70
Dayton	9/69	8/71	45	8	0					1	11		7	15			5			5	10	5		3	8		2	72
Denver	1/70	8/71	80	26	14				1	1	30		3	12	8	3	10			26	9	19		3	7	4	8	144
Flint	1/70	8/71	125	10	7					8	20		10	13	1	2	3	1		1	9	11	3	2	14		3	102
Greenville	6/70	8/71	20	1	0						8			2								2						12
Hartford	6/70	8/71	30	0	0									1											3			4
Jacksonville	11/69	8/71	50	28	0					2	34		2	3				2		1	7		3	13	3			76
Kansas City	11/69	8/71	80	17	2				2	23	16			8		1	3	9		3	1	11	7		9			93
Los Angeles	9/69	8/71	100	5	2					10	46		5	22	1	3	5	3		20	12	14			9	2	7	152
Miami	11/69	8/71	65	18	1					4	25		1	7				5			20	20	1		4			87
Milwaukee	9/69	8/71	90	7	9				1	10	19		7	11	2	4	5	1	2	44	6	13		2	6		2	135
New Orleans	11/69	8/71	70	15	2					20	20		32	1	1	6	3	5	2		5	3		6	2		4	110
Omaha	1/70	8/71	35	2	1					1	3		3	2							5	1		6	2			23
Peoria	10/69	8/71	25	17	5						1			3						7	5				5			21

CONTINUATION ON NEXT

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

LABOR EDUCATION ADVANCEMENT PROGRAM

55 EAST 52ND STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022 · AREA CODE 212 – 751-0300

February 10, 1971

Mr. E. T. Kehrer, Southern Area Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
Suite 1422
40 Marietta Street, North West
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear ~~Mr. Kehrer~~ Al:

I enclose herewith per your request of letter dated February 8, 1971 a xerox copy of the Atlanta Urban League, Labor Education Advancement Program (LEAP), Sub-Contract No. 34-0-0001-007 amended Contract.

If any additional information is required, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely yours,

Napoleon B. Johnson

NAPOLEON B. JOHNSON, II
National Director, LEAP

NBJ:ljb
Enclosure (1)
cc: Mr. Lyndon Wade, Executive Director
Atlanta Urban League

STANDARD FORM 30, JULY 1966
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
FED. PROC. REG. (41 CFR) 1-16.101

AMENDMENT OF SOLICITATION/MODIFICATION OF CONTRACT

1. AMENDMENT/MODIFICATION NO. 1
2. EFFECTIVE DATE 9/1/70
3. REQUISITION/PURCHASE REQUEST NO.
4. PROJECT NO. (If applicable) 34-0-0001-000-

5. ISSUED BY CODE
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.
55 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

6. ADMINISTERED BY (If other than block 5) CODE
LABOR EDUCATION ADVANCEMENT PROGRAM (LEAP)
477 MADISON AVENUE 18TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

7. CONTRACTOR NAME AND ADDRESS CODE 34-0-0001 FACILITY CODE 007
(Street, city, county, state, and ZIP Code)
ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
75 PIEDMONT, N.W., SUITE 310
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

8. ☐ AMENDMENT OF SOLICITATION NO. N/A
DATED _____ (See block 9)
☐ MODIFICATION OF CONTRACT/ORDER NO. 34-0-0001-007
DATED 8/27/70 (See block 11)

9. THIS BLOCK APPLIES ONLY TO AMENDMENTS OF SOLICITATIONS
☐ The above numbered solicitation is amended as set forth in block 12. The hour and date specified for receipt of Offers ☐ is extended, ☐ is not extended.
Offerors must acknowledge receipt of this amendment prior to the hour and date specified in the solicitation, or as amended, by one of the following methods:
(a) By signing and returning _____ copies of this amendment; (b) By acknowledging receipt of this amendment on each copy of the offer submitted; or (c) By separate letter or telegram which includes a reference to the solicitation and amendment numbers. FAILURE OF YOUR ACKNOWLEDGMENT TO BE RECEIVED AT THE ISSUING OFFICE PRIOR TO THE HOUR AND DATE SPECIFIED MAY RESULT IN REJECTION OF YOUR OFFER. If, by virtue of this amendment you desire to change an offer already submitted, such change may be made by telegram or letter, provided such telegram or letter makes reference to the solicitation and this amendment, and is received prior to the opening hour and date specified.

10. ACCOUNTING AND APPROPRIATION DATA (If required)

11. THIS BLOCK APPLIES ONLY TO MODIFICATIONS OF CONTRACTS/ORDERS
(a) ☐ This Change Order is issued pursuant to _____
The Changes set forth in block 12 are made to the above numbered contract/order.
(b) ☐ The above numbered contract/order is modified to reflect the administrative changes (such as changes in paying office, appropriation data, etc.) set forth in block 12.
(c) ☒ This Supplemental Agreement is entered into pursuant to authority of 34-0-0001-000 U.S. Dept. of Labor
It modifies the above numbered contract as set forth in block 12.

12. DESCRIPTION OF AMENDMENT/MODIFICATION

1. The period of performance is hereby extended to August 31, 1971.

2. The old budget is deleted and the new budget is substituted.

3. Total estimated cost of this sub-contract is hereby increased from $ 54,790.00 to $ 113,648.00.

4. The vacation, sick-leave and legal holiday provisions are modified to permit staff of the National Urban League to continue to benefit under the National Urban League's personnel policy.

5. The fringe benefit provisions are modified to permit staff qualifying under National Urban League's personnel policy to enjoy the benefits conferred thereunder.

6. The trainee goal is hereby increased from 30 to 100.

Except as provided herein, all terms and conditions of the document referenced in block 8, as heretofore changed, remain unchanged and in full force and effect.

13. ☐ CONTRACTOR/OFFEROR IS NOT REQUIRED TO SIGN THIS DOCUMENT ☒ CONTRACTOR/OFFEROR IS REQUIRED TO SIGN THIS DOCUMENT AND RETURN 6 COPIES TO ISSUING OFFICE

14. NAME OF CONTRACTOR/OFFEROR
BY Lyndon D. Wade (Signature of person authorized to sign)

17. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.
BY Whitney M. Young Jr. (Signature of Contracting Officer)

15. NAME AND TITLE OF SIGNER (Type or print)
LYNDON WADE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

16. DATE SIGNED 12-7-70

18. NAME OF CONTRACTING OFFICER (Type or print)
WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

19. DATE SIGNED DEC 18 1970

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1968 O—293-113—(18-63)

SPECIAL PROVISIONS

The following Special Provisions together with the attached Department of Labor General Provisions and Established National Urban League Policies are applicable to this Sub-contract. Where there is a conflict between the aforementioned, the Special Provisions take precedence. Where a matter is not resolvable under the Special Provisions, the General Provisions must next be consulted, and if not resolvable thereunder, the Established National Urban League Policies will apply so long as such policies do not conflict with any other written authoritative issuance by the funding source.

SPECIAL PROVISION NO. 1 - KEY EXECUTIVES AND STAFF PERSONNEL

(1) The Sub-contractor agrees that, as such as possible but not later than 15 days from the date of contract execution by the National Urban League, he shall provide the National Director, Labor Education Advancement Program with a list of key executives and other staff personnel whose salaries, in whole or in part, are charged under the contract. The list shall include position titles, name, social security number, annual salary, percent of time to be devoted to the project, and accompanied with descriptive duties and responsibilities of each staff position.

(2) The Contractor further agrees that he will, opposite position titles, a annotate the aforesaid list to reflect those persons who will be responsible for the handling and disbursing of Federal funds, and who are properly bonded pursuant to clause 23 of the General Provisions of the contract.

(3) In the event the Sub-contractor finds it necessary, during the life of the contract, to make any change to that provided under (1) and (2), above, he shall promptly notify the National Director, Labor Education Advancement Program in writing, giving the reason therefor and furnishing the name and biography of the intended replacement. No change, however, shall be made by the Sub-contractor until the receipt of written notice from the National Director to proceed with the change. Generally, circumstances warranted, such written notice will be made within 30 days from date of receipt.

(4) Notwithstanding (3), above, the National Urban League also reserves the right at any time during the contract period to request the removal of any person whose performance or record is considered inconsistent with or detrimental to the objectives of the project, or not in the best interest of the Government. Such request will be made by the National Director, LEAP in writing, setting forth the reason(s) on which it is based.

SPECIAL PROVISION NO. 2 - COMPUTATION OF STAFF SALARY

The following salary seale shall apply for the positions listed. Personnel occupying any position not listed below shall be compensated at the rate as specified in the budget(s) of this sub-contract. The contractor shall have the right to hire personnel at less than the maximum rate shown and to upgrade the employees salary in accordance with performance. In no event, however, shall any employer be paid in excess of the maximum budgeted rate unless written approval is granted by the National Director, LEAP and the sub-contract modified accordingly.

Director	$13,500 to $14,500
Tradesmen Specialist	12,000 to 13,500
Recruiter	11,500 to 12,500

SPECIAL PROVISION NO. 3 - FRINGE BENEFITS

Social Security, Workmen's Compensation, Unemployment Compensation and any other fringe benefits required by law and paid by the employer are allowable costs under this contract.

Additional fringe benefits may be negotiated under this contract provided such fringe benefits are a normal practice of the Contractor at the time of final negotiations for this contract and are available to all employees. Fringe benefits from an immediate previous employer which may be continued while employed under this contract are an allowable cost. In no event will duplicate fringe benefits be allowable to an individual employed under this contract.

SPECIAL PROVISION NO. 4 VACATION, SICK LEAVE, LEGAL HOLIDAYS

Any staff personnel employed by the Contractor under the terms of this contract shall be granted annually the following leave:

Vacation - Two weeks (ten working days) or in accordance with the Contractor's written policy. (Sick Leave - Two weeks (ten working days) or in accordance with the Contractor's written policy. (Legal Holidays - New Years Day, Washingtons Birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Labor Day, Veterans Day, Thanksgiving Day and Christmas Day.

Leave shall be accrued at the rate of 5/6 of 1 day per month for each month employed. If the term of this contract is for more than or less than one year, the above leave shall be adjusted accordingly. No payment may be made under this clause if the above items are covered under Special Provision No. 3, "Fringe Benefits".

SPECIAL PROVISION NO. 5 - FLEXIBILITY OF COSTS

Flexibility of costs between the budgets of the sub-contracts for each of the cities specified shall not be allowed. Funds made available for expenditure under one sub-contract budget shall not be used to pay costs incurred under any other sub-contract budget. Flexibility of direct costs, not to exceed 20%, will be allowed however within the sub-contract budget at the time of final settlement provided no change is made in line item 14A (1) WAGES AND SALARIES and further provided that the total estimated cost of each budget is not exceeded.

SPECIAL PROVISION NO. 6 - STAFF SALARY LIMITATIONS

No employee under this contract will be paid an amount in excess of $22,000.00 per year under this contract unless otherwise authorized in writing by the Contracting Officer.

SPECIAL PROVISION NO. 7 - LEASE-PURCHASE AGREEMENT

The Contractor shall not, while using Federal funds in performance of this contract, lease either real or personal property under terms providing, among other things, for the option to apply rent in whole or in part toward the purchase of the property being leased without prior written consent of the Manpower Administration Property Officer. Moreover, the Contractor agrees to have the substance of this clause inserted in any subcontract or equivalent instrument entered into in performance of this contract.

SPECIAL PROVISION NO. 8 - TRAVEL AND PER DIEM

All travel under this contract shall be at tourist, coach fares, or less than first class unless itinerary or nonavailability dictate otherwise. All automobile travel shall be reimbursed at 10¢ per mile. Per Diem of $20 per day shall be allowed when lodging cost is $10 or less per day and additional per diem amounts above $20, but not to exceed $25, when lodging cost is more than $10 per day. A $20 per diem rate will be used for determining fractional parts of a day for continuous travel of more than 24 hours. For travel of less than 24 hours when a night's lodging is not required, the per diem rate shall be $10. However, no per diem shall be allowed when the travel period is 10 hours or less during the same calendar day; except when the travel period is 6 hours or more and begins before 6 a.m. or terminates after 8 p.m.

SPECIAL PROVISION NO. 9 - FULL TIME EMPLOYEES

It is understood that all employees under this contract are required to devote full time to the operation of this contract. No employee shall provide services to any other contractor or employer unless specifically authorized to do so, in writing, by the Contracting Officer. If so authorized, that employee shall be compensated from this contract on a pro-rata basis commensurate with the percentage of time devoted to this contract.

SPECIAL PROVISION NO. 10 - CONTRACTING OFFICER'S REPRESENTATIVE

The National Urban League's National Director of the Labor Education Advancement Program and his professional staff shall monitor performance under this contract. No changes in the program phases of the work or terms and conditions of this Sub-contract may be made without prior approval of the National Director of the Labor Education Advancement Program. Such changes, if any, shall be accomplished only by a properly executed Request For Contract Modification.

SPECIAL PROVISION NO. 11 - REPORTS

The Sub-contractor shall furnish the National Director of the Labor Education Advancement Program on or before the first (1st) working day of each month, the following reports and documents:

1. Form MT4-OJT-4 Original and two copies.

2. Monthly Activity Report - three copies.

3. Contractor's Invoice - Original and two ink signed copies.

Page No.

PROPOSALS FOR FEDERALLY ASSISTED
ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

US D/L-OJT-3 (Rev.)
Bud. Bur. No. 44-R1227
Approval Expires 6-30-6

☐ MDTA ☐ ARA

SECTION I—CERTIFICATION

CONTRACT NUMBER 34-0-0001-007

(This section to be completed for each OJT contract)

A. The ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE LABOR EDUCATION ADVANCEMENT PROGRAM
(Name of Contractor)
herewith submits this proposal and certifies that the information contained herein is correct.

LYNDON WADE — Executive Director — Date
(Authorized Representative of Contractor) (Title)

B. The _____
(Name of Collective Bargaining Agency)
concurs in submitting this proposal.

(Authorized Representative) (Title) Date

C. The undersigned representative of the State Employment Service of _____ certifies that there is a legitimate need for training in the occupations identified in this contract, and that reasonable expectation of employment has been established.

(State Employment Security Representative) (Title) Date

D. The undersigned representative of the State Vocational Education Agency of the State of _____ certifies that: ☐ 1. The plan and budget for supplementary instruction are adequate and reasonable and recommends approval, OR
☐ 2. He has been notified of this proposal.

(State Voc. Ed. Representative) Date

The undersigned representative of DHEW Approves the proposed supplementary instruction and authorizes the expenditure of Manpower funds therefor.

(Division Voc. Tech. Ed. Field Representative) Date

E. The undersigned representative of the Bureau of Employment Security finds this OJT proposal well substantiated as to evidence of suitable occupational shortage, availability of trainees, and reasonable assurance of employment for persons who successfully complete the training; approves the State Employment Security agency budget for project costs and allowances; and recommends approval of the proposal.

(BES Representative) (Title) Date

F. The undersigned USDL representative certifies that the training content of this OJT proposal is adequate and that it has been discussed with a duly constituted Manpower Advisory Committee or with labor and management groups representative of the area, and recommends approval.

(Agency and Title of USDL Representative)

Signature Date

(Following this page attach E.S. M2-1 and any other documents relating to justification for training.)

SHEET A

LABOR MARKET AREA, NAME _____ No. _____

LOCAL E.S. OFFICE, NAME _____ No. _____ State _____

SECTION II—GENERAL PROGRAM DATA CONTRACT NUMBER 34-0-0001 -007

(This section to be completed for each OJT contract)

1. OJT Contractor: ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

2. Address: 75 PIEDMONT, N. W. (Street) ATLANTA (City)

(County) GEORGIA (State) (803) 256=3666 (Phone)

3. Product or Service (If Employer): SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY (Give Standard Industrial Classification Code if Known)

4. Total No. of Employees: _____ 5. Proposed starting date of training: 9/1/69

6. Name of person in charge of OJT: LYNDON WADE

7. Location and brief description of OJT space: 75 Piedmont, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia

8. (a) No. projects under this contract: ONE (b) No. Trainees: ONE HUNDRED (100)

9. Will trainees receive wages from the contractor for any portion of the OJT period?

☐ Yes ☒ No If yes, indicate hours of paid and non-paid time in Item 22.

10. Are contractor and Government adequately insured against liability claims by trainees?

☒ Yes ☐ No

11. Do the Project Plan and Facility meet the requirements relative to the terms and conditions of employment prescribed by applicable Federal, State, and local law?

☒ Yes ☐ No (Explain adjustments required prior to start of training)

12. Show major items of OJT Contractor's equipment to be used in training:

ITEM	NO.	ITEM	NO.

SHEET B

13. Program Narrative: (In this space give a concise narrative description of the proposed training. Tell how, when and where the training will be given; explain any unusual aspects.)

PURPOSE

It is the purpose of this agreement between the National Urban League and the Urban League of ATLANTA, GEORGIA affiliate of the National Urban League, to establish the following:

1. The Urban League of ATLANTA, GEORGIA will establish and operate a LEAP apprenticeship outreach project to prepare and place at least ONE HUNDRED (100) apprentices in the building and construction trades.
2. The term of this contract will be not more than 24 months.
3. Funds will be provided under the National Urban League's prime contract with the U. S. Department of Labor to reimburse for the approved administrative costs and other supportive services.

SCOPE OF WORK

Objectives

The prime objective of this project is to promote, locate, motivate guide and assist minority youths in gaining entrance into registered apprenticeship training programs in the building and construction trades which normally have not accepted minorities in the past, and to counsel and assist those so selected in remaining in their apprenticeship until successful completion. The secondary objective is to assist minority youths in gaining entrance in the construction industry. Also, to assist minority individuals to enter the construction trades as journeymen. It is understood that those placements which are made under the secondary objective will not be counted against the total trainee goal outlined in the contract.

Proposed Duties and Responsibilities

1. To seek out and identify minority youths for apprenticeship training.
2. To acquaint minority youth with the opportunities available in the apprenticeable occupations.
3. To work with the candidate's family (parents or older member) to:
   a. Convince them of the advantages and the career benefits of apprenticeship.
   b. Neutralize any resistance or antipathy the family may have toward blue collar occupations, and
   c. To enlist their support of the candidate through the waiting period, indenture process and apprenticeship.
4. Preparing each applicant for JAC examination, both written and oral by special coaching such as refresher sessions in mathematics and related work, and how to take tests (interviews), etc.
5. To keep them advised as to date, place and time to make application for those programs they qualify for, and assist where necessary to insure proper follow through.
6. To establish an effective working relationship with the local JAC'S union and management officials, local, state and federal agencies, so as to maintain an accurate and up-to-date picture of conditions pertaining to the opportunities, etc., available.
7. To maintain a current file of prospective apprentice applicants and other records necessary to provide the Advisory Committee with a monthly report.

SHEET

13. *Program Narrative:* (In this space give a concise narrative description of the proposed training. Tell how, when and where the training will be given and explain any unusual aspects.)

8. To work closely with the BAT Representative to coordinate activities.
9. To provide follow-up service to those placed under this contract and where required to those youths who are selected as apprentices so as to prevent dropouts.
10. To follow through on all applicants so as to maintain interest, etc.

Provide all necessary supportive services assisting the candidate in securing all documents or records that are required by a JAC such as high school diploma (or equivalency) school records, birth certificate, health examination, etc.

SHEET

14. Contractor's Training Costs

A. Training Personnel Services		$ 98,843.21
(1) Wages and salaries	82,597.43	
(2) Transportation and subsistence	3,890.10	
(3) Insurance and other benefits	8,458.08	
(4) Social Security	2,373.00	
(5) Bonding	289.00	
(6) Liability Insurance	1,235.60	
(7) Bookkeeping Services		
(8)		
B. Consumable OJT Materials		13,201.37
(1) Trainee supplies		
(2) Practice materials	1,394.29	
(3) Promotional Materials	1,619.88	
(4) Telephone & Telegraph	2,638.34	
(5) Office Supplies & Postage	1,439.90	
(6) Office Space & Utilities	6,108.96	
(7)		
(8)		
C. Other Cost Items Chargeable to OJT		1,603.38
(1) Maintenance and/or repairs		
(2) Waste and/or scrap		
(3) Furniture & Equipment	1,603.38	
(4) Repairs		
(5) Drayage		
(6)		
(7)		
(8)		
CONTRACTOR'S TRAINING COST TOTAL		$ 113,648.00

Following this page, attach pages showing for each line item above:
(a) basis of computation, or
(b) units and unit cost, or
(c) combination of (a) and (b) plus other details required for review and audit of project costs.

SHEET

SUBCONTRACT APPROVALS

All subcontracts promoted under the terms and conditions of this contract shall be reviewed, signed and executed by the Executive Director and the authorized representative of the subcontractor.

Approval of the subcontract, prior to execution, will be obtained from the National Urban League LEAP Contracting Officer.

No subcontract shall be executed which expires after the expiration date of the prime contract.

This subcontract as well as the National Umbrella Contract can be cancelled at any time at the convenience of the Labor Department; likewise, this subcontract can be cancelled at the convenience of the National Urban League.

Performance Terms:

This subcontract is entered into with affiliate Urban League in order to accomplish the goal of getting minorities into the Mechanical Trades. The staffing pattern of this subcontract is based upon the computed, desired, and allowable need for supportive services in order to accomplish the aforementioned goal.

Failure to Perform:

Failure to perform under the terms of this contract regarding the special, general, and NUL provisions shall be considered as a basis for immediate notification of the affiliate Executive Director and Project Director for their consideration. Upon discovery of the failure to perform according to the terms of this subcontract the following steps will be taken:

A. Within 15 days of notifying the affiliate authorities, notification should be given to NUL that corrective steps have been taken.

B. Within 30 days of notification of affiliate authorities, provided all violations are not corrected, suspension of the project and preparations for termination will begin. At this time, all project staff will be notified of their suspension and possible termination within 30 days.

C. After 15 days additional time, failure to correct the subcontract violations will result in an official notice of termination to the subcontract affiliate authorities and staff. All such persons affected will be terminated within two working weeks.

D. All contractu[illegible]gations undertaken by an affiliate such as vacati[illegible] to employees, etc., will be assumed by the [illegible]nal Urban League Coordination Office and an [illegible]ant coordinator will be assigned there to asce[illegible] the legitimacy of such claims and all payments [illegible]e made to the legitimate claimants as part of c[illegible]ut of subcontracts.

E. The special [illegible] account and all funds which are obligated to [illegible]rom the National Urban League according to the contr[illegible] will be reimbursed and steps taken to close-out [illegible] account. However, where funds are due to the special bank account by affiliates due to contract violations, these funds will not be reimbursed for close-out until the affiliate has reimbursed owed monies to the special bank account.

MONITORING OF SUBCONTRACTS BY CONTRACTOR STAFF

1. Each training facility shall be visited by a member of the Contractor's Staff prior to execution of subcontracts, and shall be visited during the term of the subcontracts as may be required.

2. Progress reports will be required from subcontractors as required by the Office of National Projects, Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor.

3. Contractor Staff shall review each subcontractor report prior to approving the progress report and authorizing payment for services rendered by the subcontractor.

4. Payments to subcontractors will be made at intervals specified in the subcontract according to the conditions stated therein.

CLOSING SUBCONTRACTS

Final payment to subcontractors will not be made until:

1. The Contractor has approved all reports and has received a subcontractor's release, final invoice, a final OJH-4, monthly activity report and any other documents or reports required by the Department of Labor.

TRANSPORTATION AND SUBSISTENCE

No out of town transportation and subsistence costs will be allowed to any affiliate, except where authorized in writing by the National Coordination Office.

Per diem is allowed at the rate not to exceed $25.00 per day and .10 per mile is allowed for the use of privately owned automobiles. Each subcontract contains a budget item for mileage and parking costs based on an estimate of the weekly need for each project staff member. This estimate is close to what costs will actually be incurred, and mileage for all staff should be reasonable, consistent and similar.

EQUIPMENT

Since most required equipment was purchased under the previous umbrella contract, it is presumed that the affiliates will need a minimum of additional items. To this end, a flat rate will be provided for maintenance and other small items of equipment.

STAFFING PATTERNS

Wherever possible, the contractor will attempt to continue the employment of all staff members which have proven their capacity to perform under the previous subcontract. However, given the reduction in overall funding and the inflation in costs, some shrinkage of job positions may be necessary. Also, where an affiliate due to its previous performance has received fewer slots, the administrative ratio will be the final parameter in the size of the staff.

STAFF SALARY STANDARDS

In order to make possible the recruitment and continuation of the best and most productive personnel in any affiliate project, the National Coordination Office has struggled to achieve a maximal and adequate level of renumeration for project personnel. These standards are stated in the model budget forms attached, and it is recommended that they be adhered to completely.

BONDING

All Executive and Project Directors will be bonded. This bond will be effective throughout the contractual period. If the personnel desired by the Executive Director are not bondable, they cannot be employed on the affiliate LEAP staff and all changes in the affiliate staff desired by the local Executive Director must be submitted and approved by the National Coordination Office prior to employment. At least three weeks notice is required for such changes to be approved.

SPECIAL BANK ACCOUNT

According to the terms of the subcontract any and all funds advanced to the affiliate must be placed in a single special bank account numbered by the subcontract digits and drawable against the submitted agreement by the Board President or Executive Director and cosigned by the Project Director. All signatories will be bonded. If the affiliate wishes to have another person designed to sign checks or make withdrawals, he may be substituted for the Board President. However, in all instances all transactions should be signed by the Project Director and one other affiliate authority. No transfer of funds from the special bank account can be made without approval of NUL coordinating office in writing.

PROGRESS REPORTS

The subcontractor shall submit monthly reports during the term of the subcontract. The reports shall be submitted to the LEAP Coordinator's Office by the fifth of every month and must be complete according to the terms described in the Subcontractor's Manual. Reports which are late or incomplete will be returned to the affiliate and a delay of payment of approximately thirty days will ensue. Progress reports will include: monthly billings, time sheets, travel expense sheets (including odometer readings), and OJT 4 - MT4 etc. A deposit slip registering the actual deposit of the previous month's reimbursement from the NUL to the Special Project's bank account number, must be included as part of the monthly progress report.

EXPENDITURES

All expenditures under the contract shall be individually and separately documented and substantiated. Proper internal controls must be maintained according to the NUL Bookkeeping Standards.

CHANGES IN CONTRACT

No changes affecting any subcontract shall be made without prior approval, in writing, from the NUL.

COSTS

All costs over and above those specified in the contract shall be absorbed by the subcontractor.

REVERSION OF FUNDS

All funds awarded the Urban League of ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE under this contract but not used in fulfillment of its provisions, will be refunded to the National Urban League.

FISCAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A. The Subcontractor agrees to follow a standard system of accounting practices and procedures as set up by the LEAP Fiscal Officer for all Urban League apprenticeship outreach projects.

B. The Subcontractor agrees to maintain and make available for inspection, audit or reproduction by the National Urban League's Contracting Officer or his designee all books, records, documents, papers and other evidence pertaining to transactions related to this contract.

NEWS

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF INFORMATION, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20210

Current Projects – Atlanta Journeymen's Project

Southeastern Regional Office
Bureau of Labor Statistics

Atlanta, Georgia
404-526-5418

FOR RELEASE: P.M. Editions, Thursday, March 11, 1971, or thereafter

SOUTHEASTERN BUILDING TRADES WAGE SCALES ADVANCE IN FOURTH QUARTER OF 1970 TO $5.24 AN HOUR

Union hourly wage scales for building trades workers in the Southeast 1/ averaged $5.24 an hour on January 4, 1971, according to Brunswick A. Bagdon, Southeastern Regional Director of the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics. Nationally, these trades averaged $6.39 an hour.

The all-trades average in the Southeast rose by 13.9 cents during the fourth quarter of 1970--an increase of 2.7 percent. Among individual trades, increases in the Southeast ranged from 9.5 cents for plasterers to 18.1 cents for carpenters and averaged 10.4 cents for plumbers and electricians, 11.7 cents for painters, 12.2 cents for bricklayers, and 12.7 cents for building laborers.

The level of hourly wage scales in the region on January 4, 1971 was 53.2 cents above the previous year, an increase of 11.3 percent. The year-to-year advance varied from 40.9 cents for plasterers to 91.6 cents for plumbers.

Among the six journeymen crafts, plumbers had the highest average scale as of January 4, 1971--$6.69 an hour. The basic scale for plumbers varied from $5.25 an hour in Columbia, South Carolina to $7.59 in Miami, Florida. For the other journeymen trades, regional average hourly scales were painters $5.03, plasterers $5.27, carpenters $5.48, bricklayers $5.87, and electricians $6.39.

1/ Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

Building laborers' scales averaged $3.45 an hour, ranging from $2.20 in Montgomery, Alabama to $5.30 in Miami, Florida.

Changes in union scales over the quarter and year and the rate levels on January 4, 1971 are shown below. In computing the changes in rates, the increases in each trade were averaged among all workers in the trade, whether or not they received raises. Data for the separate crafts, by city, are shown in the accompanying table.

Trade	Change in Average to January 4, 1971 from --				Average Rate	
	October 1, 1970		January 2, 1970		January 4, 1971	
	Percent	Cents	Percent	Cents	Average	Range
Bricklayers.....	2.1	12.2	10.4	55.3	$ 5.87	$ 4.65 - 7.33
Carpenters.....	3.4	18.1	9.9	49.6	5.48	4.05 - 6.70
Electricians.....	1.7	10.4	14.3	79.9	6.39	4.85 - 8.08
Painters.....	2.4	11.7	9.0	41.7	5.03	4.00 - 6.50
Plasterers.....	1.8	9.5	8.4	40.9	5.27	4.25 - 6.85
Plumbers.....	1.6	10.4	15.9	91.6	6.69	5.25 - 7.59
Building Laborers..	3.8	12.7	14.0	42.4	3.45	2.20 - 5.30
All Trades.....	2.7	13.9	11.3	53.2	5.24	- -

Data not comparable with Southeastern averages published prior to July 1, 1969 due to a change in regional definition.

Union scales are the minimum wage rates (excluding holiday and vacation payments made directly to the worker each pay period) agreed upon through collective bargaining and reported to the Bureau by local respondents. The scales do not reflect rates for apprentices or for premium work. Overtime beyond established maximum daily and weekly hours is excluded.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Suite 540 - 1371 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Union Hourly Wage Scales 1/ for Selected Building Trades
in 18 Southeastern Cities, January 4, 1971

City	Bricklayers	Carpenters	Electricians	Painters	Plasterers	Plumbers	Building Laborers
Atlanta, Ga.....	$ 5.950	$ 6.650*	$ 7.150	$ 6.400	$ 6.170*	$ 6.850	$ 3.850*
Birmingham, Ala.....	6.050#	5.300#	6.200	5.200	5.220#	6.500	3.600
Charleston, S.C.....	4.650	4.050	5.250*	4.000	4.350	5.550	2/
Charlotte, N.C.....	4.900	4.450	5.250*	4.000	4.250	5.500*	2.950*
Chattanooga, Tenn.....	5.900*	5.230*	6.250*	4.950	5.250	6.700*	3.600
Columbia, S.C.....	2/	4.300	4.850	4.000	2/	5.250	2/
Jackson, Miss.....	5.400	5.000*	6.000	4.500*	5.000	6.350*	2.850*
Jacksonville, Fla.....	4.950	4.640	6.450#	5.200*	5.610	7.400	2.750
Knoxville, Tenn.....	6.420*	5.550*	6.000*	4.950*	5.500*	6.400*	3.850*
Louisville, Ky.....	7.330*	6.700*	8.080	5.290*	6.070*	6.980	4.850
Memphis, Tenn.....	6.450*	5.600*	6.180	5.150	5.550	6.440	3.025*
Miami, Fla.....	6.850	6.700	7.100	6.000	6.850	7.590*	5.300
Mobile, Ala.....	6.970*	6.420*	7.150	6.500*	6.800*	7.050	4.150*
Montgomery, Ala.....	5.300	5.000*	5.100*	4.500	4.400	6.250	2.200
Nashville, Tenn.....	5.750	5.300	5.770*	4.700	5.200*	5.850	3.400
Raleigh, N.C.....	5.250*	4.850*	5.250*	4.050	4.250	5.500*	2.950*
Savannah, Ga.....	5.800*	5.200*	5.800*	4.250	4.250	5.820*	2.900*
Tampa, Fla.....	5.650	5.430	6.150*	4.550	5.550	6.200#	3.875*

1/ These scales represent the minimum wage rates (excluding holiday and vacation payments regularly made or credited to the worker each pay period) agreed upon through collective bargaining between employers and trade unions.
2/ No union scale in effect on survey date.
* Represents an increase between October 1, 1970 and January 4, 1971.
\# Data for previous quarter have been corrected.

Current Projects: Atlanta Journeyman Project ~~Hartford~~ ~~Bldg. Trades~~

REPORT ON THE JOURNEYMAN TRAINING FEASIBILITY STUDY
OF THE JOINT APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM OF THE WORKERS
DEFENSE LEAGUE/A. PHILIP RANDOLPH EDUCATIONAL FUND

PREFACE

In March 1970, the Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense League/ A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund received a grant from the AFL-CIO Executive Council to develop a "research in action" project on journeyman programs for minority workers in the construction industry. More specifically, our mandate was to study alternative strategies for increasing the number of minority journeymen and clarify the basic issues concerning the feasibility of these various strategies.

One of the most important objectives of this project was to facilitate and improve communication between the construction industry and minority groups. We therefore, established a special committee which included representatives of building trades unions, contractor associations, minority community groups, and persons from the academic community who were knowledgeable about minority employment programs in the industry.

The committee represented a wide range of experience - including that of the unions and contractors in many areas, of the Joint Apprenticeship Program WDL-Randolph Institute, in 21 cities, of the Urban League in 35 cities, of the Mexican American Opportunity Foundation, and others. Members of this committee participated in field research activities which included visits to program sites; seminars with local labor, employer and community groups; detailed interviews with program administrators and minority protest leaders. The committee made special visits to Boston and Chicago for in-depth studies of programs in those cities.

It must be emphasized however, that this is not an exhaustive analysis of programs. While such a study would be extremely useful, the limited resources available to us would not permit us to undertake such a project. Moreover, many of these programs have not been in existence long enough to be meaningfully evaluated.

REPORT ON THE JOURNEYMAN TRAINING FEASIBILITY STUDY

This report is submitted by the Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, Feb. , 1971.

This report is necessarily an interim report. The training of minority journeymen for the building and construction trades is a complex area in which a great variety of methods and programs are now in operation. We have not been able to make a comprehensive study of all programs and their interrelationships. This report is an initial summary of our study and our recommendations, which will need to be expanded and updated as time goes on.

The committee feels that we have obtained enough insight from our study to clarify the major issues and make the following preliminary judgments. Our preliminary conclusions are based upon the following assumptions:

(1) There are non-apprenticeable routes of entry into the trades which could be made available to minority workers.

(2) It is essential that programs for minority workers do not result in the dilution of journeyman skills and union standards.

(3) It is essential that the graduates of minority training and upgrading programs should be fully qualified craftsmen with marketable skills, and not partially trained second-class mechanics.

FINDINGS

(1) Apprenticeship Outreach has been successful in increasing the number of minority youth in apprenticeship training programs. By October 1970, programs operating in over 80 cities under the

sponsorship of either the Urban League, or the Joint Apprenticeship program or the Building and Construction Trades Councils have placed 7,813 minority youths in apprenticeship programs in the building and construction trades. (See Table 1). In Chicago, during the few months of operation of the Chicago Plan, between its beginning and December, 1970, 184 minority apprentices were indentured (See Table 2). (In Chicago, apprentice outreach has been going on for several years, and has placed more than 600 minority youths as apprentices.) In Boston, outreach placed 107 minority youth as apprentices in the period between October 1968 and September 1970. (See Table 3). Thus, in spite of declining employment during 1970, outreach programs continue to recruit and indenture minority youth in substantial numbers in apprenticeship programs.

(2) It is important that the local affiliates of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department continue, in accordance with their policy adopted in October, 1969, to recruit qualified minority craftsmen who are able to work as journeymen and become full union members. Special outreach efforts to recruit minority journeymen should be initiated where they have not yet been started. While the number of fully qualified minority mechanics who are not union members is not large in most crafts and areas, there are nevertheless a group of such persons who should be encouraged to enter the unions. In Chicago, for example, 203 minorities were placed as journeymen under the Chicago Plan by December 1970. (See Table 2). In Boston 148 minorities were placed as journeymen between October, 1968 and September, 1970. (See Table 3). Implementation of journeymen outreach programs nationwide will reduce unnecessary conflict between the minority community, the contractors and the building and construction trades unions.

(3) The nature and role of training-upgrading programs for partially skilled minority workers is a complex area which involves a variety of experimental programs. We have not, in the limited time alloted to us, been able to make a comprehensive study of all these activities and their interrelationships. However, we did study the training-upgrading programs now starting to operate in Boston and Chicago. In both these cities and others as well minority workers are being trained to be journeymen in special programs. In Chicago 192 minorities were placed in upgrading-training programs by December 1970 (See Table 2), in Boston 44 persons were placed in upgrading-training programs by September, 1970 (See Table 3). These programs are at a beginning stage and full evaluation of them will require additional research.

(4) In many areas, including the cities of Boston and Chicago which we visited, minority staff involved in recruiting, tutoring, counseling and motivating minority workers have made a significant contribution to the success of these programs.

(5) However the limited experience of these programs suggests to us that minority workers who possess some but not all of the skills of a journeyman should be given upgrading-training subject to two principles:

(a) That the apprenticeship programs are not undermined.

(b) That the minority worker is provided skills that will make him a full journeyman with union membership.

(6) Journeyman upgrading-training for minority workers should include:

(a) On-the-job training.

(b) Related instruction off the job site.

(c) Wages commensurate with the productivity of the worker as compared to a full journeyman.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Apprenticeship outreach programs should be continued and expanded.

2. Journeymen outreach programs should be established as soon as possible. Existing Apprenticeship Outreach Programs should provide the mechanism for successful journeyman outreach programs.

3. Upgrading-training for partially qualified minority mechanics should be developed in ways consistent with the practices and requirements of each craft. Also, there should be further study as to the most effective ways by which upgrading-training programs can be developed.

4. It is essential that the communities along with the contractors and the building and construction trades unions participate in the implementation of these programs for the following reasons:

(a) There will be less hostility among the parties in accomodating their legitimate interests.

(b) There will be greater chance for success in overcoming certain conflicts that emerge from these interests.

(c) Programs become stronger and more workable since communication is enhanced and mutual respect is developed through such participation.

NOTE:

We would like to stress that this Committee was composed of the representatives of many diverse groups (see the attached list),

including the building and construction trades unions of the AFL-CIO, Contractors Association, Civil Rights groups, minority contractors and several universities. That such diverse groups was able to meet periodicly, exchange views and come to some common areas of agreement is of some very real importance. Each of our organizations benefited from the exchange of ideas and information, and from the research which we jointly conducted.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS A VITAL FACTOR:

To the degree that there is scarcity in the economy, to that same degree social changes becomes difficult. To the degree that there is abundance in the economy, to that same degree social change becomes increasingly possible. Therefore; if there is, in the near future, a recovery from the present recession in the construction industry, we can expect a more rapid and complete implementation of our mutual aims.

Submitted by Bayard Rustin and
Donald Slaiman,
Co-Chairman for the
Committee.

APPENDIX A

COMMITTEE FOR THE JOURNEYMAN FEASIBILITY STUDY

Mr. Peter J. Brennan, President
New York State Building Trades Council

Mr. James F. Lally, President
Pittsburgh Building Trades Council

Mr. Marcis Loftis
Assistant to the President
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

Mr. John H. Lyons, President
International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers

Mr. John W. Hardesty
General Organizer, Iron Workers

Mr. William J. McSorley
Assistant to the President
Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO

Mr. Thomas J. Murray, President
Chicago and Cook County Building Trades Council

Mr. Michael Dismond
Executive Director
Bidwell Cultural and Training Center

Mr. Philip S. Lyon, President
National Construction Association and President and Chairman of the Board
K. F. Pritchard Company

Mr. Frederick O'Neal
Executive Vice-President
AFL-CIO

Mr. Fred Ramsey, Secretary
Boston Building Trades Council

Mr. William Sidell
First General Vice President
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

Mr. Donald Slaiman, Director
Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO

Mr. J. C. Turner, Vice President
International Union of Operating Engineers

Mr. Martin J. Ward
Assistant General President
United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry

Mr. Robert M. McGlotten
Executive Director
Human Resources Development Institute
AFL-CIO

Professor John T. Dunlop
Academic Dean
Harvard University

Mr. Leo A. Garcia, Director
Mexican-American Opportunity Foundation
Youth Apprenticeship Program

Mr. Manuel Diaz
New York Urban Coalition

Professor Ray Marshall, Chairman
Department of Economics
University of Texas

Mr. David Reed
Administrative Committee of the
Chicago Plan

Mr. Robert J. McConnon, Director
Office of National Projects
U. S. Department of Labor

Mr. Charles Scholibo, Director
Labor Relations
National Electrical Contractors
Association

Dr. Vivian Henderson, President
Clark College

Mr. Napoleon B. Johnson, II, Director
Labor Education Advancement Program
National Urban League

Dr. Daniel Quinn Mills
Assistant Professor
Sloan School of Management
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

Mr. Joseph R. LaRocca
Executive Vice President
National Erectors Association

Mr. Ray Dones, President
National Association of Minority Contractors

TABLE 1

APPRENTICESHIP OUTREACH PROGRAMS

Cumulative thru October, 1970

SPONSOR	INDENTURES VOL	DROPPED DIS	INDENTURED	ASBESTOS WORKERS	BRICKLAYERS	CARPENTERS	CEMENT MASONS	ELECTRICIANS	ELEV. CONST.	GLAZIERS	IRON WORKERS	LATHERS	MACHINISTS	OPER. ENG.	PAINTERS	PIPE TRADES	PLASTERERS	ROOFERS	SHEET METAL	TILE SETTERS	MISCELLANEOUS TRADES	CUMULATIVE TOTAL
SUMMATION OF ALL PROGRAMS																						
URBAN LEAGUE	406	104		25	245	597	150	307	27	37	168	43	30	243	274	246	37	203	139	7	85	2863
WOMEN'S DEFENSE LEAGUE	240	62		23	72	335	84	319	80	51	100	20	47	49	277	280	58	93	190	4	140	2222
BUILDING TRADES COUNCILS	273	96		13	98	683	130	174	36	26	200	35	16	100	150	16[illegible]	35	190	168	33	77	2335
OTHERS	88	44		10	40	168	57	78	28	13	50	13	78	70	53	97	7	35	68	1	70	936
TOTAL	1013	306		71	455	1783	421	878	171	127	524	111	171	462	754	788	137	521	565	45	372	8356

workers have been placed through the Chicago Plan. The detailed breakdown* by craft and job category are presented in the table below:

* as of December 1970

TABLE

Craft	Trainees	Apprentices	Journeymen
Operating Engineers	120	67	4
Painters	0	0	5
Cement Masons	9	0	2
Plumbers	0	0	77
Glaziers	0	4	8
Sheet Metal	0	0	7
Carpenters	8	88	15
Ironworkers	1	0	2
Asbestos Workers	20	0	8
Electricians	0	25	62
Bricklayers	0	0	3
Pipefitters - Welders	34	0	6
Plasterers	0	0	1
Roofers	0	0	3
TOTAL	192	184	203

In addition, the plumbers, glaziers, electricians and cement masons have agreed to take the following number of trainees. Plumbers 25; glaziers 5; electricians 25; and cement masons 25.

BOSTON

TRADES	APPREN.	DROP OUTS	TRAINEES	DROP OUTS	JOURNEY.	DROP OUTS	TOTALS
ASBESTOS WORKERS	3	2	0		0		1
BRICKLAYERS	3	1	3	0	11	0	16
CARPENTERS	27	3	22	3	74	0	117
CEMENT MASONS	4	1	0		2	0	5
ELECTRICIANS	16	1	10	0	4	0	31
GLAZIERS	2	1	1	0	1	0	3
IRON WORKERS	4	0	3	0	28	0	35
LATHERS	0		0		0		0
OPERATING ENGINEERS	7	0	1	0	8	0	16
PAINTERS	9	0	1	0	0		10
PIPE TRADES	17	0	1	0	13	0	31
PLASTERERS	0		0		2	0	2
ROOFERS	5	1	0		0		4
SHEET METAL	5	0	1	0	1	0	7
TILE SETTERS	1	0	0		2	0	3
SPRINKLER FITTERS	1	1	0		2	0	2
SURVEYORS	0		1	0			1
ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS	1		0		0		1
MISCELLANEOUS							
TOTALS	107	11	44	3	148		285

COMMENTS: CHART REPRESENTS TOTAL FROM OCT. 1968 – SEPT. 1970

Mr. Charles N. Conner
via State Office

March 18, 1966

B. Earl Lingar
Tennessee Area V

Requested Information on Joint Apprenticeship Committees *
Ref: Your All-Region Memorandum of March 16

(1) a. Bristol Area Carpentry JAC
b. 708½ W. State Street, Bristol, Tennessee
c. Hugh Nelson, Business Agent, UBCJA LU No. 2473
d. Carpentry (Construction)

(2) a. Gatlinburg Area Carpentry JAC
b. Rt. 9, Sevierville, Tennessee
c. Wallace H. Key, Business Agent, UBCJA LU No. 3257
d. Carpentry (Construction)

(3) a. Johnson City Area Carpentry JAC
b. 125½ Spring Street, Johnson City, Tennessee
c. Jesse Ray, Business Agent, UBCJA LU No. 1517
d. Carpentry (Construction)

(4) a. Johnson City Area Masonry JAC
b. 707 Orleans Street, Johnson City, Tennessee
c. Ted Williams, Business Agent, BMPIU LU No. 7
d. Bricklayer

(5) a. Johnson City Area Plumbing and Pipe Fitting JAC
b. 121½ Spring Street, Johnson City, Tennessee
c. Ralph Myers, Business Agent, UA LU No. 538
d. Plumbers and Pipe Fitters

(6) a. Kingsport Area Masonry JAC
b. 1560 Pineola Avenue, Kingsport, Tennessee
c. Ted Little, BMPIU LU No. 8, Business Agent
d. Bricklayer

(7) a. Morristown Area Carpentry JAC
b. 721 W. Third North Street, Morristown, Tennessee
c. Randolph C. Range, Business Agent, UBCJA LU No. 1821
d. Carpentry (Construction)

(8) a. Tri-Cities Area Electrical JAC
b. P.O. Box 596, Kingsport, Tennessee
c. Paul Hicks, Business Agent, IBEW LU No. 934
d. Electrician (Construction)

cc: Garrett

* Inactive joint programs with no apprentices are not listed.

NAME OF COMMITTEE	MAILING ADDRESS	PERSON TO CONTACT - Title	TRADES COVERED
Albany, Ga. Carpenters #3265	304½ Broadway Albany, Georgia	E. C. Pooler, Secty.	Carpentry
Albany, Ga. Electricians #1531	P. O. Box 916 Albany, Georgia	C. E. Smith, Secty.	Electrical
Albany, Ga. Plumbers & Steamfitters # 368	P. O. Box 82 Albany, Georgia	D. W. Garrison, Secty.	Plumbing and Steamfitting
Columbus, Ga. Bricklayers # 15	Rt. # 4, Box 99 Phenix City, Ala.	T. M. Little, Secty.	Bricklayers, Stonemasons, Tile Layers and Terrazzo Workers
Columbus, Ga. Bricklayers # 16	949 Lawyers Lane Columbus, Ga. 31906	R. L. Wright, Sr., Secty.	Ditto
Columbus, Ga. Carpenters #1723	4 E. 9th Street Columbus, Ga.	R. L. Arrington, Secty.	Carpentry
Columbus, Ga. Electricians #779	P. O. Box 746 Columbus, Ga.	R. P. Bacon, Chairman	Electrical
Columbus, Ga. Painters #348	1418 - 10th Ave. Columbus, Ga.	Homer Garner, Secty.	Painting, Decorating and Paperhanging and Glazing
Columbus, Ga. Plasterers and Cement Masons #171	P. O. Box 3245 Columbus, Georgia	C. F. Russell, Secty.	Plastering and Cement Masonry
Columbus, Ga. Plumbers #323	Blair Street Columbus, Ga.	H. A. Deadwyler	Plumbing and Steamfitting

C. F. Steagald, Jr. ATR
Columbus, Georgia 3/18/66
Area 3

cc: SO

NAME OF COMMITTEE	MAILING ADDRESS	PERSON TO CONTACT - Title	TRADES COVERED
Columbus, Ga. Sheet Metal #203 (Includes Macon, Ga. Area)	1418 - 10th Ave. Columbus, Ga.	W. C. Barlow, Secty.	Sheet Metal
Macon, Ga. Bricklayers #4	870 Maynard St. Macon, Ga. 31201	Vincent Harris, Secty.	Bricklayers, Stonemasons, Tile Layers and Terrazzo Workers
Macon, Ga. Bricklayers #17	2666 Pauladle Dr. Macon, Georgia	J. D. Taylor, Secty.	Ditto
Macon, Ga. Carpenters #144	535 - 2d Street Macon, Georgia	B. P. Davidson, Secty.	Carpentry
Macon, Ga. Electricians #1316	P. O. Box 2565 Macon, Ga. 31203	Morgan Bowen, Secty.	Electrical
Macon, Ga. Painters #631	369 Cherry Street Macon, Ga. 31201	Paul Edwards, Secty.	Painting, Decorating and Paperhanging
Macon, Ga. Plasterers and Cement Masons #288	1128 Ft. Hill St. Macon, Ga. 31201	U. S. Burdell, Secty.	Plastering and Cement Finishing
Macon, Ga. Plumbers & Steamfitters #472	1046 Patterson St. Macon, Georgia	P. J. Klepsig, Secty.	Plumbing and Steamfitting
Valdosta, Ga. Carpenters #903	P. O. Box 192 Valdosta, Ga.	S. R. Lynds, Secty.	Carpentry
Valdosta, Ga. Electricians #511	116 W. Central Ave. Valdosta, Ga.	J. D. Warren, Secty.	Electrical

C. F. Steagald, Jr., ATR
Columbus, Georgia 3/18/66

Area 3

NAME OF COMMITTEE	MAILING ADDRESS	PERSON TO CONTACT - Title	TRADES COVERED
Albany, Ga. Carpenters #3265	304½ Broadway Albany, Georgia	E. C. Pooler, Secty.	Carpentry
Albany, Ga. Electricians #1531	P. O. Box 916 Albany, Georgia	C. E. Smith, Secty.	Electrical
Albany, Ga. Plumbers & Steamfitters # 368	P. O. Box 82 Albany, Georgia	D. W. Garrison, Secty.	Plumbing and Steamfitting
Columbus, Ga. Bricklayers # 15	Rt. # 4, Box 99 Phenix City, Ala.	T. M. Little, Secty.	Bricklayers, Stonemasons, Tile Layers and Terrazzo Workers
Columbus, Ga. Bricklayers # 16	949 Lawyers Lane Columbus, Ga. 31906	R. L. Wright, Sr., Secty.	Ditto
Columbus, Ga. Carpenters #1723	4 E. 9th Street Columbus, Ga.	R. L. Arrington, Secty.	Carpentry
Columbus, Ga. Electricians #779	P. O. Box 746 Columbus, Ga.	R. P. Bacon, Chairman	Electrical
Columbus, Ga. Painters #348	1418 - 10th Ave. Columbus, Ga.	Homer Garner, Secty.	Painting, Decorating and Paperhanging and Glazing
Columbus, Ga. Plasterers and Cement Masons #171	P. O. Box 3245 Columbus, Georgia	C. F. Russell, Secty.	Plastering and Cement Masonry
Columbus, Ga. Plumbers #323	Blair Street Columbus, Ga.	H. A. Deadwyler	Plumbing and Steamfitting

C. F. Steagald, Jr. ATR
Columbus, Georgia 3/18/66

Area 3

cc: SO

NAME OF COMMITTEE	MAILING ADDRESS	PERSON TO CONTACT - Title	TRADES COVERED
Columbus, Ga. Sheet Metal #203 Includes Macon, Ga. Area)	1418 - 10th Ave. Columbus, Ga.	W. C. Barlow, Secty.	Sheet Metal
Macon, Ga. Bricklayers #4	870 Maynard St. Macon, Ga. 31201	Vincent Harris, Secty.	Bricklayers, Stonemasons, Tile Layers and Terrazzo Workers
Macon, Ga. Bricklayers #17	2666 Pauladle Dr. Macon, Georgia	J. D. Taylor, Secty.	Ditto
Macon, Ga. Carpenters #144	535 - 2d Street Macon, Georgia	B. P. Davidson, Secty.	Carpentry
Macon, Ga. Electricians #1316	P. O. Box 2565 Macon, Ga. 31203	Morgan Bowen, Secty.	Electrical
Macon, Ga. Painters #631	369 Cherry Street Macon, Ga. 31201	Paul Edwards, Secty.	Painting, Decorating and Paperhanging
Macon, Ga. Plasterers and Cement Masons #288	1128 Ft. Hill St. Macon, Ga. 31201	U. S. Burdell, Secty.	Plastering and Cement Finishing
Macon, Ga. Plumbers & Steamfitters #472	1046 Patterson St. Macon, Georgia	P. J. Klepsig, Secty.	Plumbing and Steamfitting
Valdosta, Ga. Carpenters #903	P. O. Box 192 Valdosta, Ga.	S. R. Lynds, Secty.	Carpentry
Valdosta, Ga. Electricians #511	116 W. Central Ave. Valdosta, Ga.	J. D. Warren, Secty.	Electrical

C. F. Steagald, Jr., ATR
Columbus, Georgia 3/18/66

Area 3

3/22/66

Name of Committee	Mailing Address	Person to Contact - Title	Trades Covered
Atlanta Printers J.A.C. and Atlanta Pressmen J.A.C.	Printing Industry of Atlanta, 881 Piedmont Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Ga. 30309	William L. Baker, Acting Secretary	Printers Pressmen
Lockheed-Georgia Co., A Div. of Lockheed Aircraft Corp., Marietta, Ga.	Dept. 89-01, Zone 276, Marietta, Ga.	Mr. T. J. Powell, Training Programs/ Operations Supervisor	Aircraft Systems Mech. " Tooling " Electronics Systems "
Rome Bricklayers J.A.C.	c/o J. P. Roberts Const. Co., 203 E. 1st St., Rome, Georgia	Mr. James P. Roberts, Jr.,	Bricklayers
Athens Bricklayers JAC	158 Habersham Dr., Athens, Georgia.	Mr. Ray Piotrowski, Chairman	Bricklayers

James O. Long,
Georgia State Supv.,
Area 1 - Georgia
Atlanta, Ga.

3/22/66

Name of Committee	Mailing Address	Person to Contact - Title	Trades Covered
Atlanta Electrical J.A.T.C.	Rm. 137, 795 Peachtree St., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.	Mr. Walter Griffin, Training Director	Electricians
Atlanta Bricklayers J.A.T.C.	706 E. Princeton Ave., College Park, Ga.	Mr. Fred Summers, Chairman	Bricklayers
Central Ga. Sheet Metal JAC	250 - 10th St., N. E., Atlanta, Ga. 30309	Mrs. Ruth Stanley Secretary	Sheet Metal
Atlanta Carpenters JAC	c/o Flagler Co., 305 Techwood Dr., N. W., Atlanta, Ga.	Mr. Charles Ingraham, Chairman	Carpenters
Atlanta Roofers JAC	208 Red Rock Bldg., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.	Mr. Larry Shields, Chairman	Roofers

John L. Peek,
Area 2,
Atlanta, Georgia

3/22/66

Name of Committee	Mailing Address	Person to Contact - Title	Trades Covered
Atlanta Painters J.A.C.	263 Casson St., Atlanta, Ga.	Mr. J. J. Webb, Coordinator	Painters
Atlanta Ironworkers J.A.T.C.	1014 Edgewood Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Ga. 30307	Mr. Benjamin Lowry, Coordinator	Ironworkers
Atlanta Cement Masons and Plasterers JACs	60 Haynes St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga.	Mr. Edward C. Couch, Chairman	Cement Masons and Plasterers
Atlanta Lathers JAC	158½ Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.	Mr. H. N. Bowen	Lathers
National Biscuit Co. JAC	706 E. Hardin Ave., College Park, Ga.	Mr. Lonnie Johnson	Machinists; Air Cond. - Refrig. Mech.

Wm. I. Elrod
Area 5
Atlanta, Georgia.

Mr. Charles N. Conner March 22, 1966

Harry W. Petree

Information on Joint Apprenticeship

Listed below is the information requested in your memorandum dated March 16, 1966 for the Knoxville, Tennessee area:

Name of Program	Contact	Trades Covered
Carpenters JAC, L.U. #50 516 Vine Ave., S.W. Knoxville, Tennessee	Joe Hodge, Chairman	Carpenter (Constr.) Floor Layer
Carpenters JAC, L.U. #2132 813 E. Hemlock St. LaFollette, Tenn.	Robert D. Reynolds, Fin. Secty.	Carpenter (Constr.)
Cement Masons JAC 311 Morgan St. Knoxville, Tenn.	Willie Lee Davis, Fin. Secty., & B.A.	Cement Masons
Electricians JAC, L.U. #760 1530 Hutchison Ave., N.E. P. O. Box 3042 Knoxville, Tennessee	Tommy Davenport, Chmn. Lester Road Knoxville, Tenn.	Electrician (Inside Constr.) Electrician (Maint.) Electrician (Lineman) Electrician (Repairer & Winder)
Electricians JAC, L.U. #270 North Lincoln Circle P. O. Box 562 Oak Ridge, Tennessee	B. K. Bidwell, Secty.	Electrician (Wireman - Constr.) Lineman (Electrician) - Constr.
Glaziers JAC 311 Morgan St. Knoxville, Tennessee	James R. Love, Chmn.	Glazier (Constr.)
Iron Workers JAC 602 Caswell Ave., N.E. P. O. Box 3206 Knoxville, Tennessee	George A. Hines, Chmn.	Iron Worker (Structural-Steel) Iron Worker (Reinforcing)
Lathers & Plasterers JAC 833 W. Hill Avenue Knoxville, Tennessee	Hoyle Gilbert, Chmn.	Lather Plasterer

Name of Program	Contact	Trades Covered
Masonry JAC 629 Luttrell St. Knoxville, Tennessee	George James, Chmn.	Bricklayer (Constr.) Stone Mason (Constr.) Marble Mason (Constr.) Tile Setter (Constr.) Terrazzo Worker (Constr.)
Maryville Masonry JAC 328 Telford Street Alcoa, Tennessee	James J. Jewell, Asst. B.A.	Same trades
Painters & Decorators JAC 311 Morgan Street Knoxville, Tennessee	James R. Love, Chmn.	Painter (Constr.) Decorator (Constr.)
Plumbers & Steamfitters JAC 1216 N. Broadway Knoxville, Tennessee	Fred Lay, Chairman	Plumber (Constr.) Steamfitter (Constr.)
Sheet Metal Workers JAC c/o Bert Romines John Cruze Company 3020 Industrial Parkway, E. Knoxville, Tennessee	Bert Romines, Chmn.	Sheet Metal Worker (Constr.)

JOINT APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEES

MISSISSIPPI - AREA II - Lewis Beasley, Jr. 3/23/66

Gulfport Carpenters - JAC J. E. Peterman, Secretary	1414½ - 25th Avenue Gulfport, Miss.
Biloxi, Carpenters - JAC Samuel P. Starks	P. O. Box 435 Biloxi, Miss.
Hattiesburg Carpenters - JAC Jim Touchstone, Secretary	400 Forrest St. Hattiesburg, Miss.
Laurel Carpenters - JAC C. D. M. Shows, Bus. Agent	Ellisville Blvd. Laurel, Miss.
Pascagoula Carpenters - JAC W. H. Moss, Bus. Agent	P. O. Box 190 Pascagoula, Miss.
Natchez Carpenters - JAC A. D. Stanley, Secretary	P. O. Box 85 Natchez, Miss.
Hattiesburg Electricians - JAC B. L. Chain, Chairman	Chain Electric Co. P. O. Box 1484 Hattiesburg, Miss.
Laurel Electricians - JAC Willie Temple, Secretary	1830 1st Ave. Laurel, Miss.
Pascagoula Electricians - JAC J. W. Gentile, Secretary	P. O. Box 285 Pascagoula, Miss.
Gulfport Electricians - JAC Clyde W. Anderson, Jr., Secretary	P. O. Box 322 Biloxi, Miss.
Laurel Painters - JAC B. W. Fairchilds, Secretary	1329 2nd St. Laurel, Miss.

Pascagoula Painters - JAC Howard Odle, Secretary	Market St. Pascagoula, Miss.
Hattiesburg Plumbers - JAC James D. Holcomb, Bus. Agent	P. O. Box 1371 Hattiesburg, Miss.
Gulfport Plumbers & Pipefitters - JAC K. A. Parent, Secretary	P. O. Box 1706 Gulfport, Miss.
Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation - JAC Merson A. Weeks, Chairman	P. O. Box 149 The Ingalls Shipbuilding Corp. Pascagoula, Miss.

Mr. C. N. Conner, Regional Director March 23, 1966

Charles A. Sowers

Information on Joint Apprenticeship Committees

Following is list of Joint Apprenticeship Committees, Area #3, Charles A. Sowers, as requested:

Charleston Ironworkers JAC
P. O. Box 2056, Station A
Mr. J. H. Lee, Secretary
Charleston, S. C.
Trades: Ironworker

Charleston Electrical JAC
P. O. Box 2218, Station A
Mr. J. D. Stevens, Secy.
Charleston, S. C.
Trades: Electrician

Charleston Plumbers & Steamfitters JAC
925 St. Andrews Blvd., Highway 61
Mr. J. C. Joseph, Secy.
Charleston, S. C.
Trades: Plumber, Pipefitter, Steamfitter & Refrigeration Mechanic

Charleston Sheet Metal Workers JAC
925 St. Andrews Blvd., Hwy.61
Mr. Cecil Clay, Secy.
Charleston, S. C.
Trade: Sheet Metal Worker

Charleston Bricklayers JAC
82½ Spring St.
Mr. P. W. Robinson, Secy.
Charleston, S. C.
Trades: Bricklayer, Terrazzo Worker, Tile Layer, Cement Finisher

Charleston Carpentry JAC
1001 King St.
Mr. R. O. Fine, Secy.
Charleston, S. C.
Trades: Carpenter, Millwright, Pile-driver

Charleston Lathers JAC
942 Hawthorne Circle
Mr. N. A. Esclavon, Secy.
North Charleston, S. C.
Trade: Lather

West. Va. Pulp & Paper Co.
P.O. Box 5207, N. Chas., S. C.
Mr. P. E. Waite, Safety Director
Trades: Pipefitter, Electrician, Outside & Inside Machinist, Instrument Man

Mr. C. N. Conner, Regional Director March 30, 1966

Charles A. Sowers

Information on Joint Apprenticeship Committees

The following were left off of the original list of Joint Apprenticeship Committees, Area #3, Charles A. Sowers:

DuPont Co., Savannah River Plant
P. O. Box 117
Mr. T. E. Ewing
Augusta, Georgia

Trades: Electrician, Lineman, Carpenter

Beaufort Carpentry JAC
P. O. Box 72
Port Royal, S. C.
Mr. L. E. Ritter

Trade: Carpenter

JOINT APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEES

MISSISSIPPI - AREA I - Lewis Beasley, Jr. 3/25/66

Columbus Carpenters JAC Marvin E. Taylor, Secretary	Carpenters Local Union No. 387 115 - 13th St., South Columbus, Mississippi
Jackson Carpenters JAC H. S. Jones, Secretary	Carpenters Local Union No. 1471 626 South State Street Jackson, Mississippi
Meridian Carpenters JAC E. L. White, Business Agent	Carpenters Local Union No. 2313 406 23rd Avenue Meridian, Mississippi
Tupelo Carpenters JAC Roy Curtis, Secretary	Carpenters Local Union No. 2183 1702 Osborn Street Tupelo, Mississippi
Jackson Electricians JAC H. G. Barlow	c/o I.B.E.W. Local Union 480 230 Rankin Street Jackson, Mississippi
Meridian Electricians JAC Phillip A. McLelland, Secretary	P. O. Box 1488 Meridian, Mississippi
Columbus Painters JAC E. S. Morgan, Secretary	Painters Local Union No. 1359 1015 11th St., South Columbus, Mississippi
Columbus Plumbers and Pipefitters JAC Joseph P. Josey, Secretary	Plumbers and Pipefitters L.U. 714 P. O. Box 1042 Columbus, Mississippi
Jackson Plumbers and Steamfitters JAC George P. Davis, Secretary	Plumbers and Steamfitters L.U. 681 315 W. Pascagoula Jackson, Mississippi
Meridian Plumbers and Pipefitters JAC A. B. Barber, Secretary	Barber & Sons Plumbing Company 1123 26th Avenue Meridian, Mississippi

MISSISSIPPI - AREA I - Lewis Beasley, Jr.

Jackson Roofers JAC H. G. Franklin, Chairman	189 E. Fortification Jackson, Mississippi
Jackson Sheet Metal Workers JAC Grayson H. Moore, Secretary	109 N. Lea Circle Jackson, Mississippi

Charles N. Conner March 28, 1966

William H. Holl, Jr., Columbia, S. C.

Joint Apprenticeship Committee, Area I, Columbia, S. C.
(Your memorandum dated March 16, 1966)

Listed below are Joint Apprenticeship Committees in Area I, Columbia, South Carolina:

The Southeastern Line Construction JAC
(Outside Electrician - Lineman)
1909 Sumter Street
Columbia, S. C.
Mr. J. R. Burbage, Secretary
P. O. Box 642
Columbia, S. C. 29202

Columbia Painters and Decorators JAC
(Painter (Construction), Drywall Taper (Construction)
1909 Sumter Street
Columbia, S. C.
Mr. Medwell Hill, Chairman
P. O. Box 3318
New Ellenton, S. C.

Columbia Carpenters JAC (Carpenter) (Millwright)
1909 Sumter Street
Columbia, S. C.
Mr. H. D. Kyzer, Secretary
1909 Sumter Street
Columbia, S. C. 29201

Air Conditioning, Heating, Plumbing and Pneumatic Control
JAC (Plumber) (Steamfitter)
1719 Henderson Street
Columbia, S. C.
Mr. Carl W. Cullum, Secretary
P. O. Box 222
Columbia, S. C. 29202

Columbia Electrical JAC (Electrician (Construction)
2006 Sumter Street
Columbia, S. C.
Mr. Sinway Young, Secretary
P. O. Box 1411
Columbia, S. C. 29202

James O. Long March 28, 1966

Wm. L. Gowan

Joint Apprenticeship Committees - Area 4-Georgia

In reply to memorandum of 3/16/66 from RD Conner -here are the names of the joint apprenticeship committees and name and address of Secretary and/or Chairman to whom communications should be sent:

Central Savannah River Area Trowel Trades JAC
N. Ted Gilmer, Secretary
1907 Heckle Street
Augusta, Georgia 30904

Brunswick Trowel Trades JAC
S. B. Self, Secretary
370 New Jesup Highway
Brunswick, Georgia

Savannah Trowel Trades JAC
James M. Artley, Chairman
P. O. Box 6388
Savannah, Georgia 31405

Savannah Electrical JAC (includes Savannah, Brunswick, Waycross)
M. J. Counihan, Secretary
P. O. Box 54
Savannah, Georgia 31402

Augusta Electrical JAC
W. S. Carter, Secretary
1250 Reynolds Street
Augusta, Georgia 30902

Savannah Iron Workers Area JAC
J. W. Cain, Secretary
908 Abercorn Street
Savannah, Georgia 31401

Augusta Painters JAC
Jack Atkinson, Secretary
316½ - 8th Street
Augusta, Georgia 30902

Brunswick Painters JAC, E. G. Davis, Secretary
1316½ Newcastle St., Brunswick, Georgia 31521

Joint Apprenticeship Committees - Area 4-Georgia cont.

Savannah Painters JAC
Dan Caterina, Secretary
P. O. Box 3284
Savannah, Georgia 31404

Savannah Machinists JAC
Jack H. Vinall, Secretary
17 West Park Avenue
Savannah, Georgia 31401

Augusta Carpenters Joint Appren. Comm.
J. Harold Dye, Secretary
1225 Gordon Park Road
Augusta, Georgia 30902

Brunswick Carpenters JAC
Jas. R. Stewart, Secretary
302½ Gloucester Street
Brunswick, Georgia

Savannah Carpenters JAC
Louie M. Nunn, Secretary
P. O. Box 276
Savannah, Georgia 31402

Augusta Plumbing, Steamfitting JAC
Peter M. Menk, Chairman
1542 Walton Way
Augusta, Georgia

Brunswick Plumbing, Steamfitting JAC
E. T. Winburn, Secretary
3642 Brantley Avenue
Brunswick, Georgia

Savannah Plumbing, Steamfitting JAC
Fred S. Elliott, Secretary
P. O. Box 1695
Savannah, Georgia 31402

Savannah Roofers JAC (also Brunswick Roofers JAC)
J.O. Ransom, Secretary
RFD #4, Box 336-C
Savannah, Georgia 31405

Joint Apprenticeship Committee - Area 4-Georgia cont.

Central Savannah River Area Sheet Metal JAC
Clifton Kirkland, Secretary
2007 Randall Road
Augusta, Georgia 30905

Savannah Sheet Metal JAC
J. O. Ransom, Secretary
R. F. D. #4, Box 336-C
Savannah, Georgia 31405

Machinists Joint Apprenticeship Committee
E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co.
Savannah River Plant
P. O. Box 117
Augusta, Georgia 30901 - M. E. McDaniel Sr., Secretary

Joint Apprenticeship Committees - Area I, Alabama - J. A. Duren

Bricklayers JAC - Montgomery, Alabama
1437 Harriet Street

Send communication to: George Schley

Bricklayers & Tile Setters - Tuscaloosa, Alabama
Route 2, Box 114
Cottondale, Alabama

Send communication to: C. M. Morgan

Bricklayers JAC - Opelika, Alabama
Route 4, Box 172-A

Send communication to: W. D. Dutton

Carpenters JAC - Montgomery, Alabama
1820 Mt. Meigs Road

Send communication to: Homer L. Welch

Carpenters JAC - Tuscaloosa, Alabama
2601 7th Street

Send communication to: E. H. Utley

Electricians JAC - Montgomery, Alabama
931 N. McDonough Street

Send communication to: Griffin T. Key

Painters & Glaziers - Montgomery, Alabama
1820 Mt. Meigs Road

Send communication to: Lester C. Hawkins

Painters & Decorators - Tuscaloosa, Alabama
418 24th Avenue

Send communication to: William O'Bryant

Plasterers & Cement Finishers - Montgomery, Alabama
662 Emerson Street

Send communication to: Jacob Isiah

Joint Apprenticeship Committees - Area I, Alabama - J. A. Duren (cont'd)

Plasterers & Cement Finishers - Tuscaloosa, Alabama
1727 5th Avenue

Send communication to: J. B. Brandon

Plumbers & Pipefitters - Montgomery, Alabama
1820 Mt. Meigs Road

Send communication to: Cecil Williamson

Plumbers, and Steam, Refrigeration & Air Conditioning Fitters JAC - Tuscaloosa, Ala.
P.O. Box 11

Send communication to: J. W. Dill

Roofers JAC - Montgomery, Alabama
516 N. McDonough Street

Send communication to: W. L. Taylor

Tile Setters JAC - Montgomery, Alabama
P.O. Box 1543

Send communication to: Lawrence Browder

The Central Foundry Company - Holt, Alabama
Machinist; Blacksmith; Auto Mechanic (Gas & Diesel);
Electrician; Metal Patternmaker; Pipefitter JAC

Send communication to: H. P. Standridge

REGISTERED JOINT COMMITTEES 3-30-66
Alabama - Area II
George H. Davis, A&TR

Following information provided:
(1) Name of committee.
(2) Mailing address.
(3) Identification of person to whom communication should be sent, if available.
(4) Trade or trades covered.

* * * *

Birmingham Lathers Area JAC
3169 30th Court North
Birmingham, Alabama, 35207
Mr. W. L. Benion, Business Agent L.U. #7
Trade: Lather

Birmingham Painters and Decorators Area JAC
1616 North 6th Avenue
Birmingham, Alabama
Mr. James Campbell, Business Agent L.U. #57
Trades: Painter-and-Decorator; Drywall Taper

Birmingham Plasterers and Cement Masons Area JAC (L.U. 695 and L.U. 62)
512 14th St., S. W. (Mr. Minton's home address)
Birmingham, Alabama, 35211
Mr. R. W. Minton, Financial Secretary L.U. #695
Trades: Plasterer; Cement Mason

Birmingham Plumbers & Pipefitters Area JAC
3625 9th Avenue North
Birmingham, Alabama
Mr. A. H. Brackett, Coordinator
Trades: Plumber (Const.); Pipe Fitter (Heating, Refrigeration and Air Conditioning)

Birmingham Printing Pressmen's Area JAC
(Meet at Brickmasons Hall)
Mr. Roy A. Farr, President L.U. #121
2700 29th St. West, Ensley
Birmingham, Alabama
Trades: Printing Pressmen (Newspaper); Printing Pressmen (Commercial); Printing Pressmen (Offset); Pressman Assistant

Birmingham Roofers Area JAC
2505 8th Avenue North
Birmingham, Alabama
Mr. Earnest Drake, Chairman
Trade: Roofer

Birmingham Sheet Metal Workers Area JAC
729 North 25th Street
Birmingham, Alabama, 35204
Mr. George L. Weaver, Coordinator
Trade: Sheet Metal Worker

The Birmingham News JAC
2200 4th Avenue North
Birmingham, Alabama
Mr. Gore
Trade: Mailer

U. S. Pipe & Foundry Co. (Registry #77820)
2023 St. Louis Avenue (P. O. Box 471)
Bessemer, Ala.
Mr. A. F. Palmer, Employment Manager
Trade: Boilermaker

U. S. Pipe & Foundry Co. (Registry #76730)
2023 St. Louis Avenue (P. O. Box 471)
Bessemer, Alabama
Mr. A. F. Palmer, Employment Manager
Trade: Electrician

U. S. Pipe & Foundry Co. (Registry #75563)
2023 St. Louis Avenue (Post Office Box 471)
Bessemer, Alabama
Mr. A. F. Palmer, Employment Manager
Trade: (Molder) Foundryman

U. S. Pipe & Foundry Co. (Registry #76563)
2023 St. Louis Avenue (P. O. Box 471)
Bessemer, Alabama
Mr. A. F. Palmer, Employment Manager
Trades: Machinist; Millwright; Blacksmith

U. S. Pipe & Foundry Co. (Registry #76988)
2023 St. Louis Avenue (P. O. Box 471)
Bessemer, Alabama
Mr. A. F. Palmer, Employment Manager
Trade: Patternmaker

U. S. Pipe & Foundry Co., North Birmingham Plant (Registry #72266)
3300 1st Avenue North (P. O. Box 2651)
Birmingham, Alabama
Mrs. L. C. Witt, Supervisor of Apprentices
Trades: Machinist; Electrician; Pipe Fitter; Blacksmith; Millwright; Foundryman (Molder)

Kimberly-Clark Corporation 3-30-66
Coosa River Newsprint Division
Coosa Pines, Alabama
Mr. Charles Pitts, Training Director
Trades: Maintenance Machinist; Electrician (Maintenance Elec.); Millwright; Plumber-Pipe Fitter; Instrument Repairman

Gadsden Bricklayers Area JAC
Bricklayers L. U. #11
219 South 8th St.
Gadsden, Alabama, 35901
Mr. L. J. Bradford, Business Agent
Trades: Bricklayer; Stonemason

Gadsden Carpenters and Millwrights Area JAC
1532 Forrest Avenue (P. O. Box 752)
Gadsden, Alabama, 35902
Mr. Charles E. Day, Business Representative L.U. #1371
Trades: Carpenter; Millwright

Gadsden Lathers Area JAC
Post Office Box 281 (Roberts Plastering Contractors)
Gadsden, Alabama
Mr. Odell Hill (Roberts Plastering Contractors)
Trade: Lather (Construction)

Gadsden Painters and Decorators Area JAC
121½ South 4th Street
Gadsden, Alabama
Mr. "Red" Russell, Business Agent, L.U. #651
Trades: Painter (Const.); Glazier (Const.); Sign Painter (Hand)

Gadsden Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' Area JAC
Mr. J. L. Roberts
Post Office Box 281
Gadsden, Alabama
Trades: Plasterer and Cement Finisher

Gadsden and Anniston Plumbers and Pipefitters Area JAC
1611 Forrest Avenue
Gadsden, Alabama
Mr. Cecil C. Sherman
Trades: Plumber; Pipefitter

REGISTERED JOINT COMMITTEES 3-30-66
Alabama - Area III
Homer L. McClure, Jr., A&TR

Following information provided:
(1) Name of committee.
(2) Mailing address.
(3) Identification of person to whom communication should be sent, if available.
(4) Trade or trades covered.

* * * *

Huntsville Painters and Decorators Area JA&TC
424 Eldridge Drive, N. W.
Huntsville, Alabama
Mr. W. W. Lindsey, Business Representative and Financial Secretary
Trades: Painter-and-Decorator; Drywall Taper

Huntsville Plasterers Area JAC
Post Office Box 184
Huntsville, Alabama
Mr. William A. Taylor, Financial Secretary and Business Representative L.U. #871
Trade: Plasterer

Huntsville Plumbers & Pipefitters Area JAC
1616 Moulton St., N.W.
Decatur, Alabama
Mr. J. H. Waddell, Training Director
Trades: Plumber-Pipe Fitter (Plumber); Plumber-Pipe Fitter (Steam, Refrigeration & Air Conditioning Fitter)

Jasper Bricklayers Area JAC
Address: -
Mr. Elbert Martin, Business Agent and Financial Secretary, L.U. #10
Box 65
Oakman, Alabama
Trade: Bricklayer

Jasper Carpenters Area JAC
Address: -
Mr. Paul Walton, Business Agent L.U. #1203
Rt. 1
Townley, Ala.
Trade: Carpenter

Muscle Shoals Electricians Area JAC
Post Office Box 141
Sheffield, Alabama
Mr. William H. Pickens, Director
Trade: Electrician (Construction); Electrician (Lineman)

Muscle Shoals Area Plumbers and Steamfitters JAC
101 Alabama Avenue
Sheffield, Alabama
Mr. H. Denton Hester, Chairman
Trades: Plumber; Steamfitter

Sheffield Bricklayers Area JAC
(Sheffield L.U. #8)
2814 Jackson Highway
Sheffield, Alabama
Mr. Horace T. Murphy, Business Manager
(102 Scott Drive, Florence, Ala.)
Trades: Bricklayer; Stonemason; Tile Layer

Sheffield Carpenters Area JAC
Post Office Box 790
Sheffield, Alabama
Mr. H. Troy Miles
Trades: Carpenter; Millwright

Sheffield Iron Workers Area JAC
Drawer I (L. U. #477)
Sheffield, Alabama, 35661
Mr. M. Clayton Suddith, Chairman
Trade: Ironworker

Sheffield Painters and Decorators Area JAC
101 Alabama Avenue
Sheffield, Alabama
Mr. E. A. Nelson, Chairman
(E. A. Nelson Co., 902 So. Chestnut, Florence, Ala.)
Trades: Painter-and-Decorator; Drywall Taper

Sheffield Plasterers and Cement Masons Area JAC (L.U. 614 & 826)
Address: -
Mr. William H. Hale, Business Manager L. U. #826
Box 68
Killen, Ala.
Trades: Plasterer; Cement Mason

Ford Motor Company
Post Office Box 224
Sheffield, Alabama
Mr. R. S. Tant, Training Director
Trades: Die Cast Diemaker; Electrician

Reynolds Metals Co. (Alloys Plant)
Post Office Box 910 (Registry #9070)
Sheffield, Alabama
Mr. Alan B. Lindstrom, Labor Relations Manager
Trades: Machinist; Automotive Mechanic (Gas and Diesel)

REGISTERED JOINT COMMITTEES 3-30-66
Alabama - Area III
Homer L. McClure, Jr., A&TR

Reynolds Metals Co. (Alloys Plant)
Post Office Box 910 (Registry #13062)
Sheffield, Alabama
Mr. Alan B. Lindstrom, Labor Relations Manager (Alloys Plant)
Trades: All apprenticeable occupations covered in the program.

Mr. C. B. Rosser, Jr., Personnel Manager (Reduction Plant)(P.O. Box 191)
Separate standards not registered for Reduction Plant.

Mr. Charles N. Conner March 30, 1966

APPRENTICE PANEL

Alger J. Fowler

Information on Joint Apprenticeship Committees
Area II, Spartanburg, South Carolina

Greenville Pipefitters JAC
Mr. M. D. Howard, Secretary) Trade of Pipefitter
307 Townes Street
Greenville, South Carolina 29601

Spartanburg-Greenville Electrical JAC
Mr. S. N. Kistner, Secretary) Trade of Electrician
307 Townes Street
Greenville, South Carolina 29601

Anderson Carpenters JAC
Mr. J. H. Taylor, Secretary) Trade of Carpenter
2004 College Avenue
Anderson, South Carolina

Anderson Bricklayers JAC
Mr. Cecil Bolt, Secretary) Trade of Bricklayer
308 Shockley Ferry Road
Anderson, South Carolina

Newspaper Management Production Co.
Mr. C. E. Webber, Business Manager) For the Trades of:
Spartanburg Herald Journal Sterotyper
Spartanburg, South Carolina Printer
Pressmen
Mailer

AJF/atw

Mr. Charles N. Conner March 30, 1966

H. M. Garrett
Area I - Nashville and Middle Tennessee

Requesting Information on Joint Apprenticeship Committees
(Ref. Your Memo of 3/16/66)

1. a. Clarksville Carpenters JAC
   b. 1922 West End Ave., Nashville, Tenn., 37203
   c. I. L. Sewell, Jr., Secretary (Carpenters District Council)
   d. Carpentry (Construction)

2. a. Clarksville Painters JAC
   b. P. O. Box 212, Clarksville, Tenn. 37041
   c. George Pickett, Chairman
   d. Painter & Decorator

3. a. Crossville Carpenters JAC
   b. 1922 West End Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 37203
   c. I. L. Sewell, Jr., Secretary (Carpenters District Council)
   d. Carpentry (Construction)

4. a. Nashville Carpenters JAC
   b. 1922 West End Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 37203
   c. I. L. Sewell, Jr., Secretary (Carpenters District Council)
   d. Carpentry (Construction); Carpentry (Acoustical & Floor)

5. a. Nashville Cement Masons JAC
   b. 608 Malta Drive, Nashville, Tenn. 37207
   c. Ben T. Keeling, B.A.
   d. Cement Mason

6. a. Nashville Electrical Workers JATC
   b. Labor Temple - 631 North First St., Nashville, Tenn. 37207
   c. William A. Walker, Coordinator
   d. Electrician (Inside Wireman)

7. a. Nashville Glaziers JAC
   b. 1126 Shelton Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 37216
   c. James Barrett, B. A.
   d. Glazier (Construction)

8. a. Nashville Ironworkers JAC
   b. Tuck Building - 1123 Church St., Nashville, Tenn. 37203
   c. Joe Yow, B.A.
   d. Ironworker (Structural)

9. a. Nashville Lathers JAC
   b. 1898 - 4th Avenue, South, Nashville, Tenn. 37208
   c. Joe Davies, Chairman
   d. Lather

10. a. Nashville Masonry JAC
    b. Sidco Drive, Nashville, Tenn. 37204
    c. L. R. McNay, B.A.
    d. Bricklayer, Stone Mason, Marble Mason, Tile Setter, Terrazzo Worker

11. a. Nashville Painters JAC
    b. Rm. 406 Tuck Building, 1123 Church St., Nashville, Tenn. 37203
    c. Jimmy Wright, Chairman
    d. Painter & Decorator

12. a. Nashville Plasterers JAC
    b. 1898 - 4th Avenue South, Nashville, Tenn. 37208
    c. Joe Davies, Chairman
    d. Plasterer

13. a. Nashville Plumbers JAC
    b. 220 - 12th Avenue, North, Nashville, Tenn. 37203
    c. Charlie Thompson, Chairman
    d. Plumber

14. a. Nashville Pipefitters JAC
    b. 220 - 12th Avenue, North, Nashville, Tenn. 37203
    c. Charlie Thompson, Chairman
    d. Pipefitter

15. Nashville Roofers JAC
    b. 3721 Bakertown Road, Nashville, Tenn. 37211
    c. J. W. Duncan, B. A.
    d. Roofer

16. a. Nashville Sheetmetal Workers JAC
    b. 2925 Armory Drive, Nashville, Tenn. 37204
    c. John T. Pond, Chairman
    d. Sheetmetal Worker

Mr. Charles N. Conner March 30, 1966

I. Joe DeMatteo
Tennessee area II

Information on Joint Apprenticeship Committees
(Ref. Your Memo of 3/16/66)

1. a. Tri-State Carpenters JAC
   b. 518 Georgia Avenue, Chattanooga, Tenn. 37403
   c. George Henegar, Chairman
   d. Carpentry; Millwright

2. a. Chattanooga Ironworkers JAC
   b. 540 Vine Street, Chattanooga, Tenn. 37403
   c. J. J. Hatfield, Secretary
   d. Ironworker (Structural)

3. a. Chattanooga Electrical Workers JAC
   b. 540 Vine St., Chattanooga, Tenn. 37403
   c. John Dalton, Chairman
   d. Electrician (Inside Wireman)

4. a. Chattanooga Painters JAC
   b. 540 Vine St., Chattanooga, Tenn. 37403
   c. O. L. Baker, Secretary
   d. Painter & Decorator

5. a. Chattanooga Plumbers & Steamfitters JAC
   b. 540 Vine St., Chattanooga, Tenn. 37403
   c. J. B. Corlew, Chairman
   d. Plumber; Steamfitter

6. Chattanooga Roofers JAC
   b. 540 Vine St., Chattanooga, Tenn. 37403
   c. John Scarborough, Secretary
   d. Roofer

7. a. Chattanooga Masonry JAC
   b. 2418 East 14th St., Chattanooga, Tenn. 37404
   c. Walter Lerch, Jr., Chairman
   d. Brick, Stone, and Marble Masons; Tile Workers

8. a. Chattanooga Barbers JAC
   b. 2410-A Appling Ave., Chattanooga, Tenn. 37406
   c. Floyd Belk, Chairman
   d. Barber

9. a. Chattanooga Sheetmetal Workers JAC
   b. 102 East 6th St., Chattanooga, Tenn. 37402
   c. Harold B. Wofford, Secretary
   d. Sheetmetal Worker

10. a. Southeastern Area Boilermakers JAC
    b. P. O. Box 872, Florence, Alabama
    c. J. H. Hardin, Coordinator
    d. Boilermaker

11. a. Chattanooga Lathers JAC
    b. 960 Beason Drive, Chattanooga, Tenn. 37405
    c. David Osborne
    d. Lather

12. a. Chattanooga Plasterers JAC
    b. 815 Munroe St., Chattanooga, Tenn. 37405
    c. H. W. Chauncey
    d. Plasterer

13. a. Chattanooga Glaziers JAC
    b. 3810 Lamon St., Chattanooga, Tenn. 37415
    c. Kelly Lusk
    d. Glazier (construction)

cc: Garrett

Mr. Charles N. Conner, Regional Director
Atlanta, Georgia

March 30, 1966

James P. Burt, Area IV
Mobile, Alabama

Information on Joint Apprenticeship Committees, Mobile, Alabama

Following is a list of all joint apprenticeship committees in the Mobile, Alabama area:

Boilermakers JAC
P. O. Box 1178
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. Herman Wise, Bus. Mgr.
Boilermakers LU #12
Boilermaking Trade

Bricklayers & Tile Layers JAC
1108 Springhill Avenue
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. Martin Kenny, Bus. Mgr.
Bricklayers LU #2
Bricklaying & Tile Laying Trades

Carpenters JAC
959 Springhill Avenue
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. J. C. Reeves, Bus. Mgr.
Carpenters LU #89
Carpentry Trade

Electricians JAC
2244 Halls Mill Road
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. Robert Dawson, Bus. Mgr.
Electricians LU #505
Electrical Trade

Glaziers & Glassworkers JAC
Rt. 2, Box 204-D
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. Sidney W. Bolton, Bus. Mgr.
Glaziers & Glassworkers LU #1268
Glazier & Glassworker Trades

Lathers JAC
88 Lee Street
Chickasaw, Alabama
Mr. M. A. Kittrell, Bus. Mgr.
Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers LU #216
Lathing Trade

Machinists JAC
356 St. Francis Street
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. C. P. Reid, Bus. Mgr.
International Assn. of Machinists LU #261
Machinist Trade

Operating Engineers JAC
103 North Jackson Street
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. R. H. Lowe, Bus. Mgr.
Operating Engineers LU #653
Operating Engineers & Heavy Duty Mech.Trades

Painters JAC
659 Dauphin Street
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. E. Broadus, Bus. Mgr.
Painters & Decorators LU # 779
Painting & Decorating Trades

Plumbers & Steamfitters JAC
2456 Old Shell Road
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. W. R. Goubil, Bus. Mgr.
Plumbers & Steamfitters LU #119
Plumbing, Pipefitting, & A/C-Refrig. Trades

Roofers JAC
659½ Dauphin Street
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. Leo Wernoth, Bus. Mgr.
Roofers & Waterproofers LU #82
Roofing Trade

Sheet Metal Workers JAC
356 St. Francis Street
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. C. A. Rettig, Bus. Mgr.
Sheet Metal Workers LU #441
Sheet Metal Trade

Gulf Foundry & Machine Company JAC
356 St. Francis Street
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. C. P. Reid, Bus. Mgr.
Machinists LU #261
Machinist Trade

Lerio Corporation JAC
356 St. Francis Street
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. C. P. Reid, Bus. Mgr.
MachinistsLU #261
Machinist Trade

Mitternight Boiler & Machine Works, Inc.
356 St. Francis Street
Mobile, Alabama
Mr. C. P. Reid, Bus. Mgr.
Machinists LU #261
Machinist Trade

Charles N. Conner April 1, 1966

R. Bruce Tomlin

Joint Apprenticeship Committees
Memphis, Tennessee Area

Memphis Bookbinders' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. Leonard W. Hinds, Secty.-Treas.
2970 Chaucer Lane
Memphis, Tennessee 38128 Trade: Bookbinder

Memphis Carpenters' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. C. B. Stewart, Chairman
P. O. Box 12303
Memphis, Tenn. 38112 Trade: Carpentry

Memphis Cement Masons' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. Joe Binford, Chairman
c/o Mobley & Spped Co.
283 Scott Ave.
Memphis, Tenn. 38112 Trade: Cement Mason

Memphis Electrical Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. J. G. Walker, Secretary
2400 Forrest Ave.
Memphis, Tenn. 38112 Trade: Wireman

Memphis Glaziers' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. W. B. Doyle, Business Manager
Glaziers' Local Union #242
571 Beale St.
Memphis, Tenn. 38103 Trade: Glazier

Memphis Lathers' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Dan P. Whalen, Chairman
P. O. Box 18085
Memphis, Tenn. 38118 Trade: Lather

Memphis Masonry Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Walter E. Badger, Chairman
1110 Chelsea Ave.
Memphis, Tenn. 38107 Trades: Bricklayer
Stonemasons
Marble Masons
Terrazzo Workers
Tilelayers

Memphis Painters' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
John D. Parrish, Chairman
1031 Kerr
Memphis, Tenn. 38106
Trade: Painter & Decorator

Memphis Plasterers' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. Dan P. Whalen, Chairman
P. O. Box 18085
Memphis, Tenn. 38118
Trade: Plasterer

Memphis Plumbers & Pipefitters Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. C. O. Boyette, Chairman
3974 Park Ave.
Memphis, Tennessee
Trade: Plumber
Pipefitter

Memphis Printers' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. Eugene Bernero, Secty.-Treas.
Typographical Union #11
1529 Madison Ave.
Memphis, Tenn. 38104
Trade: Printer
Machinist (Printing Industry)

Printing Pressmen's Joint Apprenticeship Committee, Memphis, Tenn.
Mr. M. O. Fledger, Secty.-Treas.
Local Union #18
Intl. Printing Pressman & Assistants Union of North America
3215 Given Ave.
Memphis, Tenn. 38112
Trade: Cylinder Pressman
Offset Pressman
Platen Pressman

Printing Pressmen's Joint Apprenticeship Committee, Memphis, Tenn.
Mr. John L. Mixon, Chairman
Local Union #24
Intl. Printing Pressman & Assistants Union of North America
3491 Southland
Memphis, Tenn.
Trade: Newspaper Pressman

Memphis Roofers' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. W. W. Hawkins, Secty.
571 Beale St.
Memphis, Tenn. 38103
Trade: Roofer

Memphis Sheet Metal Workers' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. Ben J. Malone, Chairman
223 Poplar Ave.
Memphis, Tenn. 38103
Trade: Sheet Metal Worker

Memphis Stereotypers' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. W. L. Maloy, Financial Secty.
779 Indian Drive
Memphis, Tenn.
Trade: Stereotyper

Jackson Carpenters' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. Doyle Williams, Business Manager
Carpenters' Local Union #259 — Trade: Carpentry
203½ N. Market St. — Millman
Jackson, Tenn. — Cabinet Maker

Jackson Electricians' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Curtis McMillian, Chairman
Commercial Building — Trade: Wireman
Jackson, Tenn. — Lineman

Jackson Plumbers & Pipefitters Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. Buford Wade, Secty.
26 Laurel Lane — Trade: Plumber
Jackson, Tenn. — Pipefitter

Jackson Printers' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. A. R. Lacater, Secty.-Treas.
Typographical Union #24
315 Division St. — Trade: Printer (Book & Job)
Jackson, Tenn. — Printer (Newspaper)

Jackson Lathers' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. Harold T. Shults, Chairman
81 Carlisle
Jackson, Tenn. — Trade: Lather

Jackson Sheetmetal Workers' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
N. P. Rowell, Secty.
220 Lindsey
Jackson, Tenn. — Trade: Sheet Metal Worker

Martin Electricians' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. Glenn Smith, Business Mgr.
Electricians' Union #1925, IBEW
Route 4
Martin, Tenn. — Trade: Electrician (Wireman)

Jackson Bricklayers' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
James I. Lamport, Chairman
341 Greenwood — Trade: Bricklayer
Jackson, Tenn. — Tile Layer

Jackson Plasterers' Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Mr. Harold T. Shults, Chairman
81 Carlisle
Jackson, Tenn. — Trade: Plasterer

AREA I

JOINT APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEES

L. S. Dasher

Panama City Building Trades JAC
H. D. Pennington, Sr., Secretary
122 East 4th Street
Panama City, Florida

Trades Covered: Carpenter, Tilelayer, cement finisher, bricklayer, Plasterer

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Pensacola Building Trades JAC
T. C. Burks, Secretary
614 N. Palafox Street
Pensacola, Florida

Trades covered: Carpenter, millwright, floorlaying, bricklayer, cement finisher, plasterer, painter

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Okaloosa & Walton Counties Carpenters JAC
Kenneth Richards, Secretary
488 East Bowers Street
Crestview, Florida

Trades covered: Carpenter

- -

Tallahassee Carpenters JAC
Thad J. Chason, Secretary
1819 W. Tennessee Street
Tallahassee, Florida

Trades Covered: Carpenter

- -

Panama City Electrical JAC
Frank Piccolo, Secretary
P. O. Box 817
Panama City, Florida

Trades Covered: Electrician

Pensacola Electrical JAC
H. K. Brock, Secretary
1000 College Blvd.
Pensacola, Florida

Trades Covered: Electrician

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Tallahassee Electrical JAC
Ennis R. Bass, Secretary
821 Ingleside Avenue
Tallahassee, Florida

Trades Covered: Wireman, lineman

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Bricklayers, Cementfinshers, Plasterers of BayCounty JAC
R. M. Hoskins, Secretary
1611 Wetmont Drive
Panama City, Florida

Trades Covered: Bricklayer, Cementfinishers plasterer

- -

Tallahassee Masonry Trades JAC
T. L. Metcalf, Secretary
623 W. 8th Avenue
Tallahassee, Florida

Trades Covered: Bricklayer, plasterer, tile layer, cement finisher, stonemason, terrazzo wkr.

- -

Panama City Plumbers & Steamfitters JAC
J. W. Brown, Secretary
P. O. Box 4225
Panama City, Florida

Trades Covered: Plumbers, steamfitters

JOINT APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEES

L. S. Dasher

Pensacola Plumbers & Steamfitters JAC
William Jones, Secretary
614 N. Palafox Street
Pensacola, Florida

Trades Covered: Plumbers, Steamfitters

- -

Tallahassee Plumbing & Pipefitting JAC
C. K. Pope, Secretary
1747 Pepper Drive
Tallahassee, Florida

Trades Covered: Plumber, Pipefitter

- -

Tallahassee Pressman & Press Assts. JAC
Earl M. Ward, Secretary
1706 Eisenhower Street
Tallahassee, Florida

Trades Covered: Pressman

- -

Tallahassee Typographical JAC
Roy O. Rice, Secretary
318 Folsom Road
Tallahassee, Florida

Trades Covered: Printer

- -

Panama City Sheet Metal Industry JAC
Andy McNeil, Secretary
P. O. Box 304
Panama City, Florida

Trades Covered: Sheet Metal

- -

Pensacola Sheet Metal JAC
W. J. DeLocah, Secretary
613 N. Palafox Street
Pensacola, Florida

Trades Covered: Sheet Metal

V. P. PRESNELL --- AREA II

NAME OF JAC	MAILING ADDRESS	PERSON TO WHOM CORRESPONDENCE IS TO BE SENT	TRADE/TRADES COVERED
Gainesville Carpenters	920 Main Street Jacksonville, Fla. 32207	O. C. Spicer, Secty.	Carpenter Carpenter-Acous. Cabinetmaker Soft Tile Layer
Gainesville Electrical	P. O. Box 112 Gainesville, Fla. 32601	H. Lovett, Secty	Electrician-Linem Electrician-Insid Electrician-Marin
Gainesville Trowel Trades	4707 E. Univ. Ave. Gainesville, Fla. 32601	A. W. Spear, Secty.	Bricklayer Stonemason Plasterer Tilesetter Cement Finisher Terrazo Worker
Gainesville Lathers	Rte #1, Box 32 Melrose, Fla.	H. Ormsbee, Secty.	Lather
North Fla. Carpenters Joint Apprenticeship Trust Fund	920 Main St. Jacksonville, Fla. 32207	O. C. Spicer, Secty.	Carpenter Carpenter-Acous. Cabinetmaker Mill Machine Man Millwright Soft Tile Floor Layer
Jacksonville Electrical	P. O. Box 3373 Jacksonville, Fla. 32206	J. W. Haddock, Dir. of Tra.	Electriciqn-Linem Electrician-Insid
Glaziers of Jacksonville Florida and Area	920 Main Street Jacksonville, Fla. 32207	Cecil Lynn, Secty.	Glazier

NAME OF JAC	MAILING ADDRESS	PERSON TO WHOM CORRESPONDENCE IS TO BE SENT	TRADE/TRADES COVERED
Jacksonville Mailers	337 Golfair Blvd. Jacksonville, Fla. 32206	W. L. Courson, Secty	Mailer
North Fla. Operating Engineers	920 Main Street Jacksonville, Fla. 32207	L. C. Gram, Secty	Operating Engineer
Jacksonville Photo-Engravers	426 Myrtle Ave. Jacksonville, Fla. 32204	R. E. Wilke, Secty	Photoengraver
Jacksonville Operative Plasterers & Cement Masons	2545 Dellwood Ave. Jacksonville, Fla. 32204	Ralph Bruce, Secty	Operative Plasterer Cement Finisher
Jacksonville Plumbers	1619 Hendricks Ave. Jacksonville, Fla. 32207	C. R. Gardner, Secty	Plumber-pipefitter
Jacksonville Pressmen	4472 Turner Ave. Jacksonville, Fla. 32207	J. R. McCluney, Secty	Pressmen
Jacksonville Sheet Metal Workers	6939 Miss Muffett Lane Jacksonville, Fla. 32210	Kendred E. Scott, Secty	Sheet Metal Worker
Jacksonville Stereo-typers	P. O. Box 337 Jacksonville, Fla. 32201	E. H. Busbia, Secty	Stereotyper
Palatka-St. Augustine Carpenters	920 Main Street 32207	O. C. Epicer, Secty	Carpenter Cabinetmaker
Sprinkler Fitters Industry for Fla.	26 Westward Drive Miami Springs, Fla. 33166	Clyde Cleare, Secty	Sprinkler Fitter
Jacksonville Masonry Trades	1330 Gulf Life Drive Jacksonville, Fla. 32207	Robert E. Ray, Secty	Bricklayer Stonemason Tilesetter Marble Mason Terrazo Worker

PARKE GLOVER - AREA III
Florida

Daytona Beach Sheet Metal JAC
Raymond Arnold, secretary
301 Lafayette Street
Port Orange, Fla. 32019

Trade: Sheet metal worker

Daytona Beach Carpenters JAC
Paul R. Baker, secretary
919 North Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Fla. 32017

Trade: Carpenter

Orlando Masonry JAC
Allen Beaver, secretary
1625 W. Grant street
Orlando, Fla. 32805

Trade: Bricklayer and cement mason

Brevard County Electrical JAC
Clive Callaway, secretary
2 Cidco Road
Cocoa, Fla. 32922

Trade: Electrician

Daytona Beach Plasterers JAC
S. F. Cavaretta, secretary
413 Flormond Avenue
Ormond Beach, Fla. 32074

Trade: Plasterer

Daytona Beach Masonry JAC
Clarence Charters, secretary
919 North Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Fla. 32017

Trade: Bricklayer and cement mason

Fort Pierce Carpenters JAC
John Coane, secretary
302 South 24th Street
Ft. Pierce, Fla. 33450 Trade: Carpenter

Orlando Printers JAC
H. H. Ferginson, secretary
139 East Church street
Orlando, Fla. 32801

Trade: Printer

Central Florida Roofers JAC
William Gibson, secretary
675 Cypress Street
Merritt Island, Fla. 32952

Trade: Roofer

Orlando Electrical JAC
Edward L. Grammer, secretary
1219 Santa Anita
Orlando, Fla. 32808

Trade: Electrician

Orlando Sheet Metal JAC
Joseph C. Grey, secretay
4308 Pine Hills Road
Orlando, Fla. 32808

Trade: Sheet metal worker

New Smyrna Carpenters JAC
Emery Hardy, secretary
Route 1
New Smyrna Beach, Fla. 32064

Trade: Carpenter

Orlando Carpenters JAC
William Hodges, secretary
3608 Midiron Drive
Winter Park, Fla. 32789

Trade: Carpenter

Central Florida Painters JAC
Arnaold A. Johnson, secretary
1011 Santa Barbara Road
Orlando, Fla. 32808 Trade: Painter

Orlando Plumbers JAC
Charles L. Hohnson, secretary
125 Lauren Court
Fern Park, Fla. 32730

Trade: Plumber and pipefitter

Brevard County Plumbers JAC
Willis J. Jones, secretary
P. O. Box 1012
Eau Gallie, Fla. 32936

Trade: Plumber and pipefitter

Orlando Lathers JAC
Percy L. Lovett, secretary
9940 Twin Oaks Lane
Orlando, Fla. 32807

Trade: Lather

Daytona Beach Painters JAC
Walter I. Morton, secretary
P. O. Box 6342
Daytona Beach, Fla. 32015

Trade: Painter

Cocoa Masonry JAC
Nelson Raby, secretary
P. O. Box 926
Cocoa, Fla. 32923

Trade: Brick and cement mason.

Daytona Beach Plumbers JAC
Gerald H. Reed, secretary
716 Riverside Drive
Holly Hill, Fla. 32017

Trade: Plumber and pipefitter

Brevard County Ironworkers JAC
George L. Shaughnessy, secretary
1106 Park Drive
Cocoa, Fla. 32925

Trade: Ironworker

Vero Beach Building Trades JAC
Vernon L. Wolfe, secretary
1626 First St., SW
Vero Beach, Fla. 32960
Trade: Carpenter

Sanford Carpenters JAC
R. E. Sullivan, secretary
246 S. Salisbury Avenue
DeLand, Fla. 32720

Trade: Carpenter

Brevard County Carpenters JAC
Charles b. Teague, secretary
601 Breezeway Drive
Cocoa, Fla. 32922

Trade: Carpenter

Brevard County Painters JAC
D. E. West, secretary
P. O. Box 106
Cocoa, Fla. 32922

Trade: Painter

Daytona Beach Electrical JAC
Charles Willis, secretary
813 Lewis Drive
Daytona Beach, Fla. 32017

Trade: Electrician.

ED KASTEN — AREA IV

Tampa Roofers JAC
Frank J. Anderson, sec.
1725 Buffalo Ave., W.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Roofer

Sarasota-Manatee Plumners JAC
John A. Ash, sec.
1327 31st St.
Sarasota, Fla.
Trade: Plumber

Ft. Myers Masonry JAC
Henry H Bahre, sec.
2100 Sunrise Blvd.
Ft. Myers, Fla.
Trade: Block and cement mason

Sarasota Painters JAC
William Baker, sec.
1681 8th St.
Sarasota, Fla.
Trade: Painter

St. Petersburg Painters JAC
Harry J. Bergevin, sec.
1827 1st Ave., S.
St. Petersburg, Fla.
Trade: Painter and decorator

Tampa Ship Repair & Dry Dock Co. JAC
J. W. Brush, sec.
P. O. Box 1277
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Machinist

Punta Gorda Carpenters JAC
Floyd W. Clark, sec.
408 Ferris Drive , Rt. 3
Port Charlotte, Fla.
Trade: Carpenter

Pinellas County Carpenters JAC
Lester C. Clester, sec.
1827 1st Ave. S.
St. Petersburg, Fla.
Trade: Carpenter

Tampa Mailers JAC
F. Ray Collins, sec.
4001 Berkley Dr.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Mailer

Tampa Machinists JAC
E. B. Davidson, secretary
6712 S. Himes Ave.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Machinist

Tampa Carpenters JAC
Donald K. Eckstein, sec.
204 E. Henderson Ave.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Carpenter

St. Petersburg Masonry JAC
Frank Erxleben, sec/
1827 1st. Ave., S.
St. Petersburg, Fla.
Trade: Masonry

Tampa Lathers JAC
Laurance S. Fernald, sec.
1915 13th Ave., S.
St. Petersburg, Fla.
Trade: Lather

Tampa Masonry JAC
Joe L. Fernandez, sec.
1725 W. Buffalo Ave.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Masonry

Ft. Myers Plumbers JAC
S. J. Garriel, sec.
P. O. Box 442
Ft. Myers, Fla.
Trade: Plumber

Sarasota-Manatee Masonry JAC
Kevin T. Goldsworthy, sec.
324 15th St. Court
West Bradenton, Fla.
Trade: Masonry

Tampa Lineman JAC
Robert F. Groene, sec.
2761 59th Ave., N.
St. Petersburg, Fla.
Trade: Lineman

Tampa Electrical JAC
Ronald J. Hamilton, ex. sec.
912 E. Platt St.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Electrician

Ft. Myers Carpenters JAC
E.M. Harrison, sec.
P. O. Box 442
Ft. Myers, Fla.
Trade: Carpenter

Tampa Pressman JAC
W. T. Haskins, Jr., sec.
2103 W. Idlewild Ave.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Pressman

Ft. Myers Electrical JAC
Neil W. Jackson, sec.
2966 Meadow Ave.
Ft. Myers, Fla.
Trade: Electrician

Sarasota Carpenters JAC
Sydney Johnes, sec.
322 N. Tuttle
Sarasota, Fla.
Trade: Carpenter

Tampa Stereotypers JAC
Conrad F. Joh nston, sec.
502 N. Gilchrist Ave.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Stereotyper

Lakeland Carpenters JAC
Elmer Johes, sec.
829 North Florida Ave.
Lakeland, Fla.
Trade: Carpenter

Tampa Pipefitters JAC
S. L. Jones, sec.
114 West Ida St.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Pipefitter

Tampa Electrical JAC
Donald F. Kirby, sec.
4010 Nebraska Ave.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade : Electrician

St. Petersburg Stereotypers JAC
J. H. Laforge, sec.
5698 37th Ave., N.
St. Petersburg, Fla.
Trade: Stereotyper

Frank M. Murphy Corp. JAC
Fred W. Long, sec.
P. O. BOx 271
Bartow, Fla.
Trade: Boilermaker

Clearwater Masonry JAC
H. P. Mahan, sec.
1478 East Turner St.
Clearwater, Fla.
Trade: Block and cement mason

Lakeland Electriaal JAC
W. B. Marcum, sec.
809 Osceola St.
Lakeland, Fla.
Trade: Electrician

West Coast Sheet Metal JAC
W. E. McCreary, sec.
2002 1/2 Florida Ave.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Sheet Metal worker

Tampa Typographical JAC
W. F. Moyse, sec.
9528 Dartmouth Ave.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Printer

Naples Carpenters JAC
Oscar Nichols, sec.
1181 1st Ave., S.
Naples, Fla.
Trade: Carpenter

Tampa Plumbers JAC
Hector Pereira, sec.
2529 West Curtis
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Plumber

Tampa Operating Engineers JAC
H. B. Roberts, sec.
208 North 22nd St.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Operating engineer

Tampa Painters JAC
Clyde E. Snyder, sec.
2012 Maple Ave.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Painter and decorator

Tampa Ironworkers JAC
W. L. Wager, sec.
402 W. Columbus Dr.
Tampa, Fla.
Trade: Ironworker

W. P. HUFESTETLER - AREA V

Ft. Pierce Plumbers JAC
George F. Beach, sec.
4633 Kelly Drive
Lake Worth, Fla.
Trade: Plumber

West Palm Beach Sheet Metal JAC
Herbert Bensch, secretary
2350 Okeechobee Road
West Palm Beach, Fla.
Trade: Sheet Metal worker

Miami Masonry JAC
W. H. Braden, secretary
3350 N. W. 7th Ave.
Miami, Fla.
Trade: Block and cement mason

Miami Electrical JAC
Jack R. Brock, secretary
3211 N. W. 27th Ave.
Miami, Fla.
Trade; Electrician

West Palm Beach Masonry JAC
James Hanavan, secretary
P. O. Box 1388
West Palm Beach, Fla.
Trade: Block and cement mason

Sprinkler Fitting Industry JAC
Clyde Cleare, secretary
26 Westward Drive
Miami Springs, Fla.
Trade: Sprinkler fitter

West Palm Beach Carpenters JAC
Frank H. Cochran, secretary
2037 Kenwood Road
West Palm Beach, Fla.
Trade: Carpenter

Broward County Carpenters JAC
Stanley Cook, secretary
4621 N. Federal Highway
Pompano Beach, Fla.
Trade: Carpenter

Miami Painters J AC
Matthew J. D'Auria, sec.
1255 W. 49th Place
Hialeah, Fla.
Trade: Painter & decorator

Miami Roofers JAC

Miami Roofers JAC
Michael DiMauro, secretary
1644 N. W. 17th Ave.
Miami, Fla.
Trade: Roofer

Miami Millmen-Cabinetmakers JAC
Jerry Dolson, secretary
9900 W. Suburban Dr.
Miami, Fla.
Trade: Millman-cabinetmaker

Miami Air Conditioning JAC
John C. Duncan, sec.
510 N. W. 195th Terrace
North Miami, Fla.
Trade: Pipefitter (air conditioning)

Key West Carpenters JAC
James D. Felton, sec.
700 Caroline St.
Key West, Fla.
Trade: Carpenter

Miami Ironworkers JAC
~~William S. Hamilton, sec.~~
William S. Hamilton, sec.
1111 S. W. 29th Ave.
Miami, Fla.
Trade: Ironworker

Miami Glaziers JAC
E. Clifton Horne, Jr., sec.
4400 N. W. 169th Terrace
Opa Locka, Fla.
Trade: Glazier

Key West Plumbers JAC
Robert H. Johnson, sec.
3616 Eagle Ave.
Key West, Fla.
Trade: Plumber

Miami Sheet Metal JAC
William F. Lauck, sec.
3350 N. W. 7th Ave.
Miami, Fla.
Trade: Sheet metal worker

Miami Plumbers JAC
Richard C, Leppert, sec.
2401 N. W. 17th Ave.
Miami, Fla.
Trade: Plumber

AREA V - cont.

Broward County Lineman JAC
F. A. Lewis, sec.
4238 S. W. 5th St.
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Trade: Lineman

West Palm Beach Lathers JAC
Richard Lewis, sec.
1609 South 15th Ave.
Lake Worth, Fla.
Trade: Lather

Ft. Lauderdale Masonry JAC
George Lowe, sec.
1041 Park Drive
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Trade: Masonry

West Palm Beach Painters JAC
Fred McGinley, sec.
414 Florida Ave.
Trade: Painter

West Palm Beach Roofers JAC
Gene McGee, secretary
2312 Lark Lane
West Palm Beach, Fla.
Trade: Roofer

Miami Lathers JAC
E. A. Mitchell, sec.
3455 N. W. 176th Terrace
Opa Locka, Fla.
Trade: Lather

Miami Masonry JAC
James E. Moore, sec.
3350 N. W. 7th Ave.
Miami, Fla.
Trade: Block and cem ent mason,
tile and terrazzo

Palm Beach County Ironworkers JAC
J. P. Moreland, sec.
8755 N. Military Trail
West Palm Beach, Fla.
Trade: Ironworker

Miami Carpenters JAC
H. E. Morris, sec.
2955 N. W. 17th Ave.
Miami, Fla.
Trade: Carpenter

Gold Coast Electrical JAC
Kenneth B. Parker, sec.

Gold Coast Electrical JAC
Kenneth B. Parker, sec.
2248 S. W. 15th St.
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Trade: Electrician

Broward County Glaziers JAC
Fred H. Rahn, sec.
1043 N. W. 13th St.
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Trade: Glazier

West Palm Beach Electrical JAC
Joseph Rao, sec.
931 1/2 Belvedere Road
West Palm Beach, Fla.
Trade: Electrician

Florida Sheet Metal JAC
Reuben H. Reid, sec.
P. O. Box 2465
West Palm Beach, Fla.
Trade: Sheet Metal

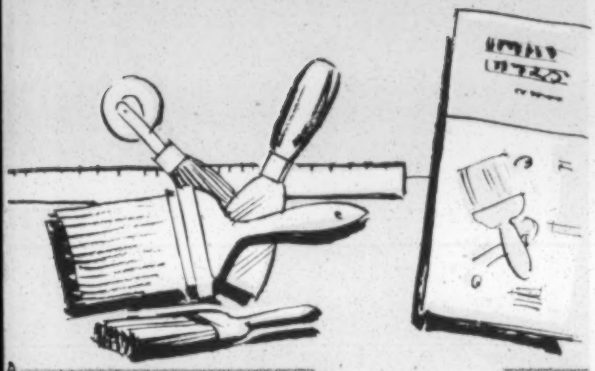
Ft. Lauderdale Painters JAC
Chas. R. Rowland, sec.
10 N. E. 2nd St.
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Trade: Painter and decorator

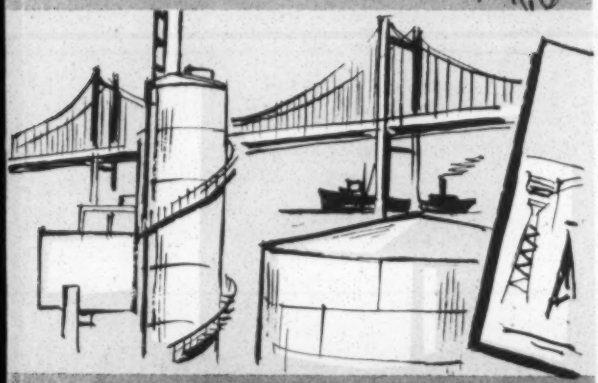
Broward County Sheet Metal JAC
Fletcher Sessions, sec.
250 N. W. 128th St.
Miami, Fla.
Trade: Sheet Metal

Broward County Lathers JAC
Chester Shackleford, sec.
400 S. W. 22nd Ave.
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Trade: lather

West Palm Beach Plumbers JAC
Jack N. Stevens, sec.
104 Henthorne Drive
Lake Worth, Fla.
Trade: Plumber

Broward County Plumbers JAC
Terrence Sullivan, sec.
3330 S. W. 20th Court
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Trade: Plumber





Apprentice

1961
EDITION

NATIONAL PAINTING AND DECORATING APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING STANDARDS

Adopted by the National Joint Painting and Decorating Apprenticeship and Training Committee, representing the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America and the Painting and Decorating Contractors of America, in conformance with the fundamentals recommended by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship.

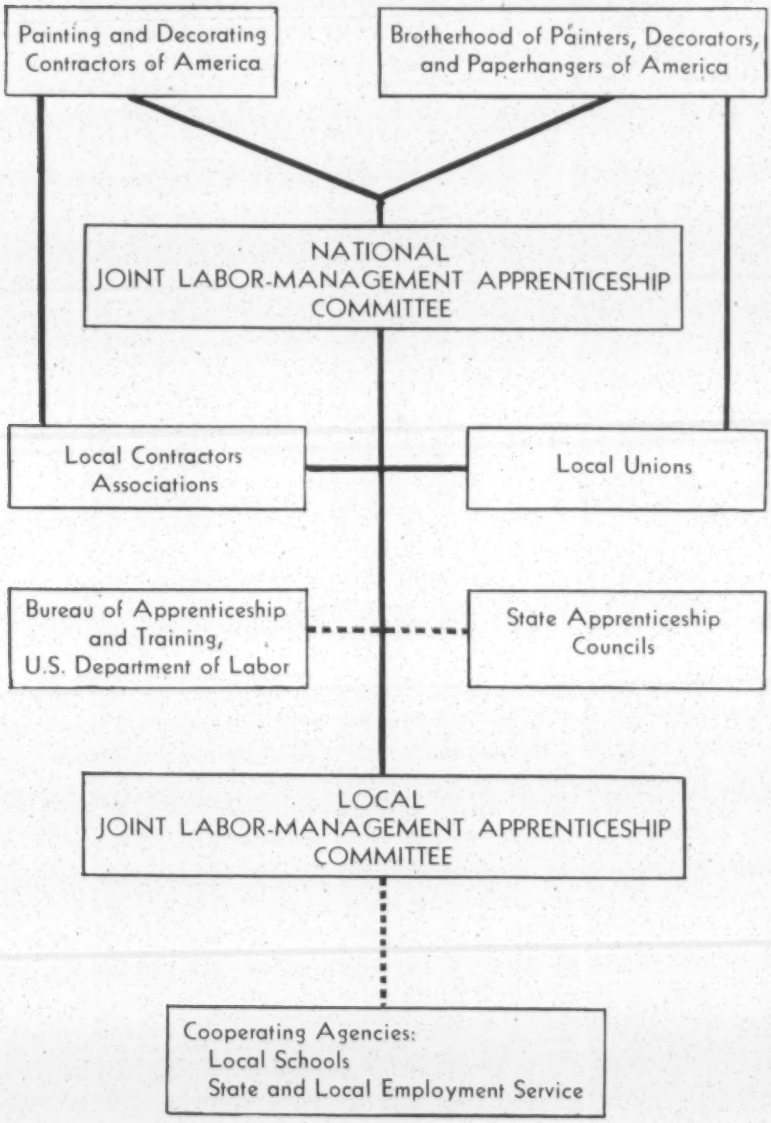
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Arthur J. Goldberg, Secretary

BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

Edw. E. Goshen, Director

APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM OF THE PAINTING AND DECORATING INDUSTRY



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 5, 1961

National Joint Painters and Decorators
Apprenticeship and Training Committee

Gentlemen:

The Painting and Decorating Industry is to be commended for its continued interest and efforts to develop its craftsmen through apprenticeship. This fifth edition of your National Apprenticeship and Training Standards will do much to carry out your objective.

We in the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training congratulate you. We know you will continue to meet the growing demand for journeymen and maintain your enthusiastic support of apprenticeship. We know, too, that you will not overlook the necessity of keeping your journeymen up-to-date.

Our field representatives in each of the fifty states are always available to serve you.

Sincerely yours,

Edw. E. Goshen

Edw. E. Goshen
Acting Director

LONGBEACH 1-2328

National Headquarters

Painting and Decorating Contractors of America

2625 WEST PETERSON AVENUE • CHICAGO 45, ILLINOIS

LEON V. SWITZER
President
4828 Chelsea Avenue
P.O. Box 6328
Kansas City 30, Missouri

May 8, 1961

Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The revision of the National Painting, Decorating and Paperhanging Apprenticeship Standards were prepared through the co-operation of the Painting and Decorating Contractors of America, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, and the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. They have been carefully studied by our staff and we hereby endorse the revised standards.

It is the feeling of this organization that with these standards brought up to date and into conformity with our new apprenticeship courses of instruction, a more effective piece of work can be accomplished for our industry.

We again pledge the support of our councils and chapters to the Apprenticeship Regional Offices and agencies in the work that lies ahead.

Very truly yours,

Leon V. Switzer

LEON V. SWITZER
President P.D.C.A.

LVS:dh

AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT,
METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT, INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT,
UNION LABEL AND SERVICE TRADES DEPARTMENT

OFFICE OF L. M. RAFTERY, GEN. PRES.
SUITE 509, A.F.L.-C.I.O. BLDG.
815 SIXTEENTH STREET N. W.
WASHINGTON (6), D. C.

Brotherhood of PAINTERS, DECORATORS AND PAPERHANGERS of America

January 7, 1960

Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has cooperated fully with the Painting and Decorating Contractors of America and the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U. S. Department of Labor, in preparing this major revision of the National Painting and Decorating Apprenticeship Standards.

These standards, which comprise a manual of procedure for building and perfecting a national apprenticeship system for the painting and decorating industry, are being distributed among all state and local officers of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America. They are being urged to give it careful study and use it as a pattern for revising and developing local apprenticeship standards and training programs.

You may rest assured that our Brotherhood joins the contractors in the industry in expressing appreciation to everyone in your department for the very capable assistance rendered in furthering the cause of apprenticeship and training in our industry, and wish to assure you of our plans for continued expansion and development in the field of training more qualified journeymen craftsmen in the painting and decorating industry throughout the nation.

Sincerely yours,

L. M. Raftery

L. M. RAFTERY
General President

SFR:rb

Certificate of Registration

NATIONAL PAINTING AND DECORATING APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING STANDARDS
(Jointly Sponsored by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America and the Painting and Decorating Contractors of America)

Nation-Wide

Issued in recognition of the above apprenticeship system, registered as part of the National Apprenticeship Program, in accordance with the fundamentals recommended by the

FEDERAL COMMITTEE ON APPRENTICESHIP

for the trade classification of PAINTER-AND-DECORATOR

Date Rev. May 9, 1961

Registry No. 81380

Arthur J. Goldberg
Secretary of Labor

Edw. E. Goshen
Director, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training

JOINTLY DEVELOPED AND ADOPTED BY CONTRACTORS AND LABOR

In order that there may be continuous activity and progress in the national apprenticeship program in the painting and decorating trade, a National Joint Contractor-Labor Apprenticeship Committee was originally established and appointed by the Secretary of Labor to serve in an advisory and promotional capacity. This national committee, now known as the National Joint Apprenticeship and Training Committee, is made up of an equal number of representatives of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America and the Painting and Decorating Contractors of America. A representative of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, and of the Trade and Industrial Education Service, U.S. Office of Education, serve as consultants to the committee.

To enable young men to obtain the training necessary to equip them for the responsibilities they must assume as successors to the present generation of craftsmen, the national committee has developed, for the guidance of local contractor and labor groups, the national standards of apprenticeship contained in the following pages. It is through the cooperative effort and initiative of the local groups that the national committee looks for ever-increasing apprenticeship activities.

These national standards represent the conservative judgment of leading painters and decorators concerning the essential factors in the development of highly skilled painting and decorating craftsman. The national committee will arrange for every assistance possible to be given to the local groups in establishing practical and sound apprenticeship programs. It will review the operation of apprenticeship programs and the development of apprenticeship training in the industry through periodic surveys, and make such recommendations as may be necessary for improving the effectiveness and completeness of the training of apprentices.

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FOREWORD

Set forth in this booklet is the fifth revision of the National Joint Painting and Decorating Apprenticeship and Training Standards, which were originally formulated and adopted in 1937. This latest edition was developed by the Joint Painting and Decorating Apprenticeship and Training Committee in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. The committee, which represents the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America and the Painting and Decorating Contractors of America, is established on a permanent basis.

The painting and decorating trade was one of the first trades in the United States to adopt national standards to provide a uniform pattern for use by employers and labor in every locality in setting up and operating apprentice training programs. The original standards formulated in 1937, formed a basis for national standards subsequently developed in many other trades.

Continuously on the alert for ways and means to improve training methods and procedures, representatives of contractors and labor in the trade revised the original standards in 1938, 1948, again in 1954 and 1960, and now in 1961. The changing techniques and new competitive materials introduced have constantly increased the skills and technical knowledge required in the trade and the necessity for more versatile, thoroughly trained craftsmen, capable of a more economical, longer-lasting, perfectly executed job.

In addition to itemizing the various provisions of this latest version of the national standards, this booklet includes an explanation of the application of the standards for the guidance of contractors and labor representatives. Not only have many of the provisions been amplified, but a new provision has been added relating to joint training funds. Supplementing the provisions is an example of an apprentice recordkeeping form and a new schedule of work processes in which to train apprentices.

It is hoped that all employers and labor representatives in every community will take full advantage of this edition of the Painting industry's National Standards in establishing, improving, and conducting local apprenticeship programs.

1961

NATIONAL JOINT PAINTING AND DECORATING APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEE

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Representing the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

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Layfayette, Ind.

William H. Rohrberg, *General Secretary-Treasurer*
Lafayette, Ind.

G. J. Tuckbreiter, *First Vice President*
Chicago, Ill.

James J. Knoud, *Second Vice President*
Philadelphia, Pa.

Michael DiSilvestro, *Third Vice President*
Long Island, N.Y.

Joseph F. Clarke, *Fourth Vice President*
Tacoma, Wash.

M. H. Crow, *Fifth Vice President*
Marshall, Tex.

Thomas V. Carter, *Sixth Vice President*
Kansas City, Mo.

CONSULTANTS

M. M. Hanson A. G. Beaubien
U.S. Department of Labor
Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL PAINTING AND DECORATING APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING STANDARDS

Part I

Provisions of Standards Governing the Employment and Training of Painting and Decorating Apprentices

NOTE.—Local application of these National Standards in States having State Apprenticeship Councils may require adaptation to meet the standards of apprenticeship in such States. The staff of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training and State apprenticeship agencies is available to advise on such standards.

1. *Definition of Painting and Decorating Apprentice.*—A "painting and decorating apprentice" is a person—

(*a*) who is at least 16 and not over the age of 25,

(*b*) who is engaged in learning the trade covered by these standards, and

(*c*) who is covered by a written agreement, hereinafter called an "apprenticeship agreement," with a local painting and decorating joint apprenticeship and training committee, acting as agent of the contractor, or with a contractor with approval of the agreement by the local joint committee.

2. *Definition of Registration Agency.*—The term "Registration Agency," as used herein, shall mean a State apprenticeship agency recognized by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, or, if no such recognized agency exists in the State, it shall mean the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor.

3. *Qualifications for Apprenticeship.*—Applicants for apprenticeship must be at least 16 and not over 25 years of age. (The local joint and training apprenticeship committee will have the authority to waive the maximum age limit in the case of honorably discharged veterans, and in other special cases.) All applicants shall satisfy the local joint committee that they have the ability and aptitude to master the rudiments of the trade and have sufficient education to satisfactorily complete the required hours of related theoretical instruction.

Applicants must be American citizens, or in the process of naturalization; be physically able to perform the work required of the trade; and meet such other entrance requirements as shall be established by the local joint apprenticeship and training committee.

All applicants shall be afforded equal employment opportunity regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

4. *Selection of Apprentices.*—It is recommended that local joint apprenticeship and training committees establish proper selection procedures for applicants interested in a painting and decorating apprenticeship. The use

of application forms, appropriate interviewing techniques, and aptitude tests are essential tools of the selection process, and properly used, provide some degree of assurance that the applicant possesses the qualities necessary to success in the trade. Among other benefits to be derived from adequate selection procedures are:

(*a*) better qualified apprentices,
(*b*) reduction in turnover,
(*c*) savings in time, money, and effort in training, and
(*d*) more competent and highly skilled craftsmen.

The facilities of State Employment Services, local vocational schools, colleges, and universities, and the Veterans Administration are generally available upon request. These agencies may be in a position to provide assistance in developing selection procedures suitable to the local situation, where necessary.

5. *Term of Apprenticeship.*—Apprentices shall serve a minimum term of 3 consecutive years (approximately 6,000 hours) in the painting and decorating trade, which shall consist of six 6-month periods of reasonably continuous employment during such term, and include the probationary period and the required hours of supplemental school instruction.

6. *Related Classroom Instruction.*—Apprentices shall be required to attend classes in subjects related to the trade each year of their apprenticeship (144 hours per year of such instruction is normally considered necessary). The local joint apprenticeship and training committee shall request the local schools to establish classes of supplemental related instruction for apprentices, and shall cooperate with the local vocational school officials in determining the subject to be taught, and the qualification of instructors. The local joint apprenticeship committee may recommend journeymen in the trade who have the knowledge and ability to teach related classroom instruction.

Where it is found impracticable to establish related instruction classes, the local joint apprenticeship committee may substitute other organized forms of instruction in the theoretical and technical subjects related to the painting and decorating trade, such as correspondence courses or other industrial courses of equivalent value.

Local standards of apprenticeship should clearly indicate the policy of the local committee with respect to hours spent in related instruction:

(*a*) The local standards should include the statement that "hours spent in related instruction after regular working hours shall not be considered hours worked."

Local standards should clearly indicate the policy of local committee with respect to payment for hours spent in related instruction.

NOTE.—In Wisconsin, State laws provide that the employer shall pay for the time the apprentice is receiving instruction at his regular hourly rate. It also provides that if the apprenticeship is for a longer period than 2 years, the total amount of instruction shall not be less than 400 hours.

No apprentice should be allowed to work overtime when such work will interfere with his attendance at related instruction classes. In case of failure of any apprentice to fulfill his obligations as to school attendance and conduct, without due cause, the local joint apprenticeship committee shall take necessary disciplinary action.

7. *Ratio of Apprentices to Journeymen.*—The provision in local standards covering the ratio of apprentices to journeymen shall be worked out according to local practices or agreements.

8. *Apprenticeship Agreement.**—Each apprentice shall be covered by a written apprenticeship agreement with the local joint committee, acting as agent of the contractor; or the agreement may be between the apprentice and the contractor with approval by the joint committee. All apprentices shall be registered with the appropriate registration agency.

Each apprenticeship agreement shall contain a statement making the terms and conditions of the local trade standards a part of the agreement. For this reason, every apprentice and employer will be required to read the local standards of apprenticeship before signing the agreement.

9. *Probationary Period.*—Apprentices employed under these standards shall be subject to a try-out or probationary period, to be determined by the local joint apprenticeship and training committee, which shall not exceed 3 months of reasonably continuous employment. During the probationary period, the termination or cancellation of the apprenticeship agreement shall be made by the local joint apprenticeship committee at the request of either party to the agreement. After the probationary period, the agreement may be canceled by the local committee after adequate cause has been shown, and all parties to the agreement have had an opportunity to be heard.

The registration agency shall be notified of all cancellations and terminations of apprenticeship agreements.

10. *Apprentice Wages.*—It is recommended that the schedule of wages for apprentices be established on a percentage of the prevailing local journeyman painter and decorator's wage rate, and increased each 6 months to completion of the apprenticeship.

The local joint apprenticeship and training committee shall examine apprentices before each period of advancement, ascertaining as to their satisfactory attendance and progress both at school and on the job, and the degree of proficiency and quality of workmanship achieved.

11. *Credit for Previous Experience.*—If the local joint committee finds, upon examining the applicant's records, that he has had previous practical experience in the trade it may grant him advanced standing on the term of apprenticeship, subject to review before the end of the probationary period.

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*Some Srate Apprenticeship Agencies require the use of their own apprenticeship agreement forms. In such instances, the agreement forms may be obtained from the staff of the State Apprenticeship Agency or of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

Apprentices who receive credit for previous experience shall be paid the wage rate for the period to which such credit advances them.

12. *Hours of Work for Apprentices.*—The hours of work for apprentices shall be the same as those for journeymen employed in the trade. No apprentice shall be allowed to work overtime, if it interferes with his attendance at related instruction classes.

Apprentices absent from the services of their employers through their own fault shall make up all such time lost before being advanced to the next period of apprenticeship.

13. *Supervision of Apprentices.*—The contractor shall designate a particular person, who may be the superintendent, foreman, or journeyman, to be responsible for the training of apprentices. He shall, with the advice and assistance of the local joint apprenticeship and training committee, be responsible for the apprentices' work experience on the job, for their attendance at related classes, and the recording of same on record forms provided for this purpose. (See example of apprentice recordkeeping form on page 13.)

It shall be his duty to see that these record forms are complete in every detail and forwarded to the local joint committee at periodic (quarterly) intervals. The local committee shall keep a master record of the apprentices' work experience and related instruction.

14. *Coordinator of Apprenticeship.*—Where the local program of apprenticeship or the area of coverage of the local program is unusually large, the local joint committee should give consideration to the appointment of a person to assist it in the supervision and administration of the apprenticeship system. The Coordinator of Apprenticeship shall be responsible to the local joint committee and assume such duties as may be assigned to him by the local committee. In effect, the Coordinator of Apprenticeship acts for and on behalf of the local joint apprenticeship and training committee during the interim between regular meetings of the local committee to assure the effectiveness and success of the local program.

15. *Accident Prevention.*—Apprentices shall receive instruction on accident prevention and safe working habits during their entire term of apprenticeship. Such instruction shall be coordinated with the actual work being performed on the job and the tools and equipment being used.

16. *Adjusting Differences.*—The contractor and the apprentice shall have the right and privilege of appeal to the local joint apprenticeship and training committee in the event of disputes or controversies arising over any provision of the local apprenticeship standards which cannot be satisfactorily settled between them. The local committee shall hear all parties and make such adjustments as it may consider neccessary.

17. *Work Experience.*—During his apprenticeship, the apprentice shall be taught the use, care, and effective and safe handling of all tools and equipment commonly used in the trade. He shall be given work experience and training in all branches of painting and decorating, including paperhanging, to assure him the skill and proficiency that characterizes a fully qualified and

competent craftsman in the art of painting and decorating, and paperhanging. (See the recommended schedule of work experience and training outlined on page 11.)

18. *Certificate of Completion of Apprenticeship.*—Apprentices who complete their apprenticeship and have passed the required journeyman examination, shall be awarded a certificate by the local joint committee, attesting to their satisfactory completion of training and recognition as qualified journeymen painters and decorators. Certificates of completion are available from the registration agency for all apprentices completing their apprenticeship under registered standards.

19. *Consultants.*—The local joint committee may request interested agencies or organizations to designate a representative to serve as a consultant. Consultants may be asked to participate without vote in conferences on special problems which affect the agencies or organizations they represent.

Part II

Adapting National Standards to Local Use

1. *Local Painting and Decorating Joint Apprenticeship and Training Committee.*—It is recommended that a local joint apprenticeship and training committee, equally representative of management and labor, be established which shall be responsible for the administration of the local apprenticeship standards, and for coordinating them, where desirable, with the apprenticeship standards of other groups in the community.

Where organizations of employers and employees exist, such organizations should each appoint an equal number of its members to serve on the local joint committee.

Where no employer or employee organizations exist, a committee may be formed in like manner by volunteers who shall agree to carry out the national standards as herein set forth.

A representative from the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, and/or the State apprenticeship council, if one exists in the State, is available upon request to attend meetings of the joint committee as advisor and consultant on labor standards applicable to apprentices, on the development of administrative procedures for the conduct of apprenticeship, and on any problems relating to apprentices and apprenticeship.

2. *Coverage.*—It shall be the duty of each local joint apprenticeship and training committee to identify its area of operation and to assume responsibility for the training of all painting and decorating apprentices by contractors within that area with whom the local union has bargaining agreements. The local committee shall also encourage all other contractors in the area to employ and train apprentices under its system of apprenticeship, and any contractor who desires to do so may participate in the local program by signifying agreement to the terms and conditions of training prescribed in the local standards.

3. *Duties of Local Joint Apprenticeship and Training Committees.*—The local joint committee shall develop local apprenticeship standards consistent with these national standards, and covering such items as:

(*a*) Method of selecting apprenticeship applicants.

(*b*) Schedule of work experience on the job.

(*c*) Progressively increasing schedule of wages for apprentices.

(*d*) Provision for supplemental related instruction.

(*e*) Provision for instructions on safe working habits and accident prevention.

(*f*) Provision for reviewing or testing the apprentice's progress, both on the job and in related instruction.

(*g*) Provision for adjusting complaints regarding apprenticeship.

(*h*) Procedure for providing apprentices with certificates of completion.

It shall be the responsibility of the local joint committee to:

(*a*) Conduct surveys to determine the need for, and the availability of, apprentices in the local area.

(*b*) Ascertain whether contractor undertaking to train apprentices has the necessary facilities to assure effective training.

(*c*) Place each apprentice under agreement. (Where the apprentice is indentured to the local joint committee, the committee shall make every effort to keep the apprentice continuously employed and assure him of well-rounded training and experience in all phases of the trade by rotating him, whenever possible, among the various participating contractors. Where the apprentice is indentured to the contractor, and the contractor is unable to provide employment for him, the local joint committee shall exert every effort to place him temporarily with another contractor with the understanding that the contractor to whom he is regularly indentured shall have first call on his services when and if he is able to furnish employment for him.)

(*d*) Assure that apprentices are receiving the necessary on the job experience and related technical instruction.

(*e*) Conduct the final examination for apprentices to establish their status as journeymen in the trade.

(*f*) Notify the appropriate registration agency of all terminations and cancellations of apprenticeship agreements.

(*g*) Prepare and submit all reports concerning its apprenticeship program that may be legally required by local, State, or Federal agencies, and the respective national organizations.

(*h*) Supervise the enforcement of all the provisions of the standards.

4. *Responsibilities of Apprentices.*—The local joint apprenticeship and training committee should impress upon each indentured apprentice that in signing the apprenticeship agreement he has voluntarily agreed to abide by the provisions of the local standards, and inform the apprentice of his responsibilities and obligations under the apprenticeship program.

(*a*) To diligently and faithfully perform the work of the trade and other pertinent duties as assigned by the contractor in accordance with the provisions of the standards.

(*b*) To respect the property of the contractor and abide by the working rules and regulations of the contractor and the local joint committee.

(*c*) To regularly attend and satisfactorily complete the required hours of instruction in subjects related to the trade, as provided under the local standards.

(*d*) To maintain such records of work experience and training received on the job and in related instruction, as may be required by the local joint committee.

(*e*) To develop safe working habits, and conduct himself in his work

in such manner as to assure his own safety as well as that of his fellow-workers.

(*f*) To work for the contractor to whom assigned to the completion of his apprenticeship, unless he is reassigned to another contractor or his agreement is terminated by the local joint committee.

(*g*) To conduct himself at all times in a creditable, ethical, and moral manner, realizing that much time, money, and effort will be spent in affording him an opportunity to become a skilled craftsman.

Filing with the Registration Agency

As soon as the local apprenticeship standards have been developed and approved by the sponsoring local groups, the local joint committee shall file a copy with the registration agency. The joint committee shall furnish the registration agency with any additional information required by Federal or State laws or regulations affecting apprentices. The joint committee shall also register a copy of each apprenticeship agreement with the registration agency.

Cooperating Agencies

Local joint apprenticeship and training committees may obtain assistance in the formulation and administration of apprenticeship programs from:

(*a*) Painting and Decorating Contractors of America, 2625 West Peterson Avenue, Chicago 45, Ill.

(*b*) Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Painters and Decorators Building, Lafayette, Ind.

(*c*) The Painting and Decorating National Joint Apprenticeship and Training Committee, L. E. Longstreet, Secretary, P.O. Box 618, Joplin, Mo.

(*d*) The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington 25, D.C.

(*e*) State Apprenticeship Councils, State Labor Departments, or State Industrial Commissions.

(*f*) The Division of Vocational Education, U.S. Office of Education, which administers and supervises Federal funds appropriated for apportionment among the States for vocational education. The assistance of State and Local Boards of Vocational Education is also available upon request.

Federal Laws and Regulations Affecting Apprenticeship

Wage Determination Regulations.—Federal or federally aided projects.—The Secretary of Labor, through the Solicitor's Office of U.S. Department of Labor, predetermines the prevailing wages for construction mechanics, laborers, and apprentices employed on Federal or federally aided construction projects. (Details of these regulations will be found in Part 5, Title 29, Subtitle A, Code of Federal Regulations, covering labor standards provisions applicable to public contracts.) The local joint apprenticeship

committees should advise all contractors participating in the local apprenticeship program that in case they bid on and are awarded a Federal construction project contract, they should not employ apprentices on such project until such time as they have requested and obtained the applicable apprentice wage schedule for the area from the contracting or sponsoring government agency; and provided further that the apprentices are employed under a bona fide apprenticeship program registered with a State apprenticeship agency recognized by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, U.S. Department of Labor, or if no such recognized agency exists in the State, with the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor.

Veterans Administration Legislation (Public Law 550).—Provide for the approval of programs of apprenticeship by the appropriate State (veterans) approving agency under Veterans' Administration regulations to permit eligible veteran apprentices to receive a training allowance for their education and training. Under the provisions of Veterans Readjustment legislation, joint apprenticeship committees may be recognized as *training institutions*. Consequently, if it is anticipated that veterans may be employed as apprentices under the local standards, the committee should request approval of its program by the appropriate State (veterans) approving agency, keeping in mind that the criteria for approval under Veterans Administration Regulations includes detailing of the work schedules and approximate length of time to be spent on each operation or task, and the keeping of progress records. This criteria is contained in Public Law 550.

Selective Service Regulations (Deferment of Training of Apprentices).—Upon request from the Joint Apprenticeship and Training Committee, its program may be certified to the Selective Service for deferment purposes by the Registration Agency after the program has been in existence at least one year. One or more apprentices must have been in training during that time in each occupation for which certification is requested. In the painting and decorating trade, eligible apprentices must have completed 2,000 hours of training. The local joint committee or the contractor assumes responsibility for submitting requests for deferment of individual apprentices to the local draft board. However, there is no assurance that the request will be granted since there is no blanket deferment of all apprentices even though employed in certified programs. The ultimate decision rests with the local draft board, subject to appeal. Detailed information and necessary forms may be obtained from the nearest field representative of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training or State apprenticeship agency.

Joint Training Funds

1. *Legality of Training Funds.*—Training funds for use in defraying the cost of apprenticeship or other training programs, to which employers contribute, are authorized under The Labor-Management Reporting And Disclosure Act of 1959 which amends Section 302 of the Labor-Management

Relations Act of 1947. Such funds must be established in the form of a trust; the trustees must be equally representative of the employers and employees (this may be the joint apprenticeship committee); and the basis on which payments to the trust fund are to be made must be detailed in a written agreement with the employer, including provision for an annual audit of the trust. Those persons (trustees) responsible for the custody or control of the trust funds must be bonded.

Where a trust is established, a clause should be included in the trust agreement to the effect that the trusteeship is (1) a nonprofit organization; (2) that no part of the net earnings will inure to any private individual or member; and (3) in the event of dissolution of the trust, how the accrued moneys and other assets will be disposed. (They can be apportioned to those who paid into the fund, donated to a charitable or educational organization, or to the labor organization.)

2. *Tax Exempt Status of the Trust.*—Training trust funds are considered to be tax exempt by the Internal Revenue Service under Section 501(c)5 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. To obtain this exemption, the trustees must file Form 1024 with the appropriate District Director of Internal Revenue. In submitting Form 1024, include with it a copy of the trust agreement and apprenticeship program. After the tax exempt status of the trust has been determined, each year thereafter the trustees shall make a return on Form 990 in order to maintain this exemption.

Employer contributions to the training trust fund are deductible as ordinary and necessary expenses in the conduct of their business under Section 162(a) of the Internal Revenue Code.

TRADE EXPERIENCE SCHEDULE FOR PAINTERS, DECORATORS AND PAPERHANGERS

This schedule is an example of the type of work experience and training considered necessary to develop a skilled and productive worker in the painting and decorating trade. Within the limits of basic trade requirements, local joint apprenticeship committees will find the schedule sufficiently flexible for adaptation to local conditions, and in allocating the approximate experience.

	Approx. hours
I. Preparation of Surfaces	
1. Wood and composition	
2. Masonry and concrete	
3. Metal	
4. Plaster	
5. Painted	
6. Dry wall taping and surface treatment	.....
II. Operation and Care of Tools and Equipment	
1. Brushes, rollers, etc.	
2. Spray-painting equipment	
3. Miscellaneous hand and power-driven tools; including sand blasting equipment	
4. Ladders, scaffolding, and rigging	
5. Compressors	.....
III. Materials Used in Painting and Decorating	
1. White pigments	
2. Extender, metal prining and metal pigments	
3. Color pigments	
4. Binders, thinners and dryers	
5. Primers and sealers	
6. Oil paints and enamels	
7. Water paints and emulsions	
8. Clear coatings	
9. Stains	
10. Mastics, cement enamels and other special coatings	
11. Plastics	
12. Adhesives	
13. Wall coverings	
14. Coatings and linings (tanks, vats and vessels)	.....
IV. Application of Materials—Exterior and Interior	
1. Painting, staining, coating and covering of all surfaces	
2. Floor finishing, such as staining, filling, shellacing, varnishing, waxing, sealing, buffiing, etc.	.....
V. Applying Various Types of Wall Coverings	.....
VI. Matching and Mixing Colors	.....
VII. Stippling	.....
VIII. Blending and Glazing	.....
IX. Graining, Marbling, and Metal Leafing	.....
X. Stenciling and Stripping	.....
Total Term	.....

APPRENTICE RECORDKEEPING

To maintain a current record of the progress and ability of apprentices, an accurate recordkeeping system, covering the pertinent points, is essential. A number of different types of recordkeeping systems are in use in the different areas. Some systems include a variety of recordkeeping forms—daily, weekly, monthly, as well as a final master chart summarizing the pertinent data recorded during the entire term of apprenticeship.

Reproduced on the following page is a simply designed recordkeeping form used by joint apprenticeship and training committees in a number of localities. It is presented as an example to those in charge of apprentices in other localities in establishing their own recordkeeping systems. This form covers a 2-week period and is accumulative. The number of hours the apprentice has been trained on the job in each phase of the trade are recorded in columns I through X, and the hours of related classroom instruction are recorded in the next column. Provision is also made for the verification of hours spent in related instruction.

It will be noted that the data recorded during each 2-week period is carried forward to the next 2-week period. In this way, a current and complete record of the progress of each apprentice may be kept on this single form.

Samples of other recordkeeping systems may be obtained, upon request, through the field representatives of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training or State apprenticeship agencies.

Painting and Decorating Apprentice Recordkeeping Report

Apprentice Address City

Employer Address City

Month	Year 19			Employer or foreman verify and sign here							Give location of job above	
Total hours required →	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	Related instruction	
Schedule	Surface preparation	Tool care	Use of materials	Exterior and interior applications	Wall covering	Color matchings	Stippling	Blending and glazing	Graining and marbling	Stenciling and stripping	Hours of related instruction	Supervisor's verification
Hours carried forward												
Date												
Monday												
Tuesday												
Wednesday												
Thursday												
Friday												
Saturday												
Sunday												
Monday												
Tuesday												
Wednesday												
Thursday												
Friday												
Saturday												
Sunday												
											Total school hours	
Total hours to date												

Make comments or remarks on progress of apprentice on reverse side

Enter grand total here.....

Certificates of Completion of Apprenticeship, awarded apprentices when they have completed their training, are issued by the State apprenticeship agency or the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in States in which no such agency is established.

APPRENTICESHIP AGREEMENT

Between Apprentice and Employer

(Front View)

The employer and apprentice whose signatures appear below agree to these terms of apprenticeship:

The employer agrees to employ and train the apprentice in accordance with the terms and conditions of the ....., which are made a part of this
(Name of Apprenticeship Standards)
agreement; or, in accordance with the terms and conditions stated on the reverse side of this agreement.

The apprentice agrees to apply himself diligently and faithfully to learning the trade in accordance with this agreement.

Trade ..... Term of apprenticeship .....
(Hours or Years)

Credit for previous experience ..... Term remaining .....

Date the apprenticeship begins .....

This agreement may be terminated by either party notifying the other or in accordance with the named apprenticeship standards.

.....	.....
(Signature of Apprentice)	(Name of Employer—Company)
.....	.....
(Address)	(Address)
.....	.....
(Apprentice's Birth Date)	(Signature of Authorized Official)

Approved by ....., Joint Apprenticeship Committee.

Date ..... by .....
(Signature of Chairman or Secretary)

Registered by .....
(Name of Registration Agency)

Date ..... by .....
(Signature of Authorized Official)

Where a State requires the use of its own agreement form, such form may be obtained from the staff of the State Apprenticeship Agency or of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS

(Back View)

1. Term of apprenticeship and period of probation:
   (*a*) Total term: ..... calendar years, or ..... hours
   (*b*) Probationary period: ..... months, or ..... hours

2. Schedule of work processes in which the apprentice is to receive adequately supervised instruction and experience, of which a record will be kept and periodically evaluated:
   (*a*) List here: Major divisions of the trade and work tasks required under each:
   (*b*) List here: Approximate time, in hours, months, or percent of apprenticeship:

3. Wage rate to be paid the apprentice each period of apprenticeship: (Period may be expressed in hours, months, or years; rate may be expressed in money or percent of journeyman's wage)

Periods:	Rates:	Periods:	Rates:	Periods:	Rates:
1st.....	.....	5th.....	.....	9th.....	.....
2d.....	.....	6th.....	.....	10th.....	.....
3d.....	.....	7th.....	.....	11th.....	.....
4th.....	.....	8th.....	.....	12th.....	.....

Journeyman's rate as of..... is ..... {per hour / per week}

4. Number of hours per week or per day to be worked by the apprentice:
   (*a*) Hours per week.....
   (*b*) Hours per day.....

5. Number of hours of related instruction:
   (144 hours per year—4 hours per week during regular school year, is normally considered necessary. Where classes are not available through the local school, other organized trade, industrial, or correspondence course of equivalent value may be substituted)
   (*a*) ..... week ..... year
   (*b*) School or course.....
   (*c*) Apprentice ☐ will ☐ will not be compensated for hours spent in related instruction after regular working hours.

6. Other provisions:
   (*a*) There is reasonable certainty that the job for which the apprentice is being trained will be available to him upon completion of his apprenticeship.
   (*b*) Upon request by the Joint Apprenticeship Committee or employer, a Certificate of Completion will be granted the apprentice by the Registration Agency upon satisfactory completion of the apprenticeship, in accordance with standards covered herein.

APPRENTICESHIP AGREEMENT

Between Apprentice and Joint Apprenticeship Committee

(Front View)

THIS AGREEMENT, entered into this ..... day of ..... 196.. between the parties to .....
(Name of local apprenticeship standards)

represented by the Joint Apprenticeship Committee, hereinafter referred to as the COMMITTEE, and ....., born .....
(Name of apprentice) (Month)

....., hereinafter referred to as the APPRENTICE, and (if a minor)
(Day) (Year)

....., hereinafter referred to as his GUARDIAN.
(Name of parent or guardian)

WITNESSETH THAT:

The Committee agrees to be responsible for the placement and training of said apprentice in the trade of ..... as work is available, and in consideration said apprentice agrees diligently and faithfully to perform the work incidental to the said trade during the period of apprenticeship, in accordance with the regulations of the Committee. The Apprenticeship Standards referred to herein are hereby incorporated in and made a part of this agreement.

Credit for previous experience at trade if any ..... {Hours. / Years.} Apprenticeship remaining ..... {Hours. / Years.}

Other conditions .....

In witness whereof the parties hereunto set their hands and seals:

..... [SEAL] (Apprentice)	..... [SEAL] (Representative of Joint Apprenticeship Committee)
..... (Address)	..... (Title)
..... [SEAL] (Parent or guardian)	..... [SEAL] (Representative of Joint Apprenticeship Committee)
	..... (Title)

Registered by the .....
(Name of registration agency)

By ..... Title ..... Date ....., 196..

Available through Bureau of Apprenticeship, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Where a State requires the use of its own agreement form, such form may be obtained from the staff of the State apprenticeship agency or of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

APPRENTICESHIP AGREEMENT

Between Apprentice and Joint Apprenticeship Committee

(Back View)

The undersigned agrees to provide employment and training in accordance with standards named herein.

.....

(Employer)

.....

(Address)

.....

(Employer)

.....

(Address)

.....

(Employer)

.....

(Address)

.....

(Employer)

.....

(Address)

REGIONAL OFFICES

BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

REGION I

(Maine, N.H., Vt., Mass., R.I., Conn.)
Room 501, 18 Oliver St.,
Boston 10, Mass.

REGION II

(N.Y., N.J.)
Room 903, 341 Ninth Ave.,
New York 1, N.Y.

REGION III–IV

(Pa., Del., Va., Md., W.Va., N.C., D.C.)
Room 110, Wolf and Commerce Sts.,
Chambersburg, Pa.

REGION V

(S.C., Tenn., Ga., Miss., Fla., Ala.)
Room 525, 1371 Peachtree Bldg.,
17th and Peachtree St., N.E.,
Atlanta 23, Ga.

REGION VI

(Ohio, Mich, Ky.)
Room 1008, Engineers' Bldg.,
1365 Ontario St.,
Cleveland 14, Ohio

REGION VII

(Ill., Ind., Wis.)
Room 1000, Bankers Bldg.,
105 West Adams St.,
Chicago 3, Ill.

REGION VIII

(N. Dak., S. Dak., Minn., Mont.)
Room 216, Calhoun Bldg.,
711 West Lake St.,
Minneapolis 8, Minn.

REGION IX

(Mo., Kans., Nebr., Iowa)
Room 2811, Federal Office Bldg.,
911 Walnut St.,
Kansas City 6, Mo.

REGION X

(La., Tex., Okla., Ark.)
Room 212, 1114 Commerce St.,
Dallas 2, Tex.

REGION XI

(Utah, Wyo., Colo., N. Mex.)
832 Equitable Bldg.,
730 17th St.,
Denver 2, Colo.

REGION XII

(Ariz., Nev., Calif.)
Room 820, Appraisers' Bldg.,
630 Sansome St.,
San Francisco 11, Calif.

REGION XIII

(Alaska, Idaho, Wash., Oreg.)
Room 221, U.S. Court House,
1010 5th Ave.,
Seattle 4, Wash.
Alaska Office
P.O. Box 322
Anchorage, Alaska

Hawaii Office
347 Federal Bldg.
Honolulu, Hawaii

STATE APPRENTICESHIP AGENCIES

Arizona Apprenticeship Council,
1623–B West Adams,
Phoenix, Ariz.*

Division of Apprenticeship Standards,
Department of Industrial Relations,
San Francisco, Calif.*

Apprentice Training Division,
Department of Labor,
Hartford, Conn.*

District of Columbia Apprenticeship Council,
Library Administration Building,
Washington, D.C.*

Department of Apprenticeship,
Florida Industrial Commission,
Tallahassee, Fla.*

Apprenticeship Division,
Department of Labor and Industrial Relations
Honolulu, Hawaii*

Iowa Apprenticeship Council,
Bureau of Labor,
Paramount Building,
Des Moines, Iowa

Kansas Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor,
Topeka, Kans.

Kentucky State Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Industrial Relations,
Frankfort, Ky.*

Division of Apprenticeship,
Department of Labor,
Baton Rouge, La.*

Maine Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor and Industry,
State Office Building,
Augusta, Maine*

Division of Apprenticeship Training,
Department of Labor and Industries,
Boston, Mass.*

Division of Voluntary Apprenticeship,
Department of Labor and Industry,
St. Paul, Minn.*

Montana Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor and Industry,
Helena, Mont.*

Nevada Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor,
Carson City, Nev.*

New Hampshire Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor,
Concord, N.H.*

New Mexico Apprenticeship Council,
Labor and Industrial Commission,
Santa Fe, N. Mex.*

Bureau of Apprenticeship Training,
Department of Labor,
Albany, N.Y.*

Division of Apprenticeship Training
Department of Labor,
Raleigh, N.C.*

Ohio State Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Industrial Relations,
Columbus, Ohio*

Oregon Apprenticeship Council,
Bureau of Labor,
Portland, Oreg.*

Pennsylvania Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor and Industry,
Harrisburg, Pa.

Apprenticeship Division,
Insular Department of Labor,
San Juan 8, P.R.*

Rhode Island Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor,
Providence Public Library,
Providence, R.I.

Utah Apprenticeship Council,
Industrial Commission,
Salt Lake City, Utah*

Vermont Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Industrial Relations,
Montpelier, Vt.*

Division of Apprentice Training,
Department of Labor and Industry,
Richmond, Va.*

Washington Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor and Industries,
Seattle, Wash.*

Apprenticeship Division,
Wisconsin Industrial Commission,
Madison, Wis.*

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* State apprenticeship law enacted.

☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1961 O—599407

MOTION PICTURE OF APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

A documentary film depicting the operation of an apprenticeship program has been made available at regional offices of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training to show to members of joint apprenticeship committees and other groups interested. Although it pictures apprentice training in the bricklaying trade, it will be found valuable in providing a better understanding and stimulating an interest in apprenticeship in any trade.

APPRENTICESHIP COURSE MATERIAL

First and second year training courses (third year course will be printed in the fall of 1960) and Teacher's Supplement are available from the General Secretary-Treasurer, William H. Rohrberg, care of The Painters & Decorators Building, Lafayette, Ind., at a price of $2 per course. The Teacher's Supplement is furnished free where it is to be used for instructing apprentices. Make checks payable to the National Joint Painters & Decorators Apprenticeship and Training Committee.

Information on other available reference text books and manuals for use in conjunction with the training of Painter and Decorator apprentices may be obtained by writing to the National Joint Painters & Decorators Apprenticeship and Training Committee, P.O. Box 618, Joplin, Mo.

Training

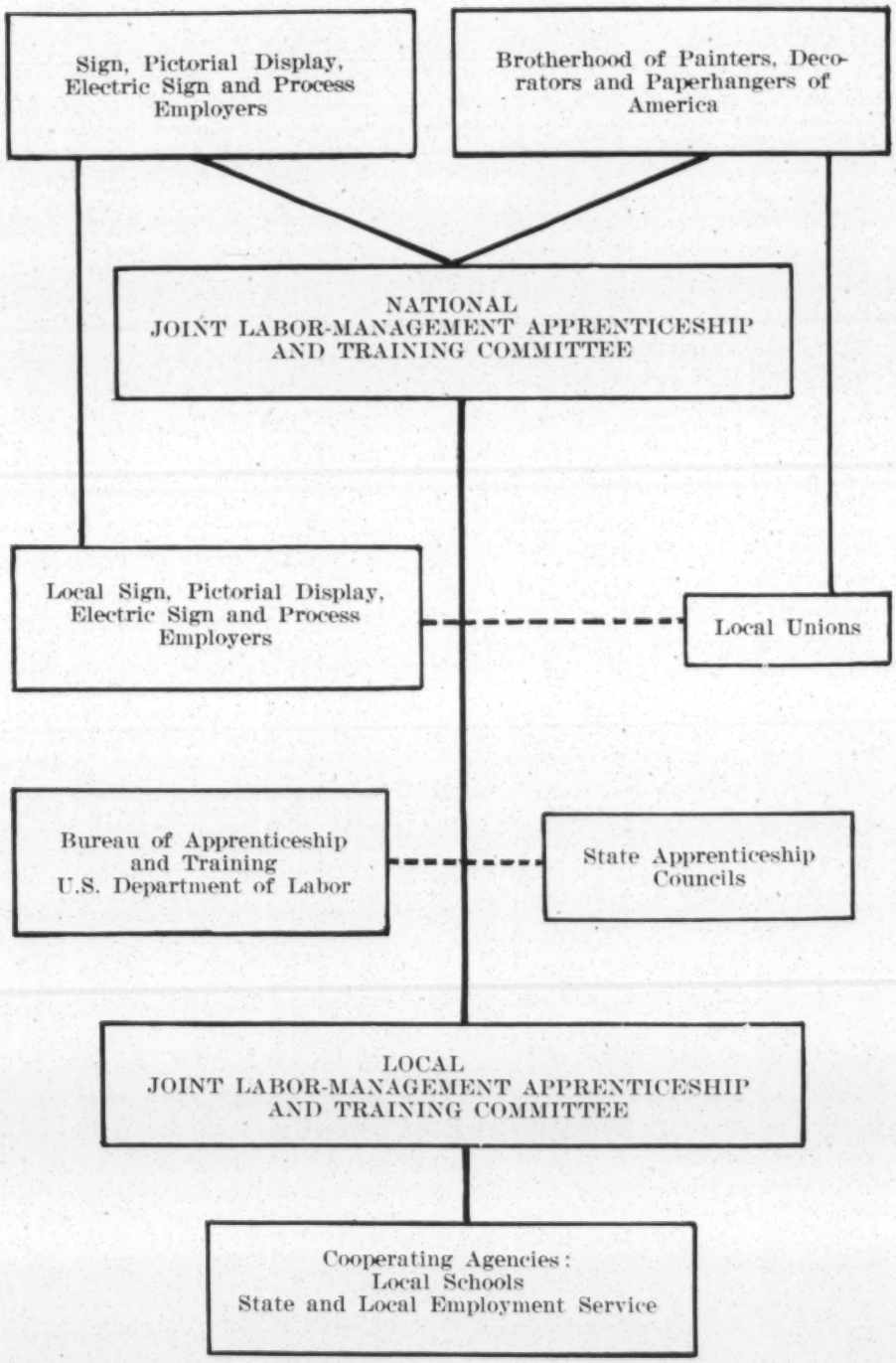
JOBS AND TRAINING for Southern Youth

Apprentice

NATIONAL APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING STANDARDS

for the SIGN, PICTORIAL DISPLAY, ELECTRIC SIGN *and* PROCESS INDUSTRY

APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING SYSTEM OF THE
SIGN, PICTORIAL DISPLAY,
ELECTRIC SIGN AND PROCESS INDUSTRY



National Apprenticeship and Training Standards for the Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Industry

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL JOINT SIGN, PICTORIAL DISPLAY, ELECTRIC SIGN AND PROCESS INDUSTRY, APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING COMMITTEE, REPRESENTING THE EMPLOYERS IN THE SIGN, PICTORIAL DISPLAY, ELECTRIC SIGN AND PROCESS INDUSTRY AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS AND PAPERHANGERS OF AMERICA, IN CONFORMANCE WITH THE FUNDAMENTALS RECOMMENDED BY THE FEDERAL COMMITTEE ON APPRENTICESHIP

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

1963
Edition

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 23, 1963

National Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign
and Process Industry Joint Apprenticeship Committee

Gentlemen:

It gives me great pleasure to inform you of the Registration of the National Apprenticeship and Training Standards for the Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Industry, with the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U. S. Department of Labor.

You are to be commended for providing a uniform pattern of apprenticeship standards for the use of local employers and unions in the industry.

The active interest and cooperative efforts of your local groups will invariably reflect the extent to which success is achieved in producing the high calibre craftsmen so essential to your industry.

The assistance of the staff of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training and its cooperating State apprenticeship agencies are available to help in attaining the goals established in your National Standards.

Sincerely yours,

Edw. E. Goshen

Edw. E. Goshen
Administrator

OFFICE OF L. M. RAFTERY, GEN. PRES.
217-19 N. SIXTH STREET, LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

Brotherhood of
PAINTERS, DECORATORS, AND PAPERHANGERS
of America

AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT, METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT, MARITIME TRADES DEPARTMENT, UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

July 1, 1963

Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has cooperated fully with the Sign Industry Employers and the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U. S. Department of Labor, in preparing National Apprenticeship Standards for the Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Industry.

These Standards, which comprise a manual of procedure for building and perfecting a national apprenticeship system for the Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Industry, are being distributed among all state and local officers of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America. They are being urged to give it careful study and use it as a pattern for revising and developing local apprenticeship standards and training programs.

You may rest assured that our Brotherhood joins the contractors in the industry in expressing appreciation to everyone in your department for the very capable assistance rendered in furthering the cause of apprenticeship and training in our industry, and wish to assure you of our plans for continued expansion and development in the field of training more qualified journeymen craftsmen in the Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Industry throughout the nation.

Sincerely yours,

L. M. Raftery

L. M. RAFTERY
General President.

LMR:HY

GENERAL OUTDOOR ADVERTISING Co., Inc.

CHICAGO BRANCH

July 3, 1963

Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

Having actively participated as a member of the National Committee in the formulation of the Apprenticeship Standards for the Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Industry, we respectfully recommend their adoption.

There is little question but that when this program is put into effect it will enable those companies in our industry to develop a reservoir of talent which will not only improve the quality of workmanship of our service but will provide many opportunities to young men to learn a highly specialized trade offering substantial financial rewards.

Very truly yours,

William Meech

William Meech

JOINTLY DEVELOPED AND ADOPTED BY EMPLOYERS AND LABOR

In order that there may be continuous activity and progress in the national apprenticeship program in the Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process trades, a National Joint Employer-Labor Apprenticeship and Training Committee was established to serve in an advisory and promotional capacity to the industry. This National Committee is made up of representatives of the Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process employers and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of America. A representative of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, and of the Trade and Industrial Education Service, U.S. Office of Education, serve as consultants to the Committee.

To enable young men to obtain the training necessary to equip them for the responsibilities they must assume as successors to the present generation of craftsmen, the National Committee has developed, for the guidance of local employer and labor groups, the national standards of apprenticeship and training contained in the following pages. It is through the cooperative effort and initiative of the local groups that the National Committee looks for ever-increasing apprenticeship and training activities.

These national standards represent the considered judgment of leading employer and labor representatives in this industry concerning the essential factors in the development of highly skilled craftsmen. The National Committee will arrange for every assistance possible to be given to the local groups in establishing practical and sound apprenticeship programs. It will review the operation of apprenticeship programs and the development of apprentice training in the industry through periodic surveys, and make such recommendations as may be necessary for improving the effectiveness and completeness of the training of apprentices.

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NATIONAL SIGN, PICTORIAL DISPLAY, ELECTRIC SIGN AND PROCESS INDUSTRY JOINT APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING COMMITTEE

Representing the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

L. M. RAFTERY, *General President*,
Lafayette, Ind.

ANDREW A. WESTLEY, *First Vice President*
Glenview, Ill.

JAMES J. KNOUD, *Second Vice President*
Philadelphia, Pa.

MICHAEL DISILVESTRO, *Third Vice President*
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O. T. SATRE, *Fourth Vice President*
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M. H. CROW, *Fifth Vice President*
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THOMAS V. CARTER, *Sixth Vice President*
Kansas City, Mo.

Representing the Sign Industry Employers:

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General Outdoor Advertising Co.
Chicago, Ill.

BERT ZAHN
Silk Screen Process Association
Cleveland, Ohio

MAURICE ELY
National Electric Sign Association
Chicago, Ill.

CONSULTANTS

S. FRANK RAFTERY, *General Representative*

DAN PLEMMONS, *General Representative*

RICHARD GIBBONS, *General Representative*

JOSEPH CERVENY, *Apprenticeship Training Director*, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of America, Lafayette, Ind.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

DANTE MORANDI, New York, N.Y.
EDWARD A. BURGESS, Los Angeles, Calif.

FOREWORD

Set forth in this booklet is the first edition of the National Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Industry Apprenticeship and Training Standards, formulated and adopted in 1962. They were developed by the Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Industry National Joint Apprenticeship and Training Committee in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. This Committee represents the Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process employers and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of America.

The purpose of these National Standards is to provide a uniform pattern for use by employers and labor in the industry in setting up and operating effective apprenticeship programs. In addition to itemizing the various basic recommendations relating to the employment of apprentices in the recognized branches of the trade, the National Standards include recommendations concerning the local application of the standards, the selection of applicants for apprenticeship, the appointment of shop apprenticeship committees to supervise the training of apprentices in each shop, and related instruction requirements of apprentices.

It is hoped that all employers and labor representatives in every community will take full advantage of these Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Industry National Apprenticeship and Training Standards, and the related information presented, in establishing, improving and conducting local apprenticeship programs.

684-483 O—64——2

Certificate of Registration

NATIONAL APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING STANDARDS FOR
THE SIGN, PICTORIAL DISPLAY, ELECTRIC SIGN AND PROCESS INDUSTRY
(Jointly Sponsored by the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America
and the Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Employers)

Nation-Wide

For the Recognized Trade Branches of the Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Industry

Issued in recognition of the above apprenticeship system, registered as part of the National Apprenticeship Program, in accordance with the fundamentals recommended by the

FEDERAL COMMITTEE ON APPRENTICESHIP

Date December 14, 1962

Registry No. 82759

W. Willard Wirtz
Secretary of Labor

Edw. E. Goshen
Administrator, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training

NATIONAL APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING STANDARDS FOR THE SIGN, PICTORIAL DISPLAY, ELECTRIC SIGN AND PROCESS INDUSTRY

Part 1

NOTE.—Local application of these national standards in states having State apprenticeship councils may require adaptations to meet the laws and standards of apprenticeship in such states. The staff of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training and State apprenticeship agencies is available to advise on such standards and any necessary adaptations.

1. Definition of Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Apprentice

A Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Apprentice is a person who is—

(*a*) At least 18 years of age.

(*b*) Engaged in learning a trade covered by these standards.

(*c*) Covered by a written agreement, hereinafter called an "apprenticeship agreement," with a local joint committee, acting as agent for the employer, or with an employer with approval of the agreement by the local joint committee.

2. Definition of Registration Agency

The term "registration agency," as used herein, shall mean a State apprenticeship agency recognized by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship or, if no such recognized agency exists in the State, it shall mean the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor.

3. Qualifications for Apprenticeship

Applicants, before being accepted for training, must meet the following requirements:

(*a*) American citizen, or one who has declared his intent to become a citizen.

(*b*) At least 18 years of age.

(*c*) High school education desirable, but not essential.

(*d*) Physically capable of performing the work of the trade.

(*e*) Satisfactory character.

(*f*) Artistically and mechanically inclined.

4. Selection of Apprentices

It is recommended that local joint committees establish proper selection procedures for applicants interested in Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process apprenticeship. The use of application forms, appropriate interviewing techniques, and aptitude tests is essential in the selection process, and properly used, provides some degree of assurance that the applicant possesses the qualities necessary to success in the trade. Among the benefits to be derived from adequate selection procedures are:

(a) Better qualified apprentices;
(b) Reduction in turnover;
(c) Savings in time, money, and effort in training; and
(d) More competent and highly skilled craftsmen.

The facilities of State employment services, local vocational schools, colleges and universities, and the Veterans' Administration are generally available upon request. These agencies may be in a position to provide assistance in developing selection procedures suitable to the local situation where necessary.

Selection of apprentices under this program shall be made on the basis of qualifications alone and all applicants will be afforded equal opportunity under these standards without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or physical handicaps (except to the extent that such physical handicaps affect the applicants qualifications for the trade or craft).

5. Term of Apprenticeship

The term of apprenticeship in the Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process trade shall be approximately 10,000 hours of on-the-job training, which shall include the probationary period and the required hours of related supplemental instruction. The term shall be subdivided into ten 6-month periods of 1,000 hours each.

6. Related Instruction

Apprentices shall attend related supplementary instruction classes at local schools not less than 144 hours per year for each year of their apprenticeship, when available. Where it is impracticable to establish related instruction classes, the local committee may substitute other organized trade, industrial, or correspondence courses of equivalent value.

However, all apprentices, regardless of the trade branch in which employed, shall receive at least 288 hours of supplementary instruction related to commercial sign work.

Time spent in related instruction shall be credited to the apprenticeship term. No apprentice shall be allowed to work overtime when

such work will interfere with his attendance at related instruction classes. In case of failure without due cause on the part of any apprentice to fulfill his obligations as to school attendance and conduct, the local committee shall take necessary disciplinary action.

Any agreement to pay apprentices for time spent in related instruction shall be in conformity with existing State laws.

Local joint apprenticeship committees should request the assistance of local schools in providing the necessary related instruction.

Suggested Related Instruction

(*a*) Use of tools and materials.
(*b*) Brushes—all types.
(*c*) Lettering pens, drafting tools, etc.
(*d*) Paints, vehicles, and pigments.
(*e*) Use of various background materials.
(*f*) Care and use of equipment—ladders, ropes, etc.
(*g*) Preparation and treatment of all surfaces.
(*h*) Lettering—history and development of alphabets.
(*i*) Layout and design.
(*j*) Process work.
(*k*) Bulletins and wall signs.
(*l*) Pictorial painting.
(*m*) Training aids, such as, applicable films, and literature obtainable from trade manufacturers.

7. Ratio of Apprentices to Journeymen

The provision in local standards covering the ratio of apprentices to journeymen shall be worked out according to local practices as determined by the local joint committee, but shall not conflict with the collective-bargaining agreement in the area.

8. Apprentice Agreement [1]

Each apprentice shall be covered by a written apprenticeship agreement with the local joint committee, or the agreement may be between the apprentice and the employer with approval by the joint committee. All apprentices shall be registered with the appropriate registration agency.

Each apprenticeship agreement shall contain a statement making the terms and conditions of the local trade standards a part of the agreement. For this reason, every apprentice (and if a minor, his parent or guardian) and employer will be required to read the local

[1] Some State apprenticeship agencies require the use of their own apprenticeship agreement forms. In such instances, the agreement forms may be obtained from the staff of the State apprenticeship agency or the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

standards of apprenticeship before signing the agreement. The apprentice, employer, the joint committee, and the registration agency, if required, shall each receive a copy of the signed apprenticeship agreement.

The registration agency shall be notified of all cancellations and terminations of apprenticeship agreements.

9. Probationary Period

Apprentices employed under these standards shall be subject to a tryout or probationary period, to be determined by the local joint committee, but which shall not exceed 500 hours of reasonably continuous employment. During the probationary period, the termination or cancellation of the apprenticeship agreement shall be made by the local apprenticeship committee at the request of the apprentice or employer. After the probationary period, the agreement may be canceled by the local committee after adequate cause has been shown, and all parties to the agreement have had an opportunity to be heard.

10. Apprentices Wages

It is recommended that the schedule of wages for apprentices be established on a percentage of the prevailing local journeyman Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Worker's Wage rate, and increased each 6 months to completion of the apprenticeship.

The local joint committee shall examine apprentices before each period of advancement, ascertaining as to their satisfactory progress and the degree of proficiency and quality of workmanship achieved.

The schedule of wages for all Sign Painter apprentices in the commercial, outdoor advertising, display, electric sign and silk screen process branches of the trade shall be as follows:

1st 6 months: ____ percent	6th 6 months: ____ percent
2d 6 months: ____ percent	7th 6 months: ____ percent
3d 6 months: ____ percent	8th 6 months: ____ percent
4th 6 months: ____ percent	9th 6 months: ____ percent
5th 6 months: ____ percent	10th 6 months: ____ percent

11. Credit for Past Experience

Applicants who present qualifications in excess of the minimum requirements may be admitted to advanced standing when they satisfactorily pass a practical examination provided for cases of this kind. The amount of credit given for previous experience shall be determined by the joint committee after careful review of the merits of each individual case.

Apprentices who receive credit for previous experience shall be paid upon entrance, the wage rate of the period to which such credit advances them.

All persons now employed as apprentices will be placed under these standards. These apprentices will be given full credit for the time they have already served as apprentices.

12. Basic Hours of Work for Apprentices

The basic hours of work for apprentices shall be the same as the journeymen employed in the trade. Apprentices shall not work overtime unless assisting a journeyman, or as provided for in the working agreement.

Apprentices absent from the services of their employer through their own fault shall make up all such time lost before being advanced to the next period of apprenticeship.

13. Supervision of Apprentices

Apprentices shall be under the general direction of the local joint committee and under the immediate supervision of a journeyman for on-the-job training.

The local joint committee shall prepare adequate record forms to be filled in by the journeyman under whom the apprentice receives the on-the-job training.

Each apprentice shall keep an accurate record of the number of hours worked in each major division of the trade. This record will be checked by the journeyman and sent to the local joint committee at the end of each reporting period. The local joint committee shall determine from this record when sufficient time has accumulated as to warrant the transfer of an apprentice to his next job assignment.

A written report shall be submitted by the apprentice to the journeyman before each 1,000-hour period of advancement for review and rating. The report is to consist of work done on the job and in related instruction. The journeyman shall forward this report to the local joint committee for final evaluation. These reports will be the basis on which recommendations for advancement are made.

If it is found that an apprentice shows a lack of interest or does not have the ability to become a competent craftsman, he may be permitted to continue in a probationary status, required to repeat operations in which he is deficient, or his agreement may be terminated. All decisions shall be made by the local joint committee.

14. Consultants

The committee may request interested agencies or organizations to designate a representative to serve as a consultant. Consultants will be asked to participate without vote in conferences on special problems related to apprenticeship which pertain to the interests of the agencies or organizations they represent.

15. Accident Prevention

Apprentices shall receive instruction on accident prevention and safe working habits during their entire term of apprenticeship. Such instruction shall be coordinated with the actual work being performed on the job and the tools and equipment being used.

Safety publications of the Bureau of Labor Standards, U.S. Department of Labor, are available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at a small cost. These pamphlets may be helpful to local joint apprenticeship committees in impressing apprentices with the need for developing safe working habits along with his trade skills.

16. Adjusting Differences

The employer and the apprentice shall have the right and privilege of appeal to the local joint committee in the event of disputes or controversies arising over any provision of the local apprenticeship standards which cannot be satisfactorily settled between them. The local committee shall hear all parties and make such adjustments as it may consider necessary.

17. Work Experience

During his apprenticeship, the apprentice shall be taught the use, care, and effective and safe handling of all tools and equipment commonly used in the trade. He shall be given work experience and training to assure him of the skill and proficiency that characterizes a fully qualified and competent craftsman. (See the recommended schedule of work experience and training on p. 15.)

18. Certificate of Completion of Apprenticeship

Apprentices who complete their apprenticeship shall be awarded a certificate by the local joint committee, attesting to their satisfactory completion of training and recognition as qualified journeymen Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Workers. Certificates of completion are available from the registration agency for all apprentices completing their apprenticeship under registered standards. These ceremonies may be accompanied by a program of events or awards at each graduation class.

Part II

Adapting National Standards to Local Use

1. Local Joint Apprenticeship Committee

It is recommended that a local joint apprenticeship and training committee, equally representative of management and labor, be established, which shall be responsible for the administration of the local apprenticeship standards, and for coordinating them, where desirable, with the apprenticeship standards of other groups in the community.

Where organizations of employers and employees exist, such organizations should each appoint an equal number of its members to serve on the local joint committee.

Where no employer or employee organizations exists, a committee may be formed in like manner by volunteers who shall agree to carry out the national standards as herein set forth.

A representative from the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training U.S. Department of Labor, and/or the State apprenticeship council, if one exists in the State, is available upon request to attend meetings of the joint apprenticeship committee as adviser and consultant on labor standards applicable to apprentices, on the development of administrative procedures for the conduct of apprenticeship, and on any problems relating to apprentices and apprenticeship.

2. Coverage

It shall be the duty of each local joint apprenticeship and training committee to identify its area of operation and to assume responsibility for the training of all Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Worker apprentices by employers within that area with whom the local union has bargaining agreements. The local committee shall also encourage all other employers in the area to employ and train apprentices under its system of apprenticeship, and any employer who desires to do so may participate in the local program by signifying agreement to the terms and conditions of training prescribed in the local standards.

3. Duties of Local Joint Apprenticeship and Training Committee

The local joint committee shall develop local apprenticeship standards consistent with these national standards, and covering such terms as—

(*a*) Method of selecting apprenticeship applicants.

(*b*) Schedule of work experience on the job.

(*c*) Progressively increasing schedule of wages for apprentices.

(*d*) Provision for supplemental related instruction.

(*e*) Provision for instructions on safe working habits and accident prevention.

(*f*) Provision for reviewing or testing the apprentice's progress, both on the job and in related instruction.

(*g*) Provision for adjusting complaints regarding apprenticeship.

(*h*) Procedure for providing apprentices with certificates of completion.

It shall be the responsibility of the local joint committee to—

(*a*) Conduct surveys to determine the need for, and the availability of, apprentices in the local area.

(*b*) Ascertain whether employers undertaking to train apprentices have the necessary facilities to assure effective training.

(*c*) Place each apprentice under agreement. (Where the apprentice is indentured to the local joint committee, the committee shall make every effort to keep the apprentice continuously employed and assure him of well-rounded training and experience in all phases of the trade by rotating him, whenever possible, among the various participating employers. Where the apprentice is indentured to the employer, and the employer is unable to provide training for him, the local joint committee shall exert every effort to place him temporarily with another employer with the understanding that the employer to whom he is regularly indentured shall have first call on his services when and if he is able to furnish training for him, subject to approval of the local joint committee.)

(*d*) Assure that apprentices are receiving the necessary on-the-job experience and related technical instruction.

(*e*) Conduct the final examination for apprentices to establish their status as journeymen in the trade.

(*f*) Notify the appropriate registration agency of all terminations and cancellations of apprenticeship agreements.

(*g*) Prepare and submit all reports concerning its apprenticeship program that may be legally required by local, State, or Federal agencies, and the respective national organizations.

(*h*) Supervise the enforcement of all the provisions of the standards.

(*i*) Prepare proposed amendments to the standards for approval by local union and employer sponsors.

4. Responsibilities of Apprentices

The local joint committee should impress upon each indentured apprentice that in signing the apprenticeship agreement he has volun-

tarily agreed to abide by the provisions of the local standards, and inform the apprentice of his responsibilities and obligations under the apprenticeship program.

(*a*) To perform diligently and faithfully the work of the trade and other pertinent duties assigned by the local joint committee and the employer in accordance with the provisions of the standards.

(*b*) To respect the property of the employer and abide by the working rules and regulations of the employer, union, and local joint committee.

(*c*) To attend regularly and to complete satisfactorily the required hours of instruction in subjects related to the trade, as provided under the local standards.

(*d*) To maintain such records of work experience and training received on the job and in related instruction, as may be required by the local joint committee.

(*e*) To develop safe working habits and conduct himself in his work in such manner as to assure his own safety as well as that of his fellow workers.

(*f*) To work for the employer to whom assigned to the completion of his apprenticeship, unless he is reassigned to another employer or his agreement is terminated by the local joint committee.

(*g*) To conduct himself at all times in a creditable, ethical, and moral manner, realizing that much time, money, and effort will be spent in affording him an opportunity to become a skilled craftsman.

5. Nonliability of Joint Committee

Entry into and pursuit of a Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Worker apprenticeship, and the employment and on-the-job training of apprentices, being undertaken on the basis of acceptance of the standards and other requirements established by the committee, no member of the joint committee, nor any organization of employees or employers represented thereon, nor any member of such organizations, nor any employee of any public agency connected with the program operated under these standards shall be financially or otherwise liable for any consequences resulting from action taken by the joint committee with respect to—

(*a*) Withholding apprenticeship from any individual on the basis of lack of qualifications, employment and training opportunities, or training facilities; or

(*b*) Canceling the apprenticeship agreement of any apprentice for lack of aptitude or diligence, or noncompliance with these

standards or other regular requirements established by the committee; or

(*c*) Withdrawal or withholding of apprentices from an employer having violated these standards or committee requirements; or

(*d*) Inability of the joint committee to find and provide employment and on-the-job training opportunities under the terms of the apprenticeship agreement; or

(*e*) Failure of the employer to provide workmen's compensation insurance, and adequately and continuously insure his employees against work injury as provided by the laws of the State; or

(*f*) Failure of an apprentice to comply with rules concerning safety and the prerequisite that he ascertain that workmen's compensation and other insurance coverages are provided by the employer; or

(*g*) Failure of a legal minor properly to protect himself by complying with the laws of the State with respect to work in this trade or failure of an employer to observe laws concerning the hiring and employment of a legal minor.

6. Filing With the Registration Agency

As soon as the local apprenticeship standards, or any amendments thereto, have been developed and approved by the sponsoring local groups, the local joint committee shall file a copy with the registration agency. The joint committee shall also notify the registration agency of all actions affecting apprentices, such as hires, cancellations, and completions, and furnish any additional information required by Federal or State laws affecting apprentices.

7. Cooperating Agencies

Local joint apprenticeship committees may obtain assistance in the formulation and administration of apprenticeship programs from—

(*a*) National Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Industry Joint Apprenticeship and Training Committee, Director of Apprenticeship and Training, Brotherhood of Painters' Building, Lafayette, Ind.

(*b*) Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of America, Painters & Decorators Building, Lafayette, Ind.

(*c*) The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., 20210.

(*d*) State apprenticeship councils, State labor departments, or State industrial commissions.

Part III

Federal Laws and Regulations Affecting the Employment and Training of Apprentices

Veterans' Administration Legislation (Public Law 550, 82d Cong.)

Provide for the approval of programs of apprenticeship by the appropriate State (veterans) approving agency under Veterans' Administration regulations to permit eligible veteran apprentices to receive a training allowance for their education and training. Under the provisions of veterans' readjustment legislation, joint apprenticeship committees may be recognized as training institutions. Consequently, if it is anticipated that veterans may be employed as apprentices under the local standards, the committee should request approval of its program by the appropriate State (veterans) approving agency, keeping in mind that the criteria for approval under Veterans' Administration regulations includes detailing of the work schedules and approximate length of time to be spent on each operation or task, and the keeping of progress records. These criteria are contained in Public Law 550.

Selective Service Regulations (Deferment of Apprentices)

State directors of selective service are authorized to accept for deferment purposes apprentice training programs which meet its regulations, upon request of the local program sponsors. The request must be accompanied by a certification from the registration agency that the program has been in operation at least 1 year, and one or more apprentices have been in training during that time in each occupation covered. After the program has been accepted, the program sponsor and the apprentice may request the local board to defer the apprentice. In the Sign, Pictorial, Display, Electric Sign and Process Worker's trade, the apprentice for whom the deferment is requested must have been engaged in and completed not less than 2,000 hours of training. The decision as to actual deferment rests with the local board, subject to appeal if the request is denied. Detailed information and necessary forms may be obtained from the nearest field representative of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training or State apprenticeship agency.

Wage and Hour Regulations (Ruling Concerning Payment for Time Spent by Apprentices in Related Instruction)

The Fair Labor Standards Act requires that each employee, not specifically exempted, who is engaged in interstate commerce or in the production of goods for such commerce receive the statutory minimum wage, and that no employee (including apprentices) may be employed for more than 40 hours a week without receiving at least time and one-half of his regular rate of pay for the overtime hours.

As an enforcement policy, time spent in an organized program of related supplemental instruction by apprentices working under bona fide apprenticeship programs may be excluded from working time if the following criteria are met:

(1) The apprentice is employed under a written apprenticeship agreement or program which substantially meets the fundamental standards of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor;

(2) Such time does not involve production work or performance of the apprentice's regular duties. If the above criteria are met, the time spent in such related supplemental training shall not be counted as hours worked unless the written agreement specifically provides that it is hours worked. The mere payment or agreement to pay for time spent in related instruction does not constitute an agreement that such time is hours worked.

Joint Training Funds

1. Legality of Training Funds

Training funds for use in defraying the cost of apprenticeship or other training programs, to which employers contribute, are authorized under the Labor-Management Reporting Disclosure Act of 1959 which amends section 302 of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947. Such funds must be established in the form of a trust; the trustees must be equally representative of the employers and employees (this may be the joint apprenticeship committee); and the basis on which the payments to the trust fund are to be made must be detailed in a written agreement with the employer, including provision for an annual audit of the trust. Those persons (trustees) responsible for the custody or control of the trust funds must be bonded.

Where a trust is established, a clause should be included in the trust agreement to the effect that the trusteeship is (1) a nonprofit organization; (2) that no part of the net earnings will inure to any private individual or member; and (3) in the event of dissolution of the trust, how the accrued moneys and other assets will be disposed. (They can be apportioned to those who paid into the fund, donated to a charitable or educational organization, or to the labor organization.)

2. Tax-Exempt Status of the Trust

Training trust funds are considered to be tax exempt by the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. To obtain this exemption, the trustees must file form 1024 with the appropriate district director of internal revenue. In submitting form 1024, include with it a copy of the trust agreement and apprenticeship program. After the tax-exempt status of the trust has been determined, each year thereafter the trustees shall make a return on form 990 in order to maintain this exemption.

Employer contributions to the training trust fund are deductible as ordinary and necessary expenses in the conduct of their business under section 162(a) of the Internal Revenue Code.

APPRENTICE RECORDKEEPING

To maintain a current record of the progress and ability of apprentices, an accurate recordkeeping system, covering the pertinent points, is essential. A number of different types of recordkeeping systems are in use in the different areas. Some systems include a variety of recordkeeping forms—daily, weekly, monthly—as well as a final master chart summarizing the pertinent data recorded during the entire term of apprenticeship.

Suggested recordkeeping forms may be obtained from the secretary of the National Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Industry Joint Apprenticeship and Training Committee.

Samples of other recordkeeping systems may be obtained, upon request through the field representatives of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training or State apprenticeship agencies.

Sign, Pictorial Display, Electric Sign and Process Apprentice Recordkeeping Report

Apprentice		Address	City
Employer		Address	City
Month	Year 19	Employer or foreman sign here	Location of job above

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	Related instruction	
Total hours required												
Schedule	Use of tools and equipment	Background matter	Care of equipment	Surface preparing	Lettering	Layout and design	Process work	Bulletins and walls	Pictorial painting	Additional aids	Hours of—	Supervisor verify
Hours carried forward												
Date												
Monday												
Tuesday												
Wednesday												
Thursday												
Friday												
Saturday												
Sunday												
Monday												
Tuesday												
Wednesday												
Thursday												
Friday												
Saturday												
Sunday												
											Total school hours	
Total hours to date												

Make comments or remarks on progress of apprentice on reverse side

Enter grand total here

WORK EXPERIENCE

The committee recommends that apprentices in all branches of the sign painter's trade receive a minimum of 288 hours of supplementary instruction related to commercial sign work in addition to the work processes outlined below (such hours, including the 144 per year of related instruction, shall be credited toward the apprenticeship term):

Sign Painter—Commercial Sign (Branch) (5-year term—8 hours per day—5 days per week)

	Hours
A. Care of tools, equipment, and rigging	800
B. Construction and erection of signs	1,600
C. Color mixing and matching	600
D. Preparing backgrounds	2,000
E. Gilding—glass and surface	1,500
F. Layout and designing	1,500
G. Lettering	2,000
	10,000

Sign Painter—Outdoor Advertising Branch (5-year term—8 hours per day—5 days per week)

A. Care of tools, equipment, and rigging	1,000
H. Pictorical painting (actual application)	3,500
C. Color mixing and matching	1,000
D. Preparing backgrounds	500
F. Layout and designing	1,500
G. Lettering	2,500
	10,000

Sign Painter—Display Branch

A. Care of tools and equipment	500
D. Preparation of backgrounds	1,000
C. Color mixing and matching	1,000
J. Use of Cut-All and power tools	500
K. Mask or frisket cutting and adhering	2,000
L. Adhering and fabricating of all materials	1,000
F. Layout and designing	2,000
G. Lettering	2,000
	10,000

Sign Painter—Silk Screen Process Branch

A. Care of tools and equipment	500
D. Preparing backgrounds	400
C. Color mixing and matching	600
J. Operation of process machines	500
M. Photo screen preparation	800
N. Operation of silk screen	500
O. Film cutting and setup	2,000
F. Layout and designing	2,500
G. Lettering	2,200
	10,000

Sign Painter—Electric Sign Branch

	Hours
A. Care of tools and equipment	1,000
P. Drafting, blueprint reading	1,000
D. Preparing backgrounds	1,000
C. Color mixing and matching	1,000
F. Layout, sign pattern making (during last 2 years)	2,000
G. Lettering	2,000
K. Plastic sign faces (cutting, trimming, adhering, processing, and lettering)	2,000
	10,000

APPRENTICESHIP AGREEMENT

Between Apprentice and Joint Apprenticeship Committee

THIS AGREEMENT, entered into this ____ day of _____ 196_ between the parties to _____
(Name of local apprenticeship standards)
represented by the Joint Apprenticeship Committee, hereinafter referred to as the COMMITTEE, and _____, born _____
(Name of apprentice) (Month)
_____ _____ hereinafter referred to as the APPRENTICE, and (if a minor)
(Day) (Year)
_____, hereinafter referred to as his GUARDIAN.
(Name of parent or guardian)

WITNESSETH THAT:

The Committee agrees to be responsible for the placement and training of said apprentice in the trade of _____ as work is available, and in consideration said apprentice agrees diligently and faithfully to perform the work incidental to the said trade during the period of apprenticeship, in accordance with the regulations of the Committee. The Apprenticeship Standards referred to herein are hereby incorporated in and made a part of this agreement.

Credit for previous experience at trade, if any _____ { Hours. / Years. } Apprenticeship remaining____ { Hours. / Years. }

Other Conditions

* * * * * * *

In witness whereof the parties hereunto set their hands and seals:

_____ [SEAL]
(Apprentice)

_____
(Address)

_____ [SEAL]
(Parent or guardian)

_____ [SEAL]
(Representative of Joint Apprenticeship Committee)

_____
(Title)

_____ [SEAL]
(Representative of Joint Apprenticeship Committee)

_____
(Title)

Registered by the _____
(Name of registration agency)
By _____ Title _____ Date _____, 196_

Available through Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

APPRENTICESHIP AGREEMENT

Between Apprentice and Employer

(Front View)

The employer and apprentice whose signatures appear below agree to these terms of apprenticeship:

The employer agrees to employ and train the apprentice in accordance with terms and conditions of the _____ which
(Name of apprenticeship standards)
are made a part of this agreement; or, in accordance with the terms and conditions stated on the reverse side of this agreement.

The apprentice agrees to apply himself diligently and faithfully to learning the trade in accordance with this agreement.

Trade _____ Term of apprenticeship_____
(Hours or years)

Credit for previous experience_____ Term remaining _____

Date the apprenticeship begins_____

This agreement may be terminated by either party notifying the other or in accordance with the named apprenticeship standards.

_____	_____
(Signature of apprentice)	(Name of employer—company)
_____	_____
(Address)	(Address)
_____	_____
(Apprentice's birth date)	(Signature of authorized official)

Approved by _____, Joint Apprenticeship Committee.

Date_____ by _____
(Signature of chairman or secretary)

Registered by _____
(Name of registration agency)

Date _____ by _____
(Signature of authorized official)

Terms and Conditions

(Back View)

1. Term of apprenticeship and period of probation:
   (*a*) Total Term: _____ calendar years, or _____ hours.
   (*b*) Probationary period: _____ months, or _____ hours.
2. Schedule of work processes in which the apprentice is to receive adequately supervised instruction and experience, of which a record will be kept and periodically evaluated:

   (*a*) List here: Major divisions of the trade and work tasks required under each:

   (*b*) List here: Approximate time, in hours, months, or percent of apprenticeship:

3. Wage rate to be paid the apprentice each period of apprenticeship: (Period may be expressed in hours, months, or years; rate may be expressed in money or percent of journeyman's wage.)

Periods	*Rates*	*Periods*	*Rates*
1st _____	_____	6th _____	_____
2d _____	_____	7th _____	_____
3d _____	_____	8th _____	_____
4th _____	_____	9th _____	_____
5th _____	_____	10th _____	_____

   Journeyman's rate as of _____ is ____ { per hour / per week

4. Number of hours per week or per day to be worked by the apprentice:
   (*a*) Hours per week ____ (*b*) Hours per day _____
5. Number of hours of related instruction:
   (144 hours per year, 4 hours per week during regular school year, is normally considered necessary. Where classes are not available through the local school, other organized trade, industrial, or correspondence course of equivalent value may be substituted.)
   (*a*) _____ week _____ (*b*) School of course _____
   (c) Apprentice ☐ will ☐ will not be compensated for hours spent in related instruction after regular working hours.
6. Other provisions:
   (*a*) There is reasonable certainty that the job for which the apprentice is being trained will be available to him upon completion of his apprenticeship.
   (*b*) Upon request by the Joint Apprenticeship Committee or employer, a Certificate of Completion will be granted the apprentice by the registration agency upon satisfactory completion of the apprenticeship, in accordance with standards covered herein.

Where a State requires the use of its own agreement forms, such forms may be obtained from the staff of the State apprenticeship agency or of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

REGIONAL OFFICES

BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

REGION I
(Maine, N.H., Vt., Mass., R.I., Conn.)
Room 501, 18 Oliver St.
Boston 10, Mass.

REGION II
(N.Y., N.J.)
Room 906, 341 Ninth Ave.
New York 1, N.Y.

REGION III–IV
(Pa., Del., Va., Md., W. Va., N.C., D.C.)
Room 321, Professional Arts Bldg.
Chambersburg, Pa.

REGION V
(S.C., Tenn., Ga., Miss., Fla., Ala.)
Room 525, 1371 Peachtree Bldg.
17th and Peachtree Sts. NE.
Atlanta 23, Ga.

REGION VI
(Ohio, Mich., Ky.)
Room 1008, Engineers' Bldg.
1365 Ontario St.
Cleveland 14, Ohio

REGION VII
(Ill., Ind., Wis.)
Room 1000, Bankers Bldg.
105 West Adams St.
Chicago 3, Ill.

REGION VIII
(N. Dak., S. Dak., Minn., Mont.)
Room 106, Federal Bldg.
110 S. Fourth St.
Minneapolis 8, Minn.

REGION IX
(Mo., Kans., Nebr., Iowa)
Room 2811, Federal Office Bldg.
911 Walnut St.
Kansas City 6, Mo.

REGION X
(La., Tex., Okla., Ark.)
Room 212, 1114 Commerce St.
Dallas 2, Tex.

REGION XI
(Utah, Wyo., Colo., N. Mex.)
Room 832, Equitable Bldg.
730 17th St.
Denver 2, Colo.

REGION XII
(Ariz., Nev., Calif., Hawaii)
Room 108, Appraisers' Bldg.
630 Sansome St.
San Franicsco 11, Calif.

REGION XIII
(Alaska, Idaho, Wash., Oreg.)
Room 1809, Smith Tower
506 Second Ave.
Seattle 4, Wash.

STATE AND TERRITORIAL APPRENTICESHIP AGENCIES

Arizona Apprenticeship Council,
1623–B West Adams,
Phoenix, Ariz.*

Division of Apprenticeship Standards,
Department of Industrial Relations,
San Francisco, Calif.*

Colorado Apprenticeship Council,
% Industrial Commission,
748 State Capitol Annex,
Denver, Colo.*

Apprentice Training Division,
Department of Labor,
Hartford, Conn.*

Delaware State Apprenticeship and Training Council,
Department of Labor and Industry,
Wilmington, Del.*

District of Columbia Apprenticeship Council,
1145 19th St. NW.,
Washington, D.C.*

Department of Apprenticeship,
Florida Industrial Commission,
Tallahassee, Fla.*

Apprenticeship Division,
Department of Labor and Industrial Relations,
Honolulu, Hawaii*

Iowa Apprenticeship Council,
Bureau of Labor,
State House,
Des Moines, Iowa.

Kansas Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor,
Topeka, Kans.

Kentucky State Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Industrial Relations,
Frankfort, Ky.*

Division of Apprenticeship,
Department of Labor,
Baton Rouge, La.*

Maine Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor and Industry,
State Office Building,
Augusta, Maine*

Division of Apprenticeship Training.
Department of Labor and Industries,
Boston, Mass.*

Division of Voluntary Apprenticeship,
Department of Labor and Industry,
St. Paul, Minn.*

Montana Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor and Industry,
Helena, Mont.*

Neveda Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor,
Carson City, Nev.*

New Hampshire Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor,
Concord, N.H.*

New Mexico Apprenticeship Council,
Labor and Industrial Commission,
Santa Fe, N. Mex.*

New York State Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor,
Albany, N.Y.*

Division of Apprenticeship Training,
Department of Labor,
Raleigh, N.C.*

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*State apprenticeship law enacted.

Ohio State Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Industrial Relations,
Columbus, Ohio*

Oregon Apprenticeship Council,
Bureau of Labor,
Portland, Oreg.*

Pennsylvania Apprenticeship and Training Council,
Department of Labor and Industry,
Harrisburg, Pa.*

Apprenticeship Division,
Insular Department of Labor,
San Juan 8, P.R.*

Rhode Island Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor,
Providence Public Library,
Providence, R.I.

Utah Apprenticeship Council,
Industrial Commission,
Salt Lake City, Utah*

Vermont Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Industrial Relations,
Montpelier, Vt.*

Division of Apprentices Training,
Department of Labor and Industry,
Richmond, Va.*

Washington Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Labor and Industries,
Seattle, Wash.*

Apprenticeship Division,
Wisconsin Industrial Commission,
Madison, Wis.*

Virgin Islands Apprenticeship Council,
Department of Agriculture and Labor,
Christiansted, St. Croix, V.I.*

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* State apprenticeship law enacted.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1964 O—684-483

MOTION PICTURE OF APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

A documentary film depicting the operation of an apprenticeship program has been made available at regional offices of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training to show members of joint apprenticeship committees and other groups interested. Although it pictures apprentice training in the bricklaying trade, it will be found valuable in providing a better understanding and stimulating an interest in apprenticeship in any trade.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
1913 50 1963
YEARS OF PROGRESS
THE DIGNITY OF LABOR IN A FREE SOCIETY

apprenticeship training in new york

openings in 1963

introduction by **A. PHILIP RANDOLPH**
JOSEPH MONSERRAT

A WDL PUBLICATION

Gary F. Vito

Apprenticeships

THE WDL APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAM

Report of A Year's Experiment May, 1965

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

EMPLOYMENT SERIES

SR2 Apprenticeship Program

* CHANGING EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

experience report 102

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
U. S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

Ohio Civil Rights Commission
603 Schmidt Building
431 Main Street
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202
Phone: 241 6605

FEB 2 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CINCINNATI, OHIO Any person interested in taking a test for journeyman classification in the Building Trades unions should register with the Ohio Civil Rights Commission prior to February 15, it was announced by Robert J. Coates, Deputy Executive Director, for the Commission.

"This is the initial step in the journeyman testing program which is structured to provide all persons, without regard for race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, the opportunity to become qualified for referral as craftsmen when the anticipated, increased employment activity begins in the Spring,"Mr. Coates stated.

Registration forms for this purpose are available in the Commission's Southwest Regional Office, 603 Schmidt Building, 431 Main Street in downtown Cincinnati. Forms may also be obtained at Unit 51, Second Floor, Ohio State Employment Service, 1916 Central Parkway; Cincinnati Human Relations Commission, Room 158, City Hall; and Urban League, 2400 Reading Road; along with all Building Trades Local Union offices.

"The preliminary registration project is being conducted in order to prepare more efficiently for the actual examination. It will give some evidence of the number of persons interested and some of their qualifications. Some of the unions are ready to begin testing in the next few weeks. We expect to announce the time and place of these tests very soon," Mr. Coates added.

The following crafts are included in the journeyman project: Asbestos worker, bricklayer, carpenter, cement mason, composition roofer, electrician, elevator constructor, operating engineer, glazier, laborer, lather, marble shop worker, painter, paperhanger, pipefitter, plasterer, plumber, reinforced concrete iron worker (Rodman), sheet metal worker, sign and pictorial painter, stained glass worker, stone and marble mason, structural iron worker, and teamster.

Ohio Civil Rights Commission
603 Schmidt Building
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202
Phone: 241 6605

PRELIMINARY REGISTRATION FORM

BUILDING TRADES JOURNEYMAN TESTING PROGRAM

(Open to all persons without regard for race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.)

DATE: _____ PHONE: _____

FULL NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

SOCIAL SECURITY NO. _____ BIRTHDATE: _____

ARE YOU A MEMBER OF ANY LOCAL UNION? _____ IF SO, WHAT LOCAL

_____ ARE YOU IN GOOD STANDING? ___

EDUCATION:	Name of School	Years Attended	Date Graduated
Elementary School			
High School			
College			

Trade, Business or Correspondence School (List name of School and subjects studied) _____

_____

THE PURPOSE OF THIS FORM IS TO GIVE YOU THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS YOUR INTEREST IN BEING TESTED IN ORDER TO DETERMINE YOUR QUALIFICATIONS FOR WORK AS A JOURNEYMAN IN THE FOLLOWING CRAFTS AND FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE APPROPRIATE UNION. PLEASE INDICATE YOUR INTEREST IN BEING TESTED FOR WORK IN THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES BY PLACING A CHECK MARK IN THE SPACE PROVIDED. YOU MAY CHECK MORE THAN ONE. THEN LIST NUMBER OF YEARS EXPERIENCE YOU HAVE HAD WORKING IN THIS CRAFT.

CRAFT	✓ EXPERIENCE	CRAFT	✓ EXPERIENCE
Asbestos Worker		Painter	
Bricklayer		Paperhanger	
Carpenter		Pipefitter	
Cement Mason		Plasterer	
Composition Roofer		Plumber	
Electrician		Reinforced Concrete Iron Wkr. (Rodman)	
Elevator Constructor		Sheet Metal Worker	
Operating Engineer		Sign & Pictorial Painter	
Glazier		Stained Glass Worker	
Laborer		Stone & Marble Mason	
Lather		Structural Iron Worker	
Marble Shop Worker		Teamster	

Send or deliver your complete form to the Ohio Civil R[illegible]
address above, no later than February 15, 1966.

WDL

On Apprentice

March 18, 1966

Miss Rachelle Horowitz
Executive Secretary
Workers Defense League
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Miss Horowitz:

You were good enough to send me in December materials relating to the WDL apprenticeship program. These were most helpful and greatly appreciated.

Could you send me a dozen copies each of the 1965 report of the program and of the winter 1965 Special Edition of WDL News featuring the article by Murray Kempton.

If you need to charge for these please bill me.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

112 EAST 19th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 / (212) ALGONQUIN 4-4953

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John Somers
Michael Sovern
Edward J. Sparling
Max Steinbock
Irwin Suall
Clyde Summers
Carola Weingarten
Roy Wilkins
Jerry Wurf
James E. Youngdahl
Arnold S. Zander

December 15, 1965

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia -- 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I have enclosed the sheets we used for tutoring sheetmetal applicants, a report on our Apprenticeship Program and some clippings about Local 28, Sheetmetal Workers Union.

As you can tell from the type of questions we used, the test had nothing specifically to do with sheetmetal work. It is really an achievement test. Local 28 had a 78 year history of segregation and was forced by a court order to administer an objective test as the basis for entrance.

The first test was given last spring. We made the mistake of thinking it would be an appititude test and tutored accordingly. As a result, only one Negro passed. For the second test we were more knowledgable; had a longer time to tutor and consequently 14 Negroes scored in the top 65.

We have discovered that the New York vocational schools do not keep up with the employment field and subsequently downgrade basic mathematics and English, while allowing students to take 47 different shop courses.

We are trying to convince the Board of Education that in an automated society it is better to flunk algebra three times than work in an obsolete school shop. We haven't had much success.

The sheetmetal test was a significant breakthrough however. For about a year all the youth agencies and civil rights organizations have been sending their vocational high school graduates to our office to be serviced. And since the sheetmetal exam, we've been able to place 20 young men in Local 40, Ironworkers program, 20 more in Local 3 and we expect to place 15 in printing shops.

New York is in a peculiar position though. The State Department of Labor adopted a series of apprentice compliance regulations in September, 1964, to go into effect September, 1965. So far one union has submitted "acceptable" standards. That union is the thoroughly corrupt District Council #9, Painters Union (in some shops there are 8 apprentices to one journeyman, and apprentices have been kept from full journeymen status for 8 to 9 years or more.) Theoretically, only Local 28, and District Council #9 can start classes.

Of course, the State is not making any attempt to obtain acceptable standards nor has it set down specific guidelines. They are functioning much like HEW in re: school segregation.

Please be in touch with us, if you need any further information.

Sincerely,

Rachelle Horowitz

Rachelle Horowitz
Executive Secretary

RH/rjp
enc.

Economic Development Series No. 9, June 1966

THE COMMUNITY-APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

A Feasibility Study

by Thomas S. Isaack

Bureau of Business Research, College of Commerce
and the
Office of Research and Development
West Virginia Center for Appalachian Studies and Development
West Virginia University

SRC Apprenticeship

APPRENTICESHIP IN THE UNITED STATES: LABOR MARKET FORCES AND SOCIAL POLICY

A Paper Presented by

David J. Farber*
Assistant Chief, Division of Research
Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
U.S. Department of Labor

before the

Conference on Research in Apprenticeship Training
University of Wisconsin

September 8, 1966

The American apprenticeship system has been evaluated from many perspectives: as a system of job control; as a method of vocational education; as a monopoly of a privileged ethnic majority; as a fossilized form of nepotism in the job market; as an instrument of manpower policy; as a ritual similar to the puberty rites of cultures more primitive than our own; and, I suspect, from still other vantage points as well.

Economic analyses dealing relatively rigorously with apprenticeship as a phenomenon of the labor market have been conspicuous by their absence. Most frequently these analyses have been limited to a comparison of the current number of apprentices with a projection of future demand for

*The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Rufus Daniels, Statistician, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, who prepared the correlation and regression coefficients, and assisted with the statistical analysis.

craftsmen. With respect to apprenticeship in the labor market of today—as a response to the present forces of supply and demand in the current job markets—these analyses are silent, or else content themselves with calling attention to the convention that statistics on apprenticeship are not notably reliable.

The fact that apprenticeship is rarely, if ever, analyzed by labor economists in terms of the current state of the labor market is, or should be, the occasion for some surprise. Apprenticeship, under most labor agreements which deal with the subject, would appear to be related to the number of craftsmen. Nonetheless, competent economists have concluded that the apprenticeship ratio provisions of these agreements

> seem to have had virtually no effect on the number of journeymen. The number of apprentices has been small but this has been due to the reluctance of most employers to train skilled workers rather than to union policies. Indeed, nonunion employers who were free from union restrictions have trained fewer apprentices than did union employers. 1/

Under these circumstances, investigation of the factors affecting the number of apprentices might more properly be regarded as the province of industrial or management psychology. Or perhaps, if we accept at face value the view of the latter-day Cassandras that the apprenticeship system is a catatonic fossil, we must assign such an inquiry to psychopathology.

And yet, I confess to the feeling that it is a sound instinct that prompts the economist to continue in the belief that a minimal rationality does underlie the job market, including the supply and demand for apprentices. For although the apprenticeship system is a form of vocational

1/ Slichter, Healy, and Livernash, The Impact of Collective Bargaining on Management, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1960, p. 74.

training, the system is operational only as a form of employment, and as such, should be as susceptible to the forces of the labor market as other forms of employment.

I am aware, of course, that to the empirical economist the labor market is not very rational; that it is a Saragossa Sea, full of "rigidities" which inhibit or preclude the free interplay of the forces of the market place. I am also aware that efforts to correlate empirically changes in employment levels with changes in wages have been spectacularly unsuccessful.[2/] Most frequently, economists explain the failure of empirical wage and employment data to conform to their theoretical expectations as the failure of ceteris to be paribus. Without recourse to the ritual of ceteris paribus, many economists no doubt would have surely succumbed to the currently fashionable existentialist despair.

It is conceivable, however, that existentialist despair is premature, that the labor market is not a nihilistic chaos, and that at least in the case of apprenticeship a certain degree of rational economic behavior can be discerned and measured. In this paper, I propose to consider some of the essential elements of a simplified economic model of the American apprenticeship system. My purpose is to seek evidence of the extent to which apprenticeship responds to certain short-run changes in the economy. Put somewhat differently, I propose to explore the ability of the apprenticeship system to adjust to change, which, if I remember correctly, is one of the classic definitions of intelligence. Perhaps, too, I should explain that like other

2/ See, for example, Allen M. Carter's statement that "A general money wage increase may increase, decrease, or leave unchanged the level of employment." Theory of Wages and Employment, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., Homewood, Illinois, 1959, p. 150.

builders of economic models, I make certain "simplyfying assumptions," to wit: that apprentices are human beings, many of whom prefer satisfaction of immediate wants to future gratification of needs; that employers hire more workers when they need them, and that workers like higher wages. Lastly, in this economic model, labor unions are non-existent and apprentices enter and leave their employment solely on the basis of an agreement between the individual employer and the individual apprentice.

I--Supply and Demand Factors

New Apprentice Registrants

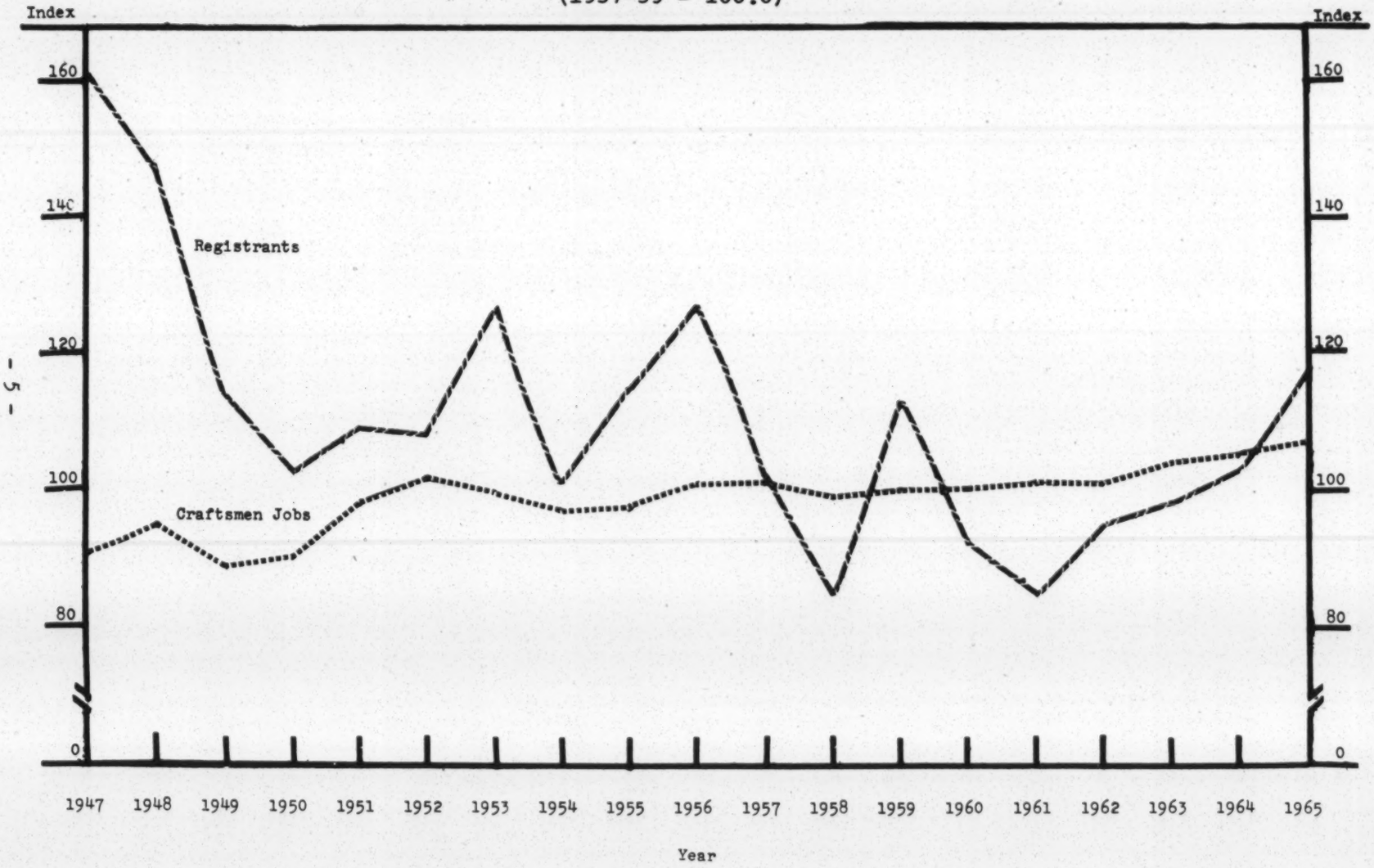
Despite the fact that there appears to be no correlation between the

Table 1--Number and Indices of Annual Average Employed Male Craftsmen and New Apprentice Registrants, 1947-65

	Number		Indices (1957-59 = 100.0)	
Year	Annual average employed male craftsmen and kindred workers (000)	New apprentice registrants	Annual average employed male craftsmen and kindred workers	New apprentice registrants
1947	7,565	94,238	90.7	161.2
1948	7,924	85,918	95.0	147.0
1949	7,453	66,745	89.3	114.2
1950	7,482	60,186	89.7	103.0
1951	8,193	63,881	98.2	109.3
1952	8,480	62,842	101.7	107.5
1953	8,325	73,620	99.8	125.9
1954	8,073	58,939	96.8	100.8
1955	8,101	67,265	97.1	115.1
1956	8,457	74,062	101.4	126.7
1957	8,432	59,638	101.1	102.0
1958	8,244	49,569	98.8	84.8
1959	8,349	66,230	100.1	113.3
1960	8,338	54,100	99.9	92.5
1961	8,407	49,482	100.8	84.6
1962	8,455	55,590	101.4	95.1
1963	8,683	57,204	104.1	97.9
1964	8,736	59,960	104.7	102.6
1965	8,951	68,507	107.3	117.2

Source: Table A10 Manpower Report of the President, March 1966, p. 164 and Trends in Apprentice Registrations, 1941-65, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor.

Figure 1--Index of Number of New Apprentice Registrants and of Annual Average Employment of Craftsmen, 1947-65 (1957-59 = 100.0)



number of new apprentice registrants and annual average employment of craftsmen—and please note that I did not say the number of employed craftsmen—a glance at Figure 1 may be rewarding. The index of annual average employment of craftsmen from 1947 to 1965 rises only slightly at best. The index of new apprentice registrants, on the other hand, shows sharp fluctuations from one year to the next, dipping regularly and recurringly in 1948-49, in 1953-54, 1957-58, and in 1960-61. (Table 1)

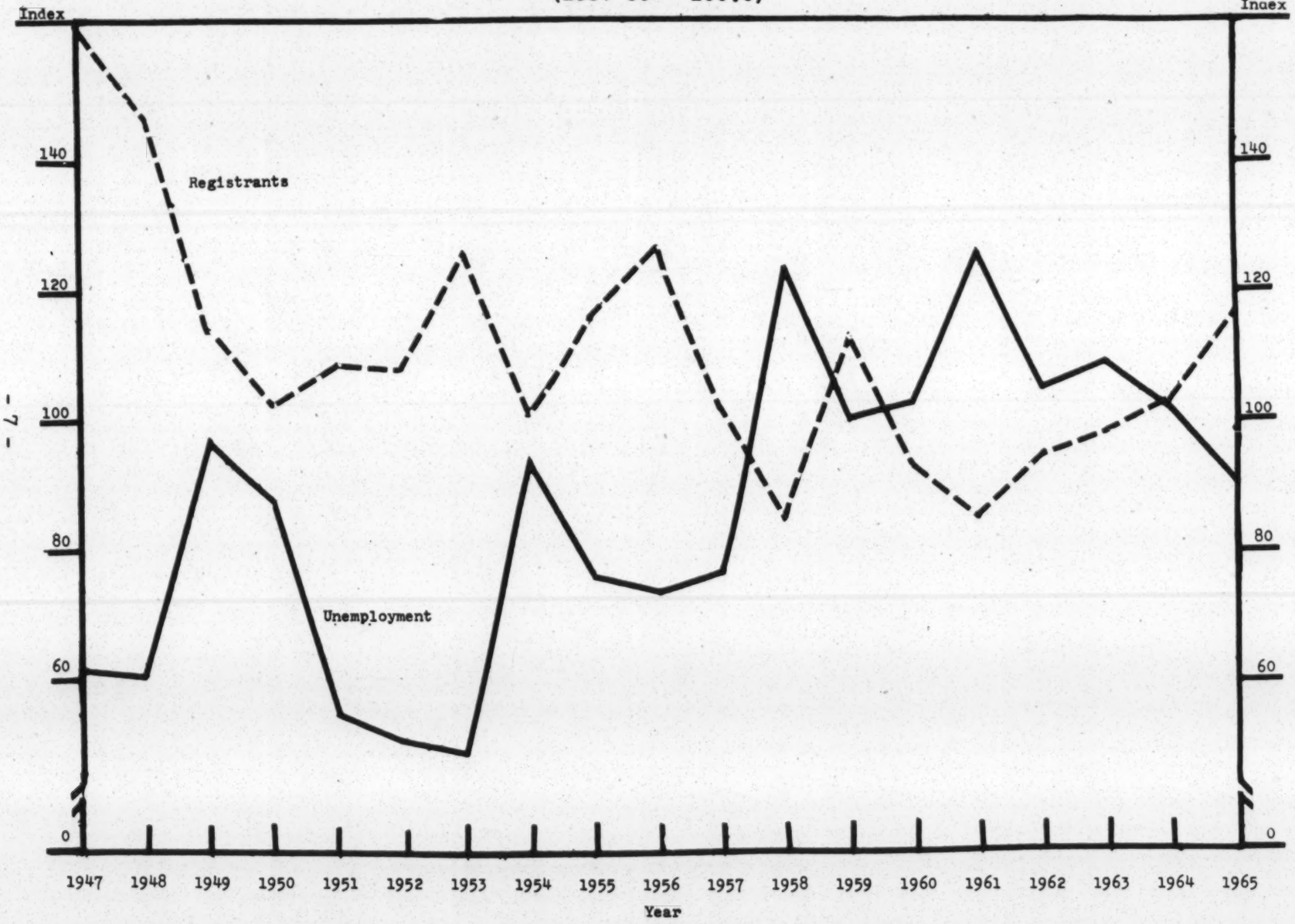
Figure 2 suggests that apprenticeship is not necessarily as irrational or as arbitrary as might be supposed, nor is it immune from the vicissitudes of the market place. There appears to be ample warrant for the first of the hypotheses on which we may construct our economic model. The number of new

Table 2--Indices of Annual Average Unemployment, New Apprentice Registrants, and Completion Rates, 1947-65
(1957-59 = 100.0)

Annual average Unemployment (000)	Index Annual average Unemployment	New registrants			Completees			Completion rates		
		Year	Number	Index	Year	Number	Index	Class of	Rate a/	Index
2,356	61.8	1947	94,238	161.1	1950	38,533	117.5	1947	40.9	83.1
2,325	61.0	1948	85,918	146.9	1951	38,754	118.2	1948	45.1	91.7
3,682	96.6	1949	66,745	114.1	1952	33,098	100.9	1949	49.6	100.8
3,351	88.0	1950	60,186	102.9	1953	28,561	87.1	1950	47.5	96.5
2,099	55.1	1951	63,881	109.2	1954	27,383	83.5	1951	42.9	87.2
1,932	50.7	1952	62,842	107.5	1955	24,795	75.6	1952	39.5	80.3
1,870	49.1	1953	73,620	125.9	1956	27,231	83.0	1953	40.0	81.3
3,578	93.9	1954	58,939	100.8	1957	30,356	92.6	1954	51.5	104.7
2,904	76.2	1955	67,265	115.0	1958	30,647	93.5	1955	45.6	92.7
2,822	74.1	1956	74,062	126.6	1959	37,375	114.0	1956	50.5	102.6
2,936	77.1	1957	59,638	102.0	1960	31,727	96.8	1957	53.2	108.1
4,681	122.9	1958	49,569	84.8	1961	28,547	87.1	1958	57.6	117.1
3,813	100.1	1959	66,230	113.3	1962	25,918	79.0	1959	39.1	79.5
3,931	103.2	1960	54,100	92.5	1963	26,029	79.4	1960	48.1	97.8
4,806	126.1	1961	49,482	84.6	1964	25,744	78.5	1961	52.0	105.7
4,007	105.2	1962	55,590	95.1	1965	24,917	76.0	1962	44.8	91.1
4,166	109.3	1963	57,204	97.8						
3,876	101.7	1964	59,960	102.5						
3,456	90.7	1965	68,507	117.1						

a/ Calculated by expressing number of completees in an instant year as a percentage of number of new registrants entering apprenticeship four years earlier.

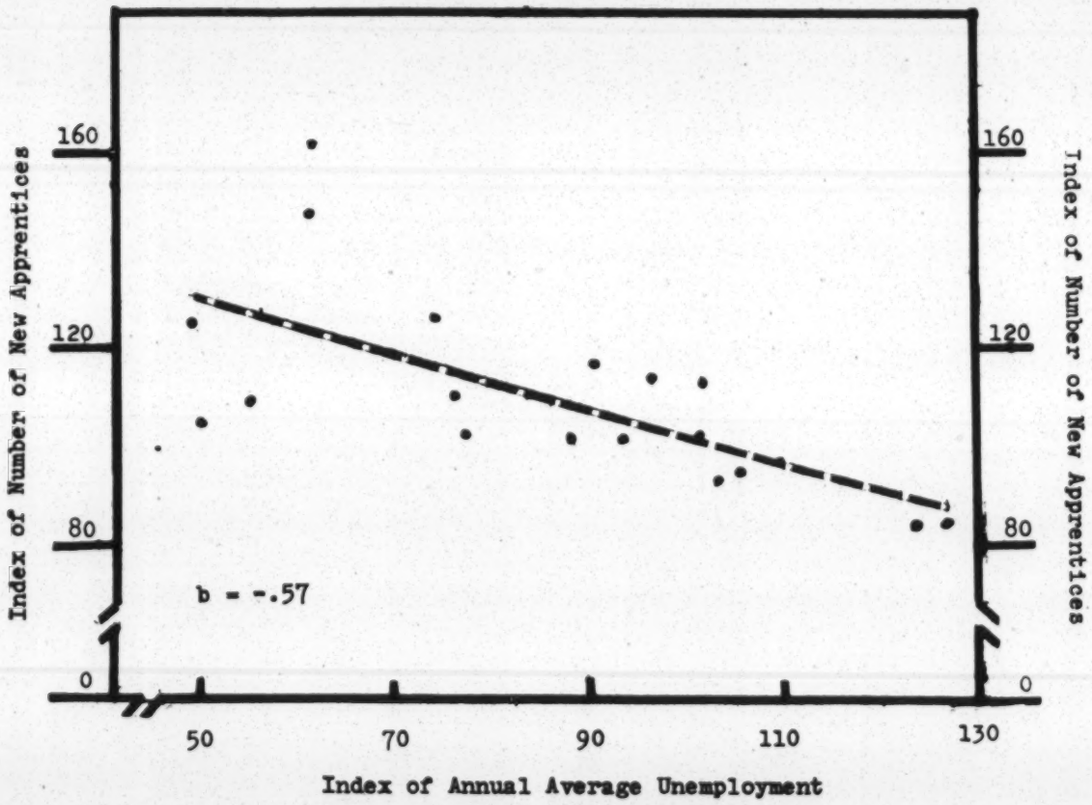
Figure 2--Index of New Apprentice Registrants and of Annual Average Unemployment, 1947-65
(1957-59 = 100.0)



apprentice registrants appears to vary inversely with the level of annual average unemployment in the economy as a whole. Generally, periods of peak unemployment—1948-49, 1953-54, 1957-58, 1960-61—the recession years—are also periods in which the number of new apprentices ebbs to its lowest level. Conversely, 1953, 1956, 1959, 1962, and 1963-65—years in which the index of annual average unemployment declined—are also years in which the index of new apprentice registrants rose sharply. (Table 2)

For the statistical-minded, Figure 3 summarizes this relationship.

Figure 3--Relationship Between Indices of Annual Average Unemployment and of New Apprentice Registrants, Each Year, 1947-65 (1957-59 = 100.0)



In general, the 1947-65 period was characterized by recurring and rising levels of unemployment, and, as Figure 2 indicates, by declining numbers of new apprentice registrants. The regression line in Figure 3 is, there-

fore, negatively sloped. The close relationship between annual average unemployment and the number of new apprentice registrants is revealed by the coefficient of correlation: -.609, significant at the 1percent level.

Apprentice-Completion Rate

The number of new apprentice registrants, however, represents only part of the "supply" of apprentices who actually complete their terms of apprenticeship. Figure 4 reveals an interesting relationship. Unlike the

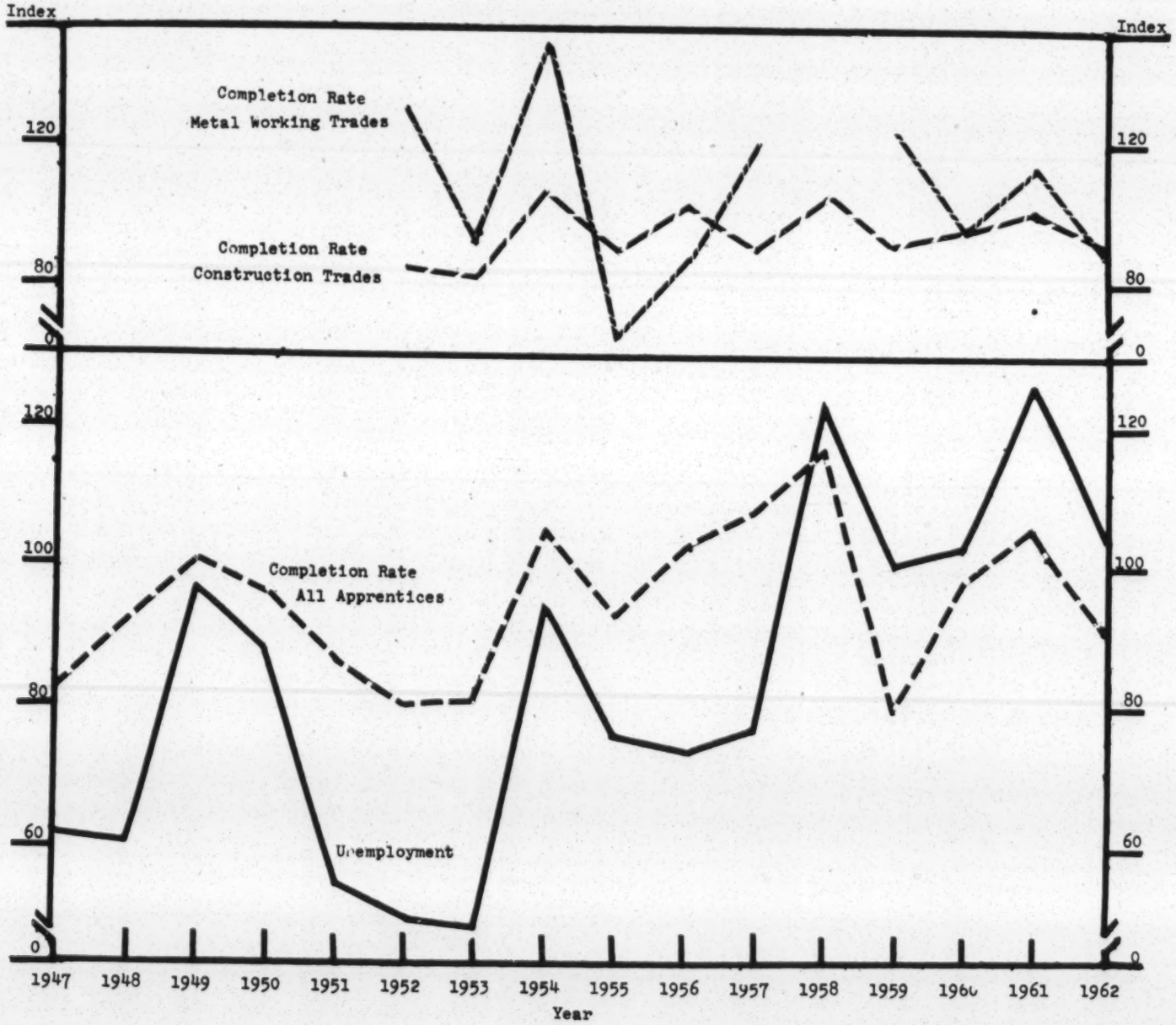
Table 3--Indices of Annual Average Unemployment, New Construction Trades Apprentice Registrants, and Completion Rates of Construction Trades Apprentices, 1952-65
(1957-59 = 100.0)

Annual average Unemployment (000)	Index Annual average Unemployment	New registrants			Completees			Completion rate	
		Year	Number	Index	Year	Number	Index	Rate a/	Index
1,932	50.7	1952	33,316	90.1	1955	13,444	68.7	40.4	84.9
1,870	49.1	1953	37,102	100.4	1956	14,588	74.6	39.3	82.6
3,578	93.9	1954	34,238	92.6	1957	17,344	88.7	50.7	106.6
2,904	76.2	1955	47,238	127.8	1958	20,255	103.6	42.9	90.2
2,822	74.1	1956	42,873	116.0	1959	21,067	107.7	49.1	103.2
2,936	77.1	1957	38,506	104.2	1960	16,656	85.2	43.3	91.0
4,681	122.9	1958	34,485	93.3	1961	17,251	88.2	50.0	105.1
3,813	100.1	1959	37,894	102.5	1962	16,477	84.3	43.5	91.5
3,931	103.2	1960	33,939	91.8	1963	15,559	79.6	45.8	96.3
4,806	126.1	1961	33,446	90.5	1964	16,286	83.3	48.7	102.4
4,007	105.2	1962	36,994	100.1	1965	16,201	82.8	43.8	92.1
4,166	109.3	1963	36,763	99.5					
3,876	101.7	1964	38,556	104.3					
3,456	90.7	1965	41,379	112.0					

a/ Calculated by expressing number of completees in an instant year as a percentage of number of new registrants entering apprenticeship four years earlier.

number of new apprentices--which appears to be inversely related to the level of annual average unemployment--the apprentice-completion rate varies directly with the level of unemployment. The years in which annual average

Figure 4--Indices of Completion Rate, By Trade, and of Annual Average Unemployment, 1952-62
(1957-59 = 100.0)



unemployment "peak," are the years in which the apprentice-completion rates also "peak." Similarly, years in which annual average unemployment decline, are also years in which the completion rate falls. Interestingly enough, this tendency holds true not only for all apprentices, but also is substantially true in the case of apprentices in the construction trades and in the metalworking trades as well. (Table 3)

Apprenticeship and the Job Market

Thus far, we have exposed only the bare skeleton of an economic model of apprenticeship. Essentially, we have hypothesized, the number of entering apprentices, and the rate at which they complete their apprenticeship terms, are related to the level of unemployment in the economy as a whole. In recession years, when unemployment is high, few employers will agree to the employment of new apprentices when those already in training on the job, or perhaps even skilled journeymen, may be faced with joblessness. Since apprentices are least productive during the initial year of their apprenticeship terms, employers are likely to be reluctant to hire new apprentices during recession periods. As a consequence, in recession years, the number of new apprentices tends to fall.

In the interplay of market forces, we may conclude that a young would-be apprentice has only minimal bargaining leverage. With little or no training or experience, he is substantially the captive of changes in the level of unemployment and in the demand for labor. The apprentice who has completed a substantial part of his term, however, is in a very different position. Even with as little as one year of training, he has garnered experience and has learned some of the fundamentals of his trade. Furthermore, his employer, in many instances, has a substantial vested interest in

his training. As a consequence, fluctuations in the apprentice completion rate are much less volatile than variations in the number of new apprentices.

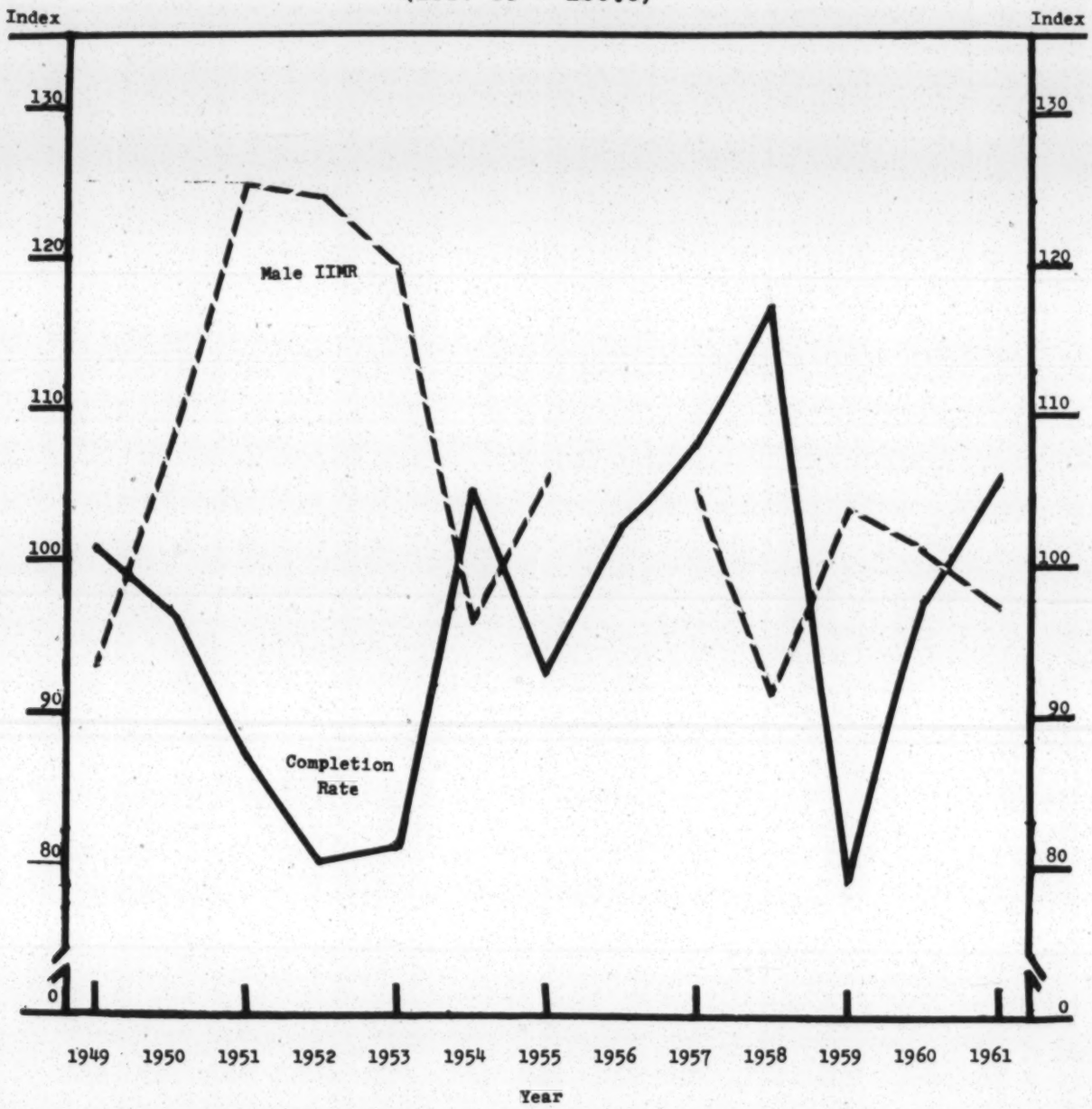
More importantly, the apprentice who has completed a significant part of his term can frequently compete on terms of relative equality for many of the more demanding semi-skilled jobs. Even after completing the first year of his apprenticeship, annual earnings of apprentices are probably lower than those of the average semi-skilled male. In 1959, for example, according to the 1960 Decennial Census median earnings of apprentices were $3,486, as compared to a median of $4,299 for operatives; of $4,447 for manufacturing operatives; of $4,411 for bus drivers; of $4,491 for assemblers; and of $4,221 for truck drivers.

The existence of this differential in annual earnings, particularly in the case of young people, places a severe strain on the ability of apprentices to forgo the immediate increase in earnings which would be theirs if they "jump" their training and become semi-skilled workers. If this hypothesis is valid, apprentice completion rates should vary inversely with changes in interindustry mobility, and directly with changes in the differential between the wages of craftsmen and of semi-skilled workers.

Interindustry Mobility

In Figures 5 and 6, for the 1949-61 period, I have plotted the indices of the completion rates of all apprentices and of construction and metal-working trades apprentices, by the estimated date of entry into the apprenticeship system. Also shown is the index of the interindustry mobility rates (the IIMR) of all men. The inverse correspondence between changes in the male IIMR and changes in the completion rate for all

Figure 5--Indices of Apprentice Completion Rate and of Male Inter-Industry Mobility Rate, 1949-61 (1957-59 = 100.0)



apprentices, as shown in Figure 5, are striking indeed. With the exception of a one year period during the Korean War--when both the IIMR and the apprentice completion rate move in parallel fashion--a decline in interindustry mobility is invariably accompanied by an increase in the apprentice completion rate. Conversely, periods in which interindustry mobility increases are also periods in which the apprentice completion rate declines. (Tables 4 and 5).

Table 4--Indices of Male Interindustry Mobility Rate (IIMR) and Apprentice-Completion Rates, 1949-62 (1957-59 = 100.0)

Year	Male IIMR[a]	Apprentice completion rate	Index	
			Male IIMR	Apprentice completion rate
1949	34.8	49.6	93.0	100.8
1950	40.5	47.5	108.3	96.5
1951	46.9	42.9	125.4	87.2
1952	46.5	39.5	124.3	80.3
1953	44.8	40.0	119.8	81.3
1954	35.9	51.5	96.0	104.7
1955	39.5	45.6	105.6	92.7
1956	—	50.5	—	102.6
1957	39.3	53.2	105.1	108.1
1958	34.2	57.6	91.4	117.1
1959	38.7	39.1	103.5	79.5
1960	37.9	48.1	101.3	97.8
1961	36.4	52.0	97.3	105.7
1962	38.1	44.8	101.9	91.1

a/Source: Calculated from published and unpublished Social Security Administration data on duplicated and unduplicated industry of employment of wage earners, by 2-digit SIC industry.

In Figure 6, indices of the completion rates for apprentices in the construction and metalworking trades are plotted for the 1952-62 period, and compared with the male IIMR index for the same period. For construction trades apprentices--and to a slightly lesser extent for metalworking trades

Figure 6--Indices of Male Inter-Industry Mobility Rate and Apprentice Completion Rates in Construction and Metal Working Trades, 1952-62 (1957-59 = 100.0)

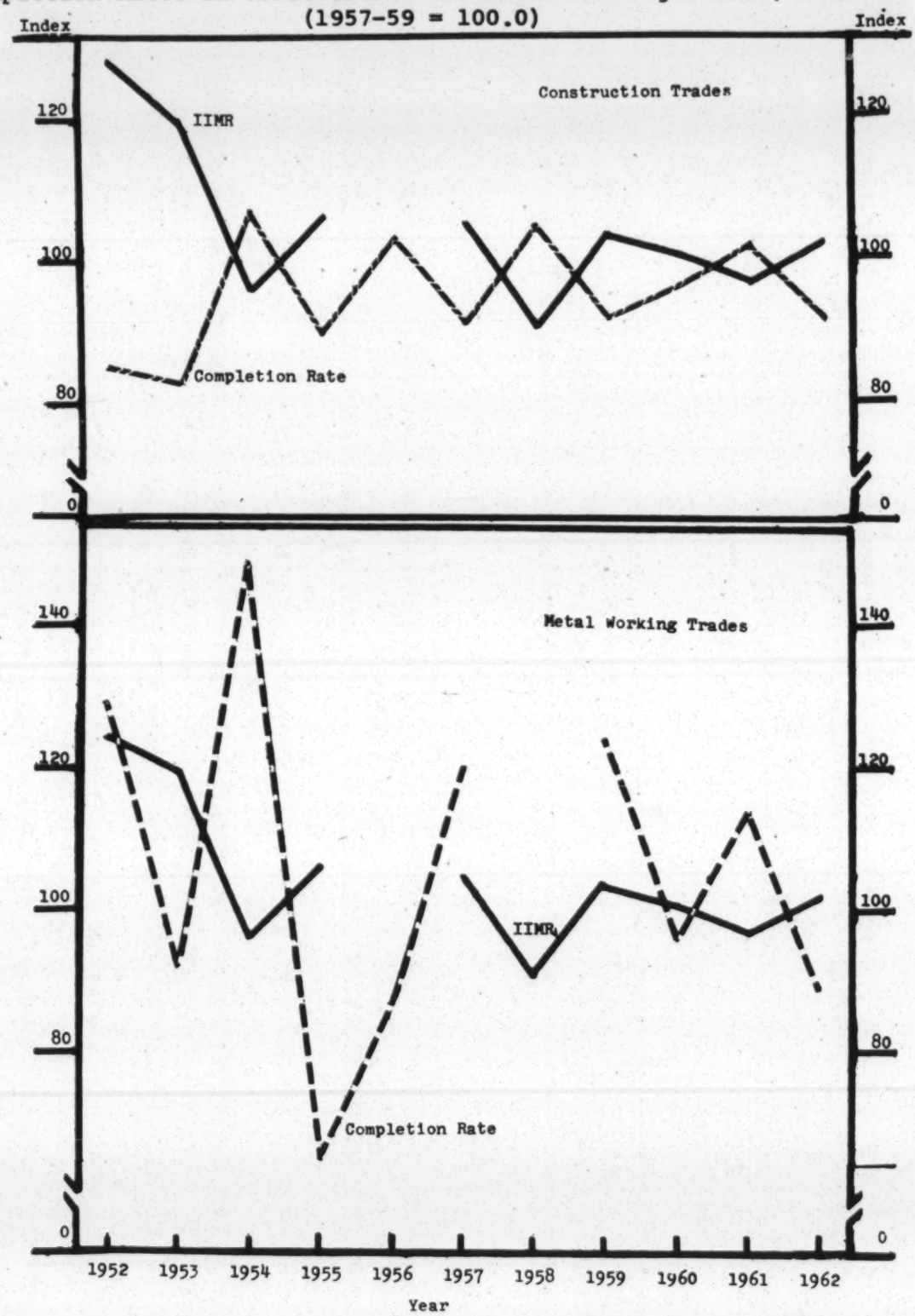


Table 5--Indices of Annual Average Unemployment, New Metalworking Trades Apprentices, and Completion Rates of Metalworking Trades Apprentices, 1952-65 (1957-59 = 100.0)

Annual average Unemployment (000)	Index Annual average Unemployment	New registrants			Completees			Completion rate	
		Year	Number	Index	Year	Number	Index	Rate[a]	Index
1,932	50.7	1952	5,553	95.3	1955	3,617	100.3	65.1	129.3
1,870	49.1	1953	9,143	156.9	1956	4,253	117.9	46.5	92.3
3,578	93.9	1954	6,352	109.0	1957	4,740	131.4	74.6	148.1
2,904	76.2	1955	7,797	133.8	1958	2,541	70.5	32.6	64.7
2,822	74.1	1956	8,058	138.3	1959	3,537	98.1	43.9	87.2
2,936	77.1	1957	8,289	142.3	1960	4,986	138.3	60.2	119.5
4,681	122.9	1958	3,400	58.4	1961	4,719	130.9	N.A.	N.A.
3,813	100.1	1959	5,789	99.4	1962	3,611	100.1	62.4	123.9
3,931	103.2	1960	7,846	134.7	1963	3,799	105.4	48.4	96.1
4,806	126.1	1961	6,819	117.0	1964	3,923	108.8	57.5	114.1
4,007	105.2	1962	8,351	143.3	1965	3,770	104.5	45.1	89.5
4,166	109.3	1963	9,019	154.8					
3,876	101.7	1964	10,704	183.7					
3,456	90.7	1965	14,032	240.9					

a/ Calculated by expressing number of completees in an instant year as percentage of number of new registrants entering apprenticeship four years earlier.

apprentices--we see the identical inverse relationship between changes in the male IIMR index and the index of completion rates.

Wage Differentials

Consideration of the association between interindustry mobility and apprentice completion rates inevitably suggests investigation of the always tantalizing question of the relationship between wages and the employment of apprentices. As I indicated earlier, analyses of the wage-employment relationship have invariably failed to disclose any significant association. To the best of my knowledge, however, such efforts involved

a comparison of average hourly earnings and annual average employment data. As I shall attempt to demonstrate in a moment or two, annual average employment is a subtle statistical concept most frequently interpreted as a measure of the number of employed workers. With this interpretation, I find myself in disagreement. With respect to statistics on average hourly earnings, a distinguished labor economist long ago voiced the truism that conceptually these data do

> not indicate either the full cost of labor to the employer or the income measure in which the worker is mainly interested. Discussion with workers indicate that by "wages" they usually mean their weekly take-home pay. This may change considerably without any change in hourly rates because of changes in the work week, /and/ changes in various types of premiums. . .In the same way, the total cost of an hour's work to the employer may vary independently of wage rates.3/

These considerations suggested that the analysis concentrate on the relationship between annual earnings of apprentices and their employment. The data on interindustry mobility, however, tended to confirm the hypothesis that many apprentices--particularly those who complete the first year of their terms of apprenticeship--would be likely to choose to earn the probably higher wages of semi-skilled workers in the present, as opposed to the potentially higher earnings of skilled craftsmen some two or three years hence. For this reason, it seemed most realistic to investigate the changing differential between the annual earnings of year-round craftsmen and operatives and its relationship to the number of apprentice completees.

3/ Lloyd G. Reynolds, "Toward A Short-Run Theory of Wages," The American Economic Review, June 1948, p. 291.

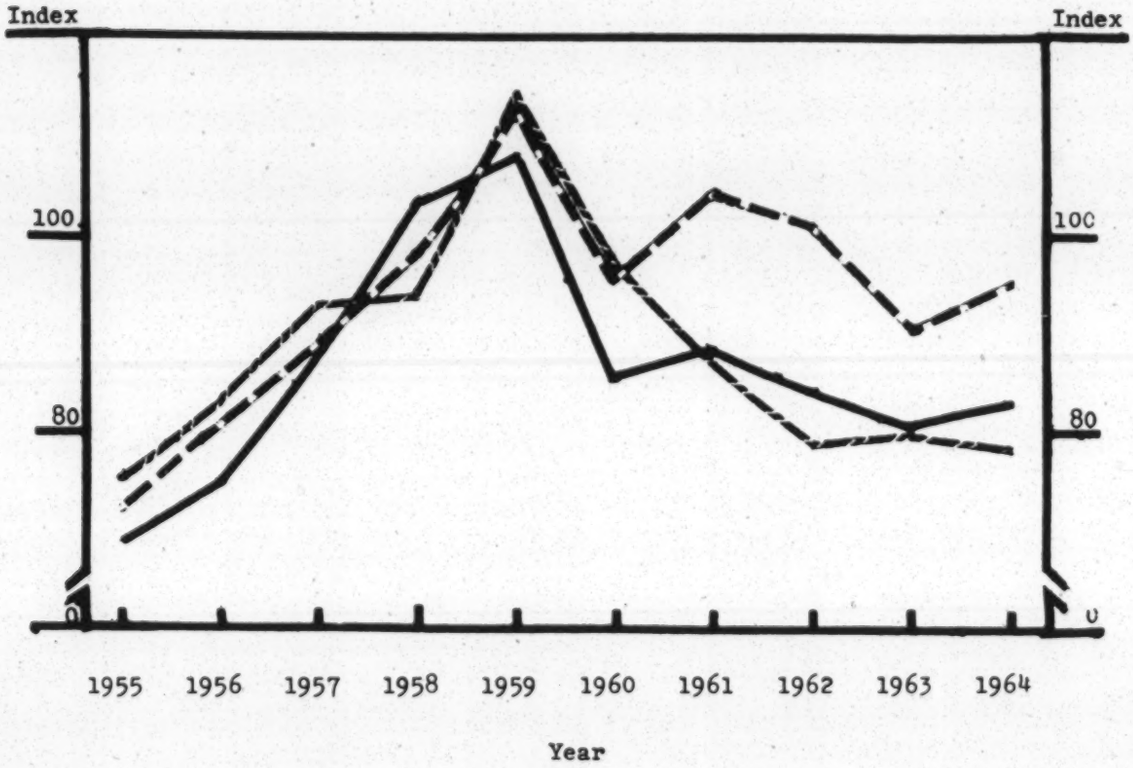
Table 6--Indices of Differentials in Median Earnings of Year-round Craftsmen and Operatives, and of Number of Completees, All Apprentices, and Construction Trade Apprentices, 1955-64
(1957-59 = 100.0)

Year	Median Earnings, Year-round Males				Index of number of completees	
	Operatives[a]	Craftsmen[a]	Differential Amount	Differential Index	Total	Construction trades
	$	$	$			
1955	4,046	4,712	666	72.1	75.6	68.7
1956	4,235	4,981	746	80.7	83.0	74.6
1957	4,397	5,216	819	88.6	92.6	88.7
1958	4,460	5,365	905	97.9	93.5	103.6
1959	4,607	5,654	1,047	113.3	114.0	107.7
1960	4,977	5,868	891	96.4	96.8	85.2
1961	5,108	6,067	959	103.8	87.1	88.2
1962	5,319	6,251	932	100.9	79.0	84.3
1963	5,480	6,315	835	90.4	79.4	79.6
1964	5,659	6,538	879	95.1	78.5	83.3

a/ Source: Current Population Survey, P-60 Series, Bureau of the Census, various years.

A comparison of changes in the earnings differential and in the number of apprentice completees from 1955 to 1964 is shown in Figure 7. In general, there appears to be a fairly close correspondence between changes in the earnings differential and changes in the number of completees. During the first five years of this period, the index of the differential between the median earnings of year-round craftsmen and operatives rose steadily. From 1960 to 1964, however, despite increases in the median earnings of both groups, the differential tended toward the erratic, displaying some tendency to narrow. The number of completees, as shown by the indicies in Figure 7, tended to follow a similar pattern. From 1955 to 1959, the index of apprentice completees rose steadily each year, peaking in 1959. Beginning in 1960, as the wage differential tended generally to decline, the index of apprentice completees also weakened. (Table 6)

Figure 7--Indices of Differentials in Median Earnings of Full-time Craftsmen and Operatives, and of Number of Apprentice Completees, All Trades and Construction Trades, 1955-64 (1957-59 = 100.0)



Earnings Differential

Construction Trades Completees

All Completees

While there was an overall general correspondence between the movements of the indices of the wage differential and of apprentice completions, little or no statistically significant relationship can be claimed. In the case of the construction trades, however, there is a decidedly significant correlation between the two indices—.82, significant at the 1 percent level. The direction of each change in the wage differential index corresponds in every instance with the direction of the change in the number of construction trades completees. For each year from 1955 to 1959, the earnings differential index rises, as does the construction trades completee index. From 1959 to 1960, both indices fall, increase from 1960 to 1961, decline during the 1961-63 period, and both rise slightly from 1963 to 1964. Until 1959, not only do both indices move in the same direction, but the amplitude of the year-to-year changes is approximately the same. From 1959 onwards, however, the extent of change in the index of construction completees is of much greater proportions than the more modest declines in the index of the earnings differential, suggesting the presence of still other factors which influence the number of construction trades completees.

II—Public Policy and Economic Research

I turn now to the implications of these hypotheses for public policy and economic research. The fact that it is possible to construct an economic model of apprenticeship without reference to labor unions—admittedly an overly simple one—is not without a certain significance for social policy and economic research. If, as our hypotheses suggest, the number of new apprentice-registrants is indeed inversely related to the general

level of unemployment, and their completion rate is positively related to unemployment and the craftsmen-operative wage differential, it is entirely possible that the role of the labor unions in the system—whether as villain or as hero, depending on your taste in casting—has been very much overstated. If, as our hypotheses suggest, the basic parameters of apprenticeship are in fact fundamentally responsive to the general state of the economy and to particularistic forces of supply and demand in the job market, we may conclude that labor unions may at best only influence the apprenticeship system. Perhaps, we may eventually conclude, the number of apprentices entering an occupation is a function of demand for labor, and not a response to an apprentice ratio clause in the collective bargaining agreement. If, as our hypotheses suggest, the apprentice completion rate is in fact positively related to the level of unemployment and to changes in wage differentials described earlier—we will not castigate the apprenticeship system as a failure because of what we may erroneously believe to be an unduly high dropout rate. So far as I know, no responsible critic has argued, for example, that our system of higher education is a failure because "the national average of those who enter college and fail to finish is estimated at 40 percent."[4] And if we measure the educational dropout rate in terms of the number of high school graduates who do not enter college, the dropout rate no doubt would equal or exceed the apprentice dropout rate. Nonetheless, critics of the apprenticeship system continue to view the apprentice dropout rate as excessive.

4/ Martin Meyerson, "The American College Student," Daedalus, Summer 1966, p. 720.

The Sin of the Intellectuals

Precisely what a non-excessive rate would be, however, is not made clear. Indeed, I suspect, such a standard cannot be stated explicitly as a norm because in the minds of many is the thought that apprenticeship should be producing more craftsmen to meet current and projected needs for craftsmen. Under these circumstances, an ideal completion rate is one which presumably satisfies precisely present and projected demands for labor, and perforce must therefore fluctuate with each successive change in the projection of demand.

That such projections present certain difficulties to the economist, I am sure, will be regarded by most economists as a very considerable understatement. This is particularly true in the case of projections involving craftsmen, and the number of apprentices who will be needed in the future. He who undertakes such a projection exhibits valor above and beyond the call of duty, and is probably worthy of the Congressional Medal of Honor. Since such recognition is so frequently awarded posthumously, I trust that you will forgive me if I undertake no effort to discuss employment projections per se.

As one who has labored in the area, however, I feel it pertinent to conclude my remarks with certain technical observations concerning the nature and characteristics of the raw materials on which such projections are generally based. Usually such projections posit a given growth rate in the economy, and in annual average employment in an industry or occupation. Retirement and death rates are applied to annual average employment as of the base period, and the number of replacements needed to maintain existing levels of employment are calculated. To the estimated number of

replacements, there is then added an allowance for growth. The aggregate of these two factors constitutes total projected demand for labor in the subject industry or occupation.

While it is customary to criticize and to warn that such projections reflect, to some degree at least, the judgment of the economist, I confess that I do not share in this caveat. Inevitably, every projection involves judgment. If I decide to walk across the street—even though an automobile a half block away is proceeding in my direction at the rate of 15 miles per hour—I am staking my life on my judgment as to its trajectory and my reflexes.

When we make projections affecting other people and their livelihoods, in a democratic society we feel obliged to minimize judgment and maximize the use of objective statistical data. It is in this statistical area, I believe, in which we economists—and particularly the economists in universities—regrettably have underplayed our role. One of the most useful functions of the intellectual is that of the critic. And with respect to the statistics concerning employment projections and apprenticeship, I suggest that labor economists have not been as constructively critical of the available data as they might have been. In their zeal to analyze "hot" issues they have neglected to consider the conceptual underpinning of the statistics on which they base their analyses.

One of many glaring examples must suffice for the moment. Annual average employment, as I indicated a moment ago, is generally used as the basis for many employment projections. But precisely what does annual average employment represent? Almost unanimously, this term is taken to mean the average number of people employed during the year, and changes from year

to year are interpreted as changes in the number of employed persons. I suggest that this concept is not just inaccurate, but that this interpretation may materially affect the nature and level of projected employment.

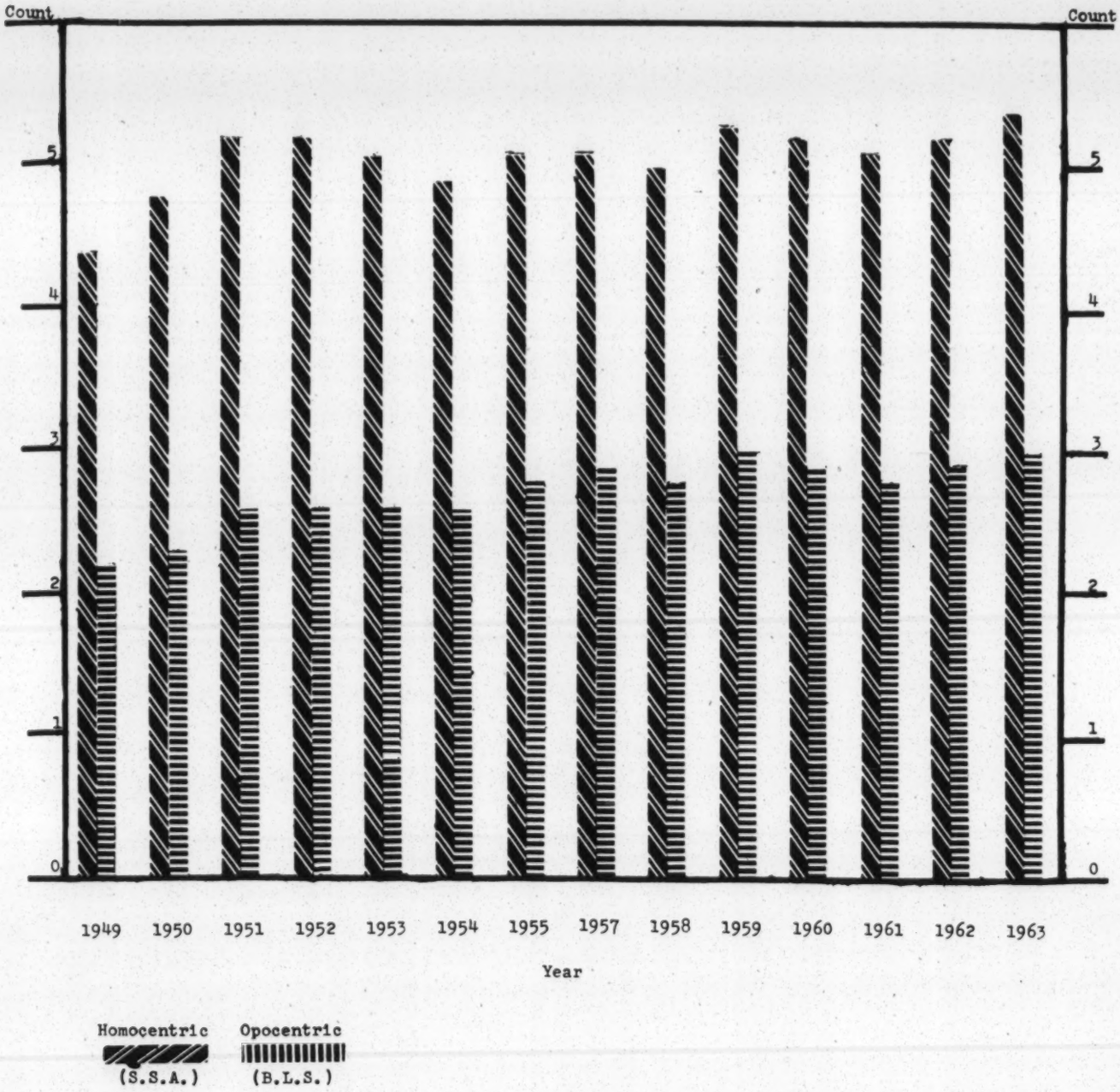
Construction Data

Let us consider, for example, statistics on employment in contract construction, an industry of special significance to the apprenticeship system. Both the Social Security Administration and the Bureau of Labor Statistics prepare such statistics. As shown in Figure 8, however, the level of employment as reflected in the Social Security data is almost twice as high as in the BLS data. Furthermore, there are differences in the direction of year-to-year changes and almost invariably differences in the magnitude of the changes revealed by these data. If both sets of data are accurate, can they both refer to the same industry and the same workers? And, if they do, can they both be accurate?

The answer to both questions, in my judgment, must be "yes." Annual average employment data consist of an average of the 12 monthly reports on the number of workers employed in contract construction. The individual statistics for a given month are therefore homocentric. When averaged for a given year, however, they refer not to the number of individual workers employed during the year, but to the average number of job incumbents, an opocentric or job measure. Since each incumbent can occupy only one job at a given moment of time, conceptually the annual average employment data represent the average number of jobs filled during a given year. The Social Security employment data, on the other hand, are homocentric, unduplicated counts of individual workers employed in contract construction at any time

Figure 8--Opocentric and Homocentric Employment Counts, Contract Construction, 1949-63

(In Millions)



during the course of a calendar year. By dividing the homocentric Social Security data by the opocentric annual average employment statistics released by BLS, we are enabled to derive the ratio of the number of workers to jobs. In fact, this is a turnover rate, a means of calculating the employment "value" of jobs in contract construction. (Table 7)

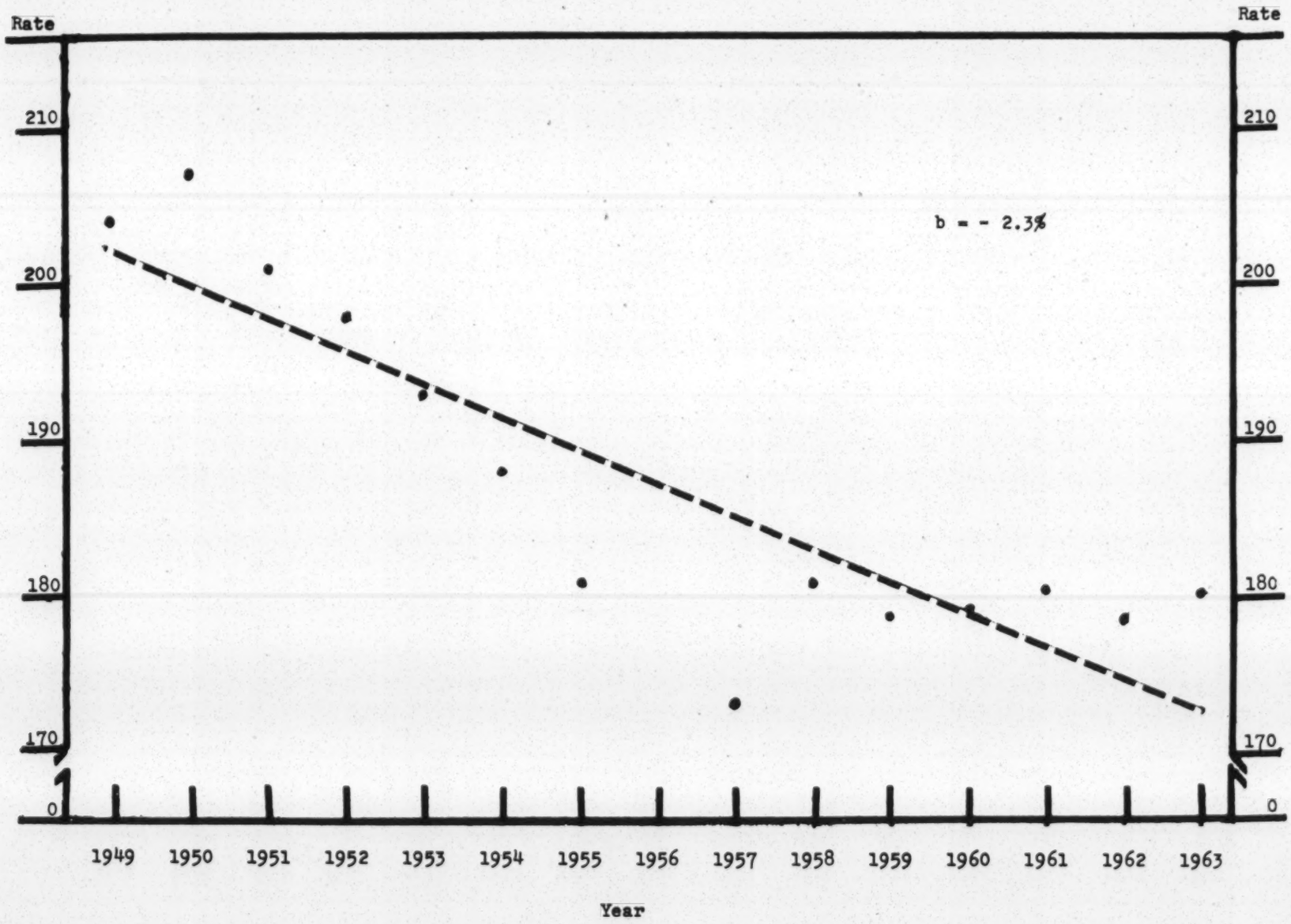
In Figure 9 I have plotted the turnover rates in contract construction. These plot points are summarized in the regression line, which is negatively sloped. The significance of these turnover rates for projections of employment, I believe, is readily apparent. Although the number of jobs--i.e., annual average employment--and the number of workers employed in contract construction have both increased, the job turnover rate has declined. In other words, fewer persons are employed per 100 jobs in the 1960's than were

Table 7--Turnover Rates: Number of Workers Employed Per 100 Jobs, Contract Construction, 1949-63 1/

Year	Employment (in millions)	Jobs	Turnover rate
1949	4.4	2.2	2.0418
1950	4.8	2.3	2.0748
1951	5.2	2.6	2.0167
1952	5.2	2.6	1.9829
1953	5.1	2.6	1.9300
1954	4.9	2.6	1.8840
1955	5.1	2.8	1.8195
1956	---	---	------
1957	5.1	2.9	1.7347
1958	5.0	2.8	1.8114
1959	5.3	3.0	1.7925
1960	5.2	2.9	1.7985
1961	5.1	2.8	1.8094
1962	5.2	2.9	1.7887
1963	5.4	3.0	1.8051

1/ Derived by dividing OASI unduplicated employment figures for the industry division by the BLS annual average employment data. In effect, the turnover rate represents the number of persons employed during the year per 100 jobs.

Figure 9--Trend in Turnover Rates Per 100 Jobs In Contract Construction, 1949-63



employed in the 1950's. Any projection based on annual average employment data, if this conceptual analysis is at all correct, must be interpreted as a judgment concerning the probable average number of jobs which may be anticipated at some future date. From annual average employment statistics we should not expect to make projections of the number of employed persons, unless we assume that turnover, or interindustry mobility, are non-existent. In a free society, of course, such an assumption, fortunately, is quite unrealistic.

These observations should not be construed as indicating that any particular judgments concerning future increased demand for craftsmen or other workers are incorrect. Nor would I have you interpret these remarks as implying that realistic employment projections are impossible to construct. Quite the contrary. Increasingly, I believe, they will be recognized as indispensible tools of manpower policy.

Before confidently asserting that the country will need X number in this or that occupation at some future date--and that the apprenticeship system will contribute only Y percent of anticipated demand--I suggest that it would be well if economists examine the conceptual bases of the statistics which enter into their judgments. If, for example, we assume that the trend in the employment value of jobs in contract construction continues downward, a projected increase in annual average employment of 10 percent might represent an increase in demand for individual homocentric workers of only 8 percent, or perhaps 6 percent.

Conceivably, too, recognition of the effects of job turnover rates--i.e., what I call the employment "value" of jobs--might influence some of our evaluations of the American apprenticeship system, and of the difficult

function it undertakes to perform.

For in the final analysis, we ask of that system that it undertake to train a sufficient number of young workers on the job at present in order to assure a supply of adequately trained craftsmen to meet future needs. And, frequently, we ask that such employment be afforded young people at a time when unemployment is high and demand for labor--particularly for untrained young people--may be quite low. And so long as employers are expected to pay wages to their employees in a sometimes depressed present--no matter how stringent may be the labor shortages of the future--the economic problems of apprenticeship training will lend themselves to no easy solution, nor, I suspect, to any merely facile formula devised by the mind of man or the ingenuity of the economist.

Apprenticeship

12-14-66 No. 586

NEW ENGLAND BUSINESS REVIEW*

In recent years employers across the Nation have complained of their inability to fill certain skilled craftsmen jobs such as machinists and toolmakers. Moreover, the demand for workers with craft skills is expected to continue growing both in the Nation and in New England.

Many commentators on this situation have laid the blame for the shortage on the nation-wide decline in apprenticeship training. An investigation of this type of training indicates that many of its requirements are deterrents to the employer giving the training as well as to the workers entering apprenticeship. If the program is to meet the nation's growing needs, many changes are necessary. This article examines the current state of apprenticeship training in the region and the Nation and makes some proposals for strengthening the program.

APPRENTICESHIP DEFINED

The United States Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training defines formal apprenticeship training as combining on-the-job learning experiences with classroom study of related technical aspects. Apprenticeship is usually distinguished from other on-the-job training programs by the longer duration of the training period and by the formality of the arrangement.

Apprenticeship programs recognized by Federal and State governments generally contain provisions for the following:

1. A starting age--usually not less than 16 years.
2. A schedule of work processes to be taught--generally lasting 2,000 or more hours.
3. Related school instruction--usually at least 144 hours of instruction each year.
4. A progressively increasing schedule of wages.
5. Proper supervision of on-the-job training with adequate training facilities.

The discussion here is concerned with this type of apprenticeship training. It includes considerably more than programs registered with the U.S. Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training since only about two-thirds of all bona fide apprentices are so registered.

THE EXTENT OF APPRENTICESHIP

IN THE NATION

It is estimated that in 1962 only about 250,000 workers were taking apprenticeship training. This is a small number in relation to the number of existing craftsmen jobs, some 10 million. Between 65 and 70 percent of these apprentices were in registered programs. Building, metal, and printing trades accounted for almost nine-tenths of the registered apprentices.

Apprenticeship in recent years has been relatively unimportant as a means of reaching the journeyman's status. According to a United States Department of Labor estimate, a large proportion of the Nation's craftsmen, 59 percent, have had no formal training (school, apprenticeship, or Armed Forces).

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*The New England Business Review is produced in the Research Department. Edwin F. Estle was primarily responsible for the articles, "Next Year's Capital Outlays to Rise" and "Apprenticeship Training." Much of the material for the latter was drawn from his 1966 Princeton Ph.D. dissertation, "On-the-job Training: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis." rider

Most craftsmen have reached the journeymen level through on-the-job experience and informal training. Moreover, less than three-fifths of those who enter apprenticeship training, based on data for registered apprentices, complete their training. Past studies of apprentices who have discontinued their training indicate that they do so for a variety of reasons such as need for more money, opportunity to receive journeyman's wage, the desire for steady work, or disliking or being unsuited to the trade.

Available data on the number of apprentices, which are not complete counts but are thought to represent the trend, indicate that apprenticeship training has been declining over the last decade and a half. The United States Censuses of Population indicate that the number of apprentices declined 27 percent between 1950 and 1960. Over this same period the number of craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers rose by an eighth.

Counts of registered apprentices show the same type of movement over the 1950-60 period, a decline of 26 percent. However, the decline has been arrested since 1960. At the beginning of 1965 registered apprentices were down less than 1 percent from 1960 levels. Between 1960 and 1962 the number of apprentices fell by almost a tenth, but then the number increased to 1965 by almost the same proportion.

In New England

The amount of apprenticeship training in New England has shown much the same movement as in the Nation as a whole. Between 1950 and 1960 according to the U. S. Census of Population, the number of apprentices in the region fell by 41 percent. At the same time, the number of skilled workers in the region increased 7 percent. Registered apprentices show a 35 percent decline over this period. Since 1960 registered apprentices have decreased 4 percent. As in the Nation, an increase has occurred since 1962.

At the close of 1965 there were between 16 and 17 thousand apprentices in New England, if the national relationship of registered to total apprentices holds in the region. This is less than 3 percent of the existing craftsmen jobs in the region. Registered apprentices in New England are concentrated in the building, metal, and printing trades in about the same proportion as in the Nation.

The Training Conditions for Apprentices

Duration of Training

The duration of apprenticeship training varies from 2 to 6 years depending upon the trade. On the average, however, a program lasts 4 years.

Employers report that the length of these programs is a major deterrent to inducing young workers to become apprentices. It is also a deterrent to the employer instituting an apprenticeship program, because of the difficulty of forecasting labor needs as much as 4 years in the future.

Wage of Apprentices

An interview survey of 23 firms in the Greater Boston Area found that the average start wage of trainees for apprentice-type training (training lasting more than 2 years) was 70 percent of the journeyman wage. Typically, the apprentice's wage is raised about 5 percent each year until the journeyman level is reached.

In 1959, according to the 1960 U. S. Census of Population, apprentices who worked 50-9 weeks that year had an annual wage income of $4,278--that was 74.7 percent as great as the median wage of a craftsman. As Table 1 indicates, this proportion varied considerably by occupation.

The apprentice's wage level would appear to be relatively low, for laborers earn about the same wage and the average operative earned about 6 percent more when differences in weekly hours worked were taken into account. Such an adjustment is necessary since apprentices are normally not allowed to work overtime if it interferes with their related classroom instruction.

Thus, it would appear that the apprentice could have earned as much or more without entering training. These comparisons are misleading, however, for they do not take into account the differences in age and educational level, as well as the occupational distribution of the two groups. As Table 2 shows, the average apprentice is much younger, but has completed more years of school.

Adjustments for age and educational level show the apprentice to be earning well above the level of operatives and laborers, his alternative occupations without training. Apprentices earn about 17 percent more than operatives when these adjustments are made. (The differential is much greater in comparison with laborers).

Moreover, the available data indicate that apprentices tend to have higher earnings than operatives when comparisons are made by occupation. For workers age 18-2 years--the average age of apprentices--the median earnings of apprentices exceed those of operatives in 31 of 42 occupational groups.

In summary, the worker tends to improve his earnings position while taking apprenticeship training. This improvement, however, may not generally be recognized, since apprenticeship wage levels are usually cited in terms of journeyman levels.

School Instruction

In addition to the training received on-the-job, apprentices are required to attend classes each week, usually on Saturdays, for a total of 144 hours each year. Employers are assessed for part of the cost of running these classes. This required time spent in school also deters some workers from entering training.

The school instruction is administered and supervised by the state and local boards responsible for vocational education. This classroom training is financed through Federal, state, and local funds.

Selection, Supervision

Registered apprenticeship programs are supervised by joint apprenticeship committees composed of employer and employee representatives.

In unionized crafts apprentice candidates are selected by the union and the supervisory committee passes on their suitability. The apprentice's supervisor sends monthly reports to the union as to the apprentice's progress in training. In addition, in some instances the apprentice must complete monthly lesson assignments and forward them to the union for grading.

In the absence of a union the employer tends to select apprentice candidates from among his work force on the basis of their past job record and desire to obtain the craft skill.

Redirection

Recent interviews with employers disclose that they have, in some cases, shortened the duration of apprenticeship training and raised the apprentice's wage to induce more workers to enter training. They contend that workers can be trained in a shorter time and with less classroom instruction than established programs now require. Moreover, they maintain that this does not reduce the trained worker's productivity level.

A Trainee's Output Level

Some evidence indicates that in many types of training the output of a trainee is near that of a fully-trained worker for much of the training period.

One representative of the United States Department of Labor stated in testimony before the United States Senate that, "In general, it is thought that an apprentice constitutes a 'cost' during his first six months of employment and training; however, thereafter he earns roughly the equivalent of his pay by the work he performs."

Another indication of the level of a trainee's output is found in a detailed study of productivity records of groups learning to assemble pumps. It showed that during the learning period, from the start of the job until the standard work pace was reached, the average productivity was about 85 percent.

Moreover, if the ratio of an apprentice's to a journeyman's wage can be considered as approximating the trainee's productivity in relation to that of a journeyman, the apprentice is producing at about 60 to 70 percent of the journeyman's output level. For this is the average wage ratio found in formal apprenticeship programs.

Comments of a construction firm interviewed in the Boston area supported the above evidence. The firm maintained, and felt that most contractors would agree, that an apprentice bricklayer after 6 months of training can do just as good a job as a journeyman, for all except the very special skills which must be taught in the school.

This firm's jobs were mostly repair work and required none of these special skills. A bricklayer is normally apprenticed for 4 years.

Shortened Training Periods

Employers, recognizing the type of productivity relationship described above, have shortened training periods to obtain apprentices. For example, another firm in Boston's construction industry has cut the training period for carpenters from the traditional 5 years down to 3. This firm has also raised the starting wage of apprentices by 100 percent, up to the starting wage of a laborer in the firm.

Moreover, it does not require the apprentices to attend school. These apprentices are slowly integrated into the job, but they can perform some tasks satisfactorily from the beginning.

Another Boston firm, this time in the printing industry, has been able to shorten the length of training of compositors from the traditional 6 years down to as few as 2 years, depending upon the individual trainee's ability.

Other firms in the transportation equipment, machinery, and metals industries were found to vary the duration of their training programs for such occupations as machinists and toolmakers with the qualifications of the individual trainee.

Training Costs

A previous survey by this Bank in 1962 of New England manufacturers found the average length of apprenticeship training to be almost 3 years, with the average outlay for each trained worker close to $5,000. 1/ This, of course, is a substantial outlay, particularly because the firm can have no assurance that an apprentice will stay on after training. Therefore, it is in the firm's interest to hold training time down to the minimum necessary to obtain satisfactory performance.

1/- Edwin F. Estle, "Industrial Investment in Manpower," New England Business Review, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, February 1964.

A followup survey in 1965 of firms investigated in 1962 found that the length of the average apprenticeship course had been reduced over the period, from 2½ years in 1962 to 2 years in 1965.

The interview survey of Boston firms shed more light on the nature of training costs. Most of the firms pay the instructor the standard wage he receives as a journeyman. Two firms pay instructors more than their usual wage; in one case an additional 10 percent and in the other an additional 10 cents an hour.

The firms had little information on the nonwage costs of training. They were about equally divided on the question of whether equipment, maintenance costs, and wastage of materials created expenses or caused no appreciable change. In some firms material damaged by the trainee can be salvaged, such as through remelting, while in other firms damaged material has to be discarded.

The lack of concrete cost information implies that giving training is more of a necessity than an option to the firm. Moreover, in most instances the number being trained in any particular occupation in the firm was found to be quite small. Even using broad job classifications such as machinist and tool-maker, the average number trained per firm in a job classification was 10 workers. This, of course, would tend to obscure the cost of training in relation to other types of costs.

The Desirability of Apprenticeship

Certainly the best type of development for occupations requiring a high skill level combines theory with controlled on-the-job experience. It is in the public's interest, as well as the individual's, to develop a supply of skilled manpower adequate for the economcy's advancing technology.

This may not, however, be the same as the individual employer's interest. The employer does want to obtain qualified labor, but he also has to be concerned with labor cost. Thus, training apprentices may be in his long-run interest, but represents an additional financial burden in the short run. Since workers can move freely, an employer may invest money--particularly in the earlier stages of training--with no certainty that he will recover his costs.

The traditional pattern of apprenticeship training appears to be breaking down into a shorter, less formal type of on-the-job training that is tailored to the specific skill needs of the firm. This need not be an undesirable development, if supplemental training programs are available to enable the worker to extend and perfect his skill. Indeed, with the rapid pace of technical development, the worker's attainment of journeyman status does not negate the necessity of systematically upgrading his skill.

Moreover, many crafts, such as the repair trades, which are appropriate for apprenticesh have never had large programs. Skill improvement is desirable and needed in these groups.

A Proposal

Further changes in craft training may be needed. These would involve a continuation of on-the-job instruction provided by industry but only to the extent of enhancing the worker's value to the firm. The theoretical school type of training would become broader in coverage and continue throughout a person's attachment to the workforce.

A program could perhaps be established whereby every firm contributes a small sum, dependent on the size of its workforce, to operate the craft schools. (Great Britain has recently instituted a system of levies and grants which might be considered.

All craft workers, rather than just apprentices, would be encouraged to avail themselves of this instruction at night, on weekends, and perhaps during the workweek if the firm finds it possible to release the worker for a few hours. In current terminology, these craft schools would provide courses at the pre-apprenticeship, apprenticeship, and journeyman levels, as well as courses for reviewing and updating of existing skills.

Workers would receive certificates upon successful completion of a course and have this noted on their job records. These certificates could be given some sort of designation that would indicate their level of difficulty -- perhaps simply a number from 1 up to the highest level in each skill, for example, toolmaker 1, toolmaker 2, etc. The firm could then take this school training into account when hiring new workers and revising pay levels, rewarding workers for attaining various levels of school training.

Workers could continue to participate in the school program during periods of unemployment and when they shift places of employment.

Some system of close contact between employers and the schools would have to be established to insure that the content of the school courses met the needs of industry. Each industry would have to select representatives, perhaps through the industry's trade association, that would act in an advisory capacity to the school authorities.

Likewise, it would be desirable to include representatives from employee organizations to make sure that workers were also getting the training they desired. In this revised system, the present Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training and the apprenticeship divisions of the state departments of labor might have as their role the overseeing of the relationship between the schools, workers, and employers.

They would endeavor to see that contact between the groups was maintained to ensure that the theoretical instruction remained related to actual job practice. They could also promote the school training among workers and encourage them to take advantage of the school programs.

This is not a radical departure from the situation that now exists, except that the training would be broader and would be a continuous process. Moreover, a uniform standard would be provided for judging the competency of craft workers. The present system's standards are not uniform, and have resulted in registered and unregistered apprentices and journeymen who have completed only a portion of their apprenticeship or none at all.

Need for Craft Workers

A more systematic method of training craft workers is needed simply because the demand for craft skills is expected to continue advancing. The U.S. Department of Labor expects the need for craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers to increase in the Nation by a fifth during this decade. Mechanics and repairmen, building trades craftsmen, and metal workers are expected to account for most of this growth.

In New England the need for craftsmen is expected to increase by 11 percent over the 1960's according to projections by this Bank. The demand will be particularly strong in construction and the durable goods sector of manufacturing.

The time has come to recognize that training has a beginning but no ending throughout an individual's worklife, and that training should be available to all who desire it on an equal basis. Only in this way can our workforce keep abreast of technological developments.

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EMPLOYMENT SERIES

SRC Apprenticeship

* COMMUNITY PROGRAMS FOR EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

experience report 106

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
U. S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

(SRZ) Training

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Research Program on Unemployment
and the American Economy

THE COMPARATIVE EXPERIENCE WITH RETRAINING PROGRAMMES IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE

by

MARGARET S. GORDON

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NEWS from the AFL-CIO

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LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE PROGRAM 43, SERIES 6

FOR RELEASE, A.M. PAPERS, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1967

An AFL-CIO spokesman said today that poor information about apprenticeship opportunities in the building trades keeps many minority group youngsters from applying for them.

Donald Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights, said that a "unique program" has been developed by the Workers Defense League, the A. Philip Randolph Education Trust and the United States Department of Labor, to "meet the problem of finding applicants for skilled trades entry jobs, both in apprenticeships and otherwise, especially in minority group communities."

The pilot project to help prepare interested youngsters for apprenticeship entry tests in construction, manufacturing, utilities and trade and service, has the full cooperation of the AFL-CIO and its Building and Construction Trades Department.

"There is a tremendous lag of knowledge and understanding between what is available -- what the policy is -- what laws are available to back this up -- and the actual advice and information that the youngsters have," Slaiman said.

School counsellors often fail to advise students where and how to apply for available jobs, he said, or tell them, "'don't bother, I know that you are wasting your time.'" His statements came during the network radio interview, LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE.

Slaiman said that requirements for entry into apprenticeships -- usually a high school education -- are realistic.

"Skill requirements have been rising," he said, and the "probability is that if an applicant were a dropout before he finished high school, he wouldn't end up making a journeyman -- he wouldn't keep up with the demands of the trades."

Reporters questioning Slaiman on the AFL-CIO produced public service program, a weekly feature on the Mutual Broadcasting System, were Stanley Levey, labor correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspapers, and Alan Adams, Washington correspondent for Business Week magazine.

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(Text of LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE is available at AFL-CIO Public Relations Department, Room 405, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.)

LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE
Mutual Broadcasting System

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1967
Program 43, Series 6

SUBJECT : Apprenticeships -- New Skills for New Workers

GUEST : Donald Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights

PANEL : Alan Adams, Washington correspondent for Business Week magazine
Stanley Levey, labor correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspapers

MODERATOR: Harry W. Flannery

FLANNERY: LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE. Welcome to another edition of LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE, a public affairs program brought to you by the AFL-CIO. LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE brings together leading AFL-CIO representatives and ranking members of the press. Today's guest is Donald Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights.

Under the terms of a recent agreement, the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Education Trust will join with the United States Department of Labor in a program to prepare young men for apprenticeship tests in four metropolitan areas. The program, which has the full cooperation of the AFL-CIO, will prepare men for apprenticeships in construction, manufacturing, utilities, and trade and service. Here to question Mr. Slaiman about the project and other civil rights matters, are Stanley Levey, labor correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspapers, and Alan Adams, Washington correspondent for Business Week magazine. Your moderator, Harry W. Flannery.

And now, Mr. Adams, I believe you have the first question?

ADAMS: Mr. Slaiman, the AFL-CIO has had a long-time anti-discrimination policy, both within the international unions and within the federation. Can you give us an estimate of how successful that policy has been, particularly in the more troublesome areas of building trades unions and apprenticeship training programs?

SLAIMAN: Yes. Well, success has to be measured in a number of ways.

As far as policy is concerned, not only the AFL-CIO, but our affiliated unions -- including those in the building trades -- have adopted anti-discrimination policies.

Not only have they adopted them by voting for them at AFL-CIO conventions, but in the apprenticeship program, every one of the building trades unions had agreed to cooperate, in compliance with anti-discrimination regulations brought in by the Department of Labor and the Bureau of Apprenticeships and Training.

The effectiveness of these regulations is hard to determine. One reason is that there are very few complaints of violations. The real problem we have is to find out whether there are people applying and being treated in a non-discriminatory manner, and to determine whether this results in actually increasing numbers of minority group applicants in the programs.

ADAMS: Well, Mr. Slaiman, there may not be many complaints within the building trades, or to the building trades unions, but there seems to be a general disturbance within the civil rights groups about lack of Negro membership in building trades unions and in apprenticeship programs.

SLAIMAN: Yes, that is just my point. There is a lot of suspicion and a lot of agitation -- a little less than there was a few years ago.

But, what has been missing is actual applicants through the programs. That is, one looks at a particular trade in a particular city and finds no -- or few -- Negro applicants. And you ask, "How come, in the year 1967, there aren't any, if there is no longer discrimination or there hasn't been?"

The answer of the trades, and it happens over and over again, is that we haven't been discriminating -- we haven't turned anybody down. There have been no qualified applicants coming in.

LEVEY: Well, isn't that in part, Mr. Slaiman, a result of sort of a policy of self-elimination by Negroes and Puerto Ricans, who have gotten the word that they are not welcome in the building trades?

SLAIMAN: This is partially true -- that is, people still don't apply for jobs, because they feel it would be a waste of time. It's not merely self-exclusion -- the whole of our society contributes to this. That is, for example, how do people find out about careers?

Youngsters have school counsellors. If school counsellors don't advise them where to apply and what's available, but to the contrary, say "don't bother, I know that you are wasting your time," youngsters are not going to apply.

In other words, there is a tremendous lag of knowledge and understanding between what is available -- what the policy is -- what laws are available to back this up -- and the actual advice and information that the youngsters have.

LEVEY: Well, isn't part of the answer also, Mr. Slaiman, that the qualifications and requirements of many of the building trades are really not geared to the problem that we confront in trying to get Negroes and Puerto Ricans into those building trades?

I have got in front of me here a list of the qualifications required for apprenticeship opportunities in the building and construction trades unions in Washington, D.C. and vicinity. Just listen to some of these qualifications that a young man has to have. Education --

high school diploma. Tests -- United States Employment Service aptitude test. Personal interview with joint apprenticeship training board. That's for electrical workers.

For glazers, high school diploma. For iron workers, high school diploma. For lathers, high school diploma.

Isn't that an unrealistic requirement, particularly when one of the problems confronting Negro kids is that they are dropouts -- they don't stay in school, and couldn't conceivably begin to meet this requirement?

SLAIMAN: No, they are not unrealistic. The fact is, in skilled trades, the skill requirements have been rising. It is not true that no Negro kids can qualify. In Washington, D.C., in 1966 -- the first eleven months of 1966 -- 59% of the youngsters who have come through the Apprentice Information Center at the United States Employment Service -- 204 to be exact, Negro youngsters qualified under those qualifications and are working as apprentices in the building trades in Washington, D.C. They are apprentice electricians, iron workers, steam fitters, plumbers, etcetera.

It is true that a dropout is not going to make an apprenticeship program unless he has educational catchup. But it is also true that if he did get in the probability is that if he were a dropout before he finished high school he wouldn't end up making a journeyman -- he wouldn't keep up with the demands of the trades.

LEVEY: But, aren't those just exactly the kids who are facing the most difficult employment problems? For the educated Negro boy or Puerto Rican boy, the sky is the limit. There are offices, service industries and educational institutions that are just dying to get kids like that.

SLAIMAN: It is true that the highly skilled trades are not particularly strong opportunity areas for the school dropout. It is also true that the bright minority group high school graduate is going into other fields. This is why, in my opinion, although there are thousands of youngsters who neither go to college nor are dropouts they don't automatically get to the door of the trades which has been opened. Somebody has to find them and bring them to that door.

ADAMS: In that connection, Mr. Slaiman, I would like to ask you a bit about this new training program that the Labor Department and the Workers' Defense League is working out. Apparently, it is aimed at finding some 375 apprentices for the building trades unions in four major areas. And I gather they are going to have to interview something like 4000 Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minorities for this project.

Is this a potentially successful plan, do you think? Is this one that can work in finding school dropouts and others, and preparing them for building trades tests?

FLANNERY: Mr. Slaiman, before you begin to answer that, will you tell us what the Workers' Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Education Trust are?

SLAIMAN: The Workers' Defense League is a civil liberties organization, whose primary work has been done in getting rights for unions in the past, where they didn't have their rights under the law.

The A. Philip Randolph Education Trust is the tax-exempt arm, so to speak, of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, which is an organization headed by Bayard Rustin, that has labor, liberal and civil rights people on its board. It has a number of function and does cooperative work between the civil rights movement, the labor movement and liberals.

This particular program is a unique one, and was developed to try to meet the problem of finding applicants for skilled trades entry jobs, both in apprenticeships and otherwise, especially in the minority group communities. It has already been highly successful in New York City.

Mr. Adams, in answer to your questions, the program that you refer to has been operating in New York City for about two years on a small foundation grant. It has a staff of three young Negroes. One of them was the first Negro graduate of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. They have been finding, not school dropouts, but Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters who are not going to go to college and helping them apply -- getting the information where the openings are, when and how you apply -- and then giving them some preparatory work, so that they can compete successfully in the entry examinations. The numbers you mentioned are rather general goals that the Labor Department announced and aren't specific numbers for any of the cities.

As a matter of fact, in New York City, which is one of the cities that the grant will cover, they have placed many more than the assigned number in the past couple of years. They have placed about 250 Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters in apprenticeship programs there.

LEVEY: In the programs? How many have been placed on jobs?

SLAIMAN: All of those placed in the programs are on jobs. That is, when a youngster is accepted into an apprenticeship program, he is working -- he goes to school one night a week. This differs from getting people qualified and on the list. Once a man is accepted in a program, he has a job, or a series of jobs.

ADAMS: How many, would you say, Mr. Slaiman -- how many minority apprentices are there in New York City in the building trades today?

SLAIMAN: I don't have those figures. There are more than the Workers' Defense League program has placed, because some have come in from other sources.

LEVEY: What would the order of magnitude be? Would it be a couple of hundred -- a couple of thousand?

SLAIMAN: It would be more than a couple of hundred because the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 3 alone, in the past few years has taken in a great many.

LEVEY: Well, that could give a lopsided effect to the totals.

SLAIMAN: But there are a fair number in several other trades. Now, I could give you more specific figures about Washington, D.C. where the Information Center has performed some of the functions of this Workers' Defense League program.

Here you have had in the past few years, about a dozen electrical apprentices, eight or nine steam fitters, eight plumbers -- no, there are more than eight plumbers, there are about a dozen plumbers -- a number of iron workers, larger numbers of carpenters and bricklayers.

Now, in the carpenters and bricklayers you have larger numbers, because with a different competitive position, the trades agreed to develop pre-apprenticeship training programs which would bring in under-qualified youngsters or school dropouts, who didn't meet the usual high high school requirements. In these programs, where those youngsters filled out the first year of pre-apprenticeship -- that is, actually working on a job -- they then came in as first year apprentices.

LEVEY: Mr. Slaiman, those numbers are impressive, but they strike me, as an outsider who knows a little bit about this field, as being pitifully small. Do you think that the amount of money and effort that is being put into these programs, like the Workers' Defense League program in New York and various other foundation-sponsored programs, are really producing the kind of results that justify those programs?

SLAIMAN: Mr. Levey, I would say two things. One, the number, in magnitude of job creation -- new jobs for minority groups -- is small, because the number of openings in apprenticeships generally is small.

I think that many people in the Negro community and among the public in general, envision apprenticeships as the answer to the total employment problem of minority group youngsters. Of course, when actual numbers that are significant are produced, they seem pitifully far from that goal.

But, while the actual numbers of youngsters are relatively small, because apprenticeship is a small area of the job market, they are very significant. That is, it is significant that youngsters get into skilled trades -- not just production jobs, but skilled trades that Negroes were not in before.

It's important not only psychologically and symbolically, but it's important as an entry into all sections of the American labor force.

For instance, even if it were only a thousand in a year throughout the country -- one thousand youngsters getting into programs to prepare them to be electricians and plumbers and pipe fitters and iron workers, it would be significant for a number of reasons.

First of all, these skilled craftsmen today are getting opportunities to go into business for themselves and into supervisory jobs. A youngster graduating from a skilled trades apprenticeship -- in the higher skilled trades, mechanical trades -- on a very high average will, within two or three years become a construction superintendent. They are more skilled than the old journeymen who came into the trades 20 years ago. Down the road many of them will become contractors in their own right. Entry into this area of the American labor force, I think, is very important, not only for the individual youngsters, but for the minority group community as a whole.

ADAMS: Well, you cite, Mr. Slaiman, several cities -- New York, Washington, D. C. Are there similar successes, or even partial successes, in other cities around the country?

SLAIMAN: Mr. Adams, I know of a number of cities where there has been movement, but not as good as New York and Washington.

Philadelphia, where the Reverend Sullivan's Opportunities Industrialization Center has been getting cooperation from the trades, just informed me in the past period 65 Negro youngsters have entered construction apprentices.

Chicago, where the Information Center and some other out-reach programs have been entered into in December 1965 to stimulate the growth of minority group penetration in the trades, has been, in some ways, disappointing. But, it has produced about 100 new Negro apprentices.

ADAMS: Mr. Slaiman, there are in the building trades, currently, about three million craftsmen. And, there is also an unemployment level of about 8 percent now. What is the potential employment of Negroes, would you say, in the building trades, if these programs are successful?

SLAIMAN: Now, the three million figure is for all workers in the building trades. That includes hundreds of thousands of laborers among which there are a large number of Negroes already. Many of these people don't go through the apprenticeship program. They have been in these trades before, and so forth.

The number of apprentices currently in the building trades -- in all 50 states -- is about one hundred and a few odd-thousand. So, the number of apprentices doesn't range in the three million mark, and the possibilities of Negro employment in the trades is not limited to entry into apprenticeship, although it is the best avenue at the present time.

I say that because of the unemployment figure you mentioned. Now this unemployment isn't evenly distributed. Eight percent doesn't mean that in every city there is eight percent unemployment. In Los Angeles and San Francisco it is nearer to 20 percent. In Chicago it is down to maybe two or three percent. So the condition of the local labor market has a lot to do with new entries into the trades.

LEVEY: Mr. Slaiman, I think the question that has been bothering me, and that I have been sort of approaching in talking to you is, in terms of the real seriousness of the problem -- the civil rights problem and the labor union relationship to it and Negroes and so on -- do you think that it is proper that the solution for placing Negroes in building and construction trades jobs should, in the last analysis, rest with the unions?

In other words, should they have the final say so?

I know that theoretically, there is an apprenticeship program that involves the employers and so on. But a lot of us who have worked on this know that in the last analysis, it is the unions which decide who gets into the apprenticeship programs. Isn't this problem just too serious for that kind of old fashioned approach?

SLAIMAN: Mr. Levey, I don't even agree with your facts, let alone your possible conclusions.

I was at an apprenticeship conference in Wisconsin put on by the University of Wisconsin. There were two papers delivered by people at the University who had gone around to various small cities in the state. They found, actually, in more cases than not, that in the smaller cities it was the employer who not only selected the apprentices, but also brought in the apprenticeship applicants to the joint apprenticeship committees.

Now, it is true that in many places, especially in the larger cities, the union has the greatest interest in who comes into the apprenticeship program and the number of apprentices, because it affects the jobs and skill levels and so forth. But this is not the only entrance of people into the construction industry. So, it isn't really accurate to say that the union has everything to say about which people come in. We feel that the employers also have an obligation -- though they very often don't meet it -- to bring applicants to joint apprenticeship committees. They just pass off all the problems onto the unions -- you know, "passing the buck."

We do feel that the building trades unions -- and I'm not speaking of every local -- are assuming responsibility in this area. The Building Trades Department of the AFL-CIO is cooperating with these programs. We feel that when the job of getting people to know how you get into the trades has been done, that this will work in a more satisfactory way.

I'm not speaking only of apprenticeships, now. Very often, there are people who know of some skilled minority group mechanic and think that he can get into a particular union very simply. There too, it is very rare that applicants do come to the union. More often, there is knowledge of somebody who should be available, but in case after case, when the unions have invited people to apply -- and I'm not talking about applying for apprenticeship, but applying as journeymen -- the prospective applicants don't appear. Or, if they do appear, they don't have the qualifications that people thought they had.

Now, there are places where the building trades are out organizing non-union journeymen. In Washington, D. C. they are doing this.

ADAMS: Mr. Slaiman, if I could interrupt at this point -- The AFL-CIO policy, there is no doubt, is an anti-discrimination policy. Its officers have worked hard for this. But, how is this reflected on the local level, particularly in the building trades unions? There has been an explanation that the internationals can't order the local leaders to follow these policies, and in some cases they do not. Are the locals complying?

SLAIMAN: Well, this we could have as a whole half-hour program. I would have to take up our efforts to get compliance -- efforts to cooperate with the federal and state agencies.

I want to repeat what I said earlier: In spite of all the publicity, the facts are that with both federal and state agencies, the number of complaints that come in that we can work on is very small in the construction industry.

ADAMS: Well, what powers do you have to police?

SLAIMAN: Well, we are not policemen, but we do have effective ways of getting our international unions to work with their locals -- to encourage their locals to comply. And, we have done this in case after case.

FLANNERY: What kind of doers do you have? You said you have effective means of doing this.

SLAIMAN: Well, all complaints that come in to us are referred to the international unions. Most of the internationals have assigned an officer, on President Meany's request, to work on these things. We get investigations of the problem. We meet with them on what they find. Where they find, or we think the facts are that there has been discriminatory action, we get them to do something about it -- to resolve the matter in a satisfactory manner.

FLANNERY: Thank you, gentlemen. Today's guest on LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE was Donald Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights. Representing the press were Alan Adams, Washington correspondent for Business Week magazine, and Stanley Levey, labor correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspapers. This is your moderator, Harry W. Flannery, inviting you to listen again next week. LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE is a public service of the AFL-CIO, produced in cooperation with the Mutual Radio Network.

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EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

information

from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

1800 G St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE FEB 16 1967 Phone: 343-5621

Via from JN

Apprenticeship

The first compulsory federal reporting systems on minority participation in apprenticeship programs and in labor unions were proposed today by Stephen N. Shulman, Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The proposed EEO-2 Apprenticeship Information Report, which is being sponsored jointly by the EEOC and the Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, and the EEO-3 Labor Organization Information Report will be discussed at a public hearing on Tuesday, March 7, 1967.

The hearing will begin at 10 A.M., in Conference Room B, Departmental Auditorium, Constitution Avenue, between 12th and 14th Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C. Comments and testimonies will be welcome from all interested parties. The reporting systems will become effective only after approval by the Bureau of the Budget.

Form EEO-2 will be filed annually by August 31, by all joint labor-management apprenticeship committees in all industries, and by employers and labor organizations in the construction industry which operate apprenticeship programs other than labor-management programs, in accord with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Form EEO-3 will be filed annually by October 31, by labor organizations subject to Title VII. The record keeping systems necessary for compiling the reports must be instituted several months prior to the filing dates.

The information on apprenticeship -- with separate reports for each trade and craft -- will include the number of apprentices by sex and selected minority groups (Negro, Spanish American, American Indian and Oriental). Detailed information about standards and selection procedures will also be required.

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EEOC

The labor organization form will feature a breakdown by sex and minority group for the total membership, persons who applied for membership and referral during a three-month period beginning no earlier than May 1 and ending no later than September 30, and those who were referred and hired during that period. Only unions with hiring halls or referral arrangements are required to file these statistics.

All unions subject to Title VII, however, must file EEO-3, answering questions about discriminatory or anti-discriminatory measures of their constitutions, collective bargaining agreements or membership divisions.

Coverage under Title VII for the EEO-2 and EEO-3 forms includes all employers with 50 or more employees, and all labor organizations with 50 or more members, and those which operate hiring halls or referral arrangements, regardless of size. All joint labor-management apprenticeship committees that represent one or more employers or labor organizations subject to Title VII are also required to file reports.

The Commission suggests five methods of getting the necessary data on race, ethnic group and sex: existing records; visual survey; tally from personal knowledge; self identification; and, if all other methods fail to give an accurate account, by direct inquiry. The requirement for recording such data for the EEO forms supersedes all state and local laws which may prohibit such inquiries or record keeping.

Copies of the proposed reporting systems are available for inspection at the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives Building, Washington, D. C., and at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Office of Research and Reports, 1800 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Apprenticeship

NEWS from the AFL-CIO

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FOR RELEASE UPON DELIVERY, EXPECTED AT 10:00 A.M.
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1967

Following is the text of an address by AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler before the Seventh Biennial Middle Atlantic States Apprenticeship and Training Conference at the Golden Triangle Motor Hotel, Norfolk, Virginia, on Tuesday, July 11, 1967

It is a pleasure for me to come before your conference and be given this opportunity to meet with many old and new friends from the Middle Atlantic states.

This conference is on problems and accomplishments of apprenticeship and training in the area that runs from Pennsylvania to North Carolina and westward to West Virginia -- six states and the District of Columbia.

We here represent that which is typically American. In these six states there is the industrial north and the rural south; the poverty of Appalachia and the affluence of suburbia; the complex life of megalopolis and the simple existence of the pastoral community. We have "right-to-work" states and free states; runaway plants and responsible firms. We have high quality, efficient apprenticeship programs and jack-of-all-trades handymen. We have stable companies with long histories of industrial peace; we have fly-by-night anti-union operators. They're all here -- a part of the society that we have made, full of promise and beset by problems.

But weighty as the problems may be in these states, our nation, our government, labor and employers are aware of them and are seeking solutions. This fact alone makes solutions possible. This fact alone marks the great progress that we are making in our nation.

Ten days ago I was in another Navy town, Bremerton, Washington, for the commissioning of the USS Samuel Gompers. And during those ceremonies -- while touching on the achievements of Gompers in his lifetime -- those of us present were made aware once again that united pursuit of problems was not a virtue until quite recently. Our nation did not always accept a collective responsibility to its citizens -- nor did many others.

There was a time not long ago when workingmen and their children lived amid wretched slums, disease, ignorance and primitive conditions while the breadwinner suffered the toil and insecurity of the wage system.

That was the depressing environment in which Samuel Gompers lived. And it was in that environment that Gompers and men like him built the first fragile structure that became the American labor movement. They brought together men of differing backgrounds, of divergent ethnic and cultural origins, of many languages and many degrees of skill. They brought together mechanics' societies, fraternal, burial and social groups, workers' lodges and trade unions, and they built the forerunner of today's AFL-CIO.

Gompers and his associates overcame the most burdensome of problems in the face of incalculable odds; and for those problems they did not solve, they provided the machinery whereby succeeding generations could cope with them. Yes, we still have slums, disease and illiteracy, but they are giving away -- and rapidly -- to a united onslaught, made up mostly of organizations represented here today.

An important weapon in that fight -- yesterday and today -- has been apprenticeship and training. Apprenticeship programs are of themselves evidence of industrial peace and mutual understanding. They represent well-paid workers, an assurance of security in liberal fringe benefit programs and protectives against erosion of wages or work standards.

In this atmosphere -- this environment -- workers for generation on generation have found the means for a better life, a new life, a secure life for themselves and their children after them.

The problems of workingmen -- of the poor and their children -- are not new to the apprenticeship programs. There has been, however, a great deal of attention paid to these programs since enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, with its guarantee of equal opportunity in employment.

In the two years that this title of the law has been in effect, enemies of unions, panacea-peddlers, ill-informed politicians and ax-grinders have fallen upon the apprenticeship programs with glee. The selfish unions, they say, refuse to allow Negroes to become apprentices. Unions, they say, keep the doors closed, stifling the Negro's attempt to help himself out of poverty. Such criticism makes a lot of headlines, but I say this is sheer, unadorned bunk.

I want to say here and now that the American labor movement need never be defensive nor ashamed of the great good the union-employer apprentice programs have done, both as the training ground for millions of youths from all backgrounds and as the means of breaking the poverty cycle for thousands of youths of minority groups today and in the future.

Until America's schools improve the quality of education for Negroes and other minorities and raise these youths' qualifications -- and send far more on to college -- the union-employer apprentice programs will serve as the single greatest road to success and security for Negro youths in America.

Labor's apprentice programs provide education, a skill, an excellent income and a secure future. Not a dead-end job, but a meaningful career. Our apprentice programs provide a means of escape from poverty, both for the worker and his children. Our apprentice programs provide the opportunity for young men from minority groups to become sought-after craftsmen and supervisors. (Statistics show that an apprentice has a 50-50 chance of becoming a supervisor within two years after he is a journeyman.) Our apprentice programs open the door for a man to become a contractor in his own right and employ other youths as apprentices.

The vistas that are open to Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other disadvantaged youngsters in America who participate in apprentice programs are almost limitless. And we in the labor movement can be proud of every program we have established and proud of every young man we have made into a craftsman and sent into the working world.

Who dares to criticize the goodness of these programs and the young men they are helping? Certainly not the anti-union employer who race-baits his workers to keep out a union and then hires a Negro in the mail room to demonstrate that he has lowered the color bar. Yet too often the plaudits for enlightened self-interest have gone to just such an employer; and too often the brickbat of scorn has been thrown at the union. I let you decide who has made the genuine contribution.

It is not that the facts are unavailable. They are there for all to see, but there are those who do not want to see. As Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz told the Building and Construction Trades Department legislative conference in Washington last month, it is unfortunate that the word is not being put forth of the accomplishments of the apprenticeship programs in behalf of minority youths. He said he would settle for just ten percent favorable stories -- for which there is a wealth of material available -- instead of the almost 100 percent negative stories which appear at the present time.

At that same conference, Mr. Wirtz said that it is totally unfair for the finger of racial discrimination to have been pointed at the building trades for the last four years. There has been, he said in praise, as much serious effort in the building trades to meet this problem as there has been in any other American institution in the labor movement or outside the labor movement.

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I can report that within the AFL-CIO, with no exceptions, a fully cooperative attitude by all AFL-CIO unions, each having pledged itself to a program of non-discrimination to which it has diligently applied itself and is making successful.

But still the stories continue.

A favorite numbers game is to charge that there are no Negroes, or one, or five, or ten, or whatever the figure may be, in a particular union's apprenticeship program. The facts -- if any -- are usually distorted; the story with the true picture doesn't get into the paper. Such accounts not only dishonor the building trades unions, they do a disservice to potential Negro apprentices who are thus discouraged from applying.

It would be far more helpful to the Negro youngster if an attempt were made instead to understand the apprentice program and help make it work. But the headline is the story; the smear becomes the accepted fact.

To this I say without reservation, as a member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and as Chairman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, that if all problems of employment for jobless Negroes and non-whites were handled with the same concern for an individual's needs and rights as are the apprenticeship programs, the festering sore of racial unrest would be largely healed.

It is time that we put to death the myth that apprenticeship programs are sanctuaries of lily-white youths, following in the carefully directed footsteps of their fathers.

Similarly, there is no special preferance for Negroes or other minority groups. Apprentice programs are opportunities for the best qualified young men in the area to become journeymen and craftsmen in a particular skilled trade.

The pity is that the industry is so limited in total employees that the number of apprentices -- white, Negro, Puerto Rican -- will never number more than a few thousand.

If this were a program of tremendous scope embracing numbers equal to those new workers who each year enter the auto industry or the steel industry or the communications industry, we could swiftly solve a sizable part of the problem of training qualified young Negroes and other non-whites for meaningful employment. The auto factories have hired, and the auto workers union has taken into membership, 842,200 workers in the last four years.

Against this let's put into perspective this whole matter of apprenticeship. There are an estimated 50,000 apprentice openings yearly, but the dropout rate has consistently been around 50 percent, which leave about 25,000 men to complete their apprenticeship and become journeymen each year. Civil rights groups and others who have been actively involved with Negro participation in these programs have set a hoped-for goal of 15 percent apprenticeships by non-whites. That is, they hope that they can eventually put forth this number of qualified youngsters to take the examinations and pass. They have stated, however, that this long-range goal can be attained only if the quality of public education of Negroes improves and a larger percentage of Negroes who are qualified show an inclination to enter the apprenticed trades. Most Negroes who can qualify for the tests have set their sights on college or some other advanced training program.

But assuming that the magic number of 15 percent participation is attained, that would mean that 7,500 apprentice openings yearly would be filled from minority groups. When the 50 percent dropout rate is factored in, only 3,750 non-white journeymen would be graduated each year.

So, 3,750 apprentice-to-journeymen each year from minority groups is a hoped-for maximum. This is hardly in numbers of sufficient to provide a major impact on unemployment. This is hardly the panacea that the uninitiated believe the apprentice program can be for Negro youths.

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Today there is a minimum of 111,000 jobless male non-white youths between 16 and 21.

Contrast with this a hoped-for maximum of 3,750 graduates yearly of non-whites in apprentice programs.

There must be other solutions.

But not only are the number of apprenticeships few in relationship to America's work force of more than 72 million, but there is a genuine problem to find qualified applicants for programs currently under way.

Now, I'm sure that there are a lot of young fellows -- Negro and white -- who would eagerly accept a journeyman's card in the electrician's union or the plumber's union if it were offered to them. But who would hire these fellows? The union could swell its dues-paying ranks by the tens of thousands, but it would be a terrible fraud upon these youths. They obviously would be unable to perform their jobs and for this they must be trained. But unless they are schooled in the basics of education, they cannot fathom shop math, read a blueprint nor comprehend the ever-changing problems of the trades.

No one in his right mind suggests that engineers' licenses or airline pilots' licenses be handed out at will to disadvantaged youngsters. Yet, somehow, because our work is done in overalls, it is different. We say there is no difference.

It is simple. A young fellow must have a basic education to become an apprentice. If he does not have it, the blame should be laid to our school system, not at the door of the union. If a young fellow cannot get into a college or an engineering school, we do not throw rocks at the place of higher learning. We take a look at his school, his grades and his college entrance examination. They usually tell us the sad story.

There are, of course, young Negroes and non-whites who are qualified and who want to learn a skill and make their careers as electricians or plumbers or carpenters -- and we want them to do so. But, despite reports to the contrary, there are not thousands of these youngsters standing outside a high barrier marked "keep out," while inside thousands of apprentice jobs are left unfilled because there aren't enough white qualified youths. This simply is not the truth; it simply is not the desire of the union.

After all, it is an axiom in the labor movement that you fill the job with a union member or the boss fills it with someone off the street. To let jobs go by default is hardly the way to protect high standards of craftsmanship and union conditions.

Instead of that imaginary high fence, there are actually recruiting campaigns being undertaken to insure that these programs are fully utilized and every potential apprentice be given the opportunity to compete for the openings.

But it has been found that in order to get youngsters of minority backgrounds who are potentially qualifiable for apprenticeship programs, they have to be found, brought forth and informed. It is not easy.

There has to be a concerted -- and sincere -- effort made by agencies, schools, organizations, churches and unions to make young men aware of available apprenticeship programs. Young men have to be made aware of the desire within the industry for their potential skills. The youths have to be made aware of the system of selection and when and where tests are to be given.

This is being done, and with great vigor throughout the United States wherever legitimate apprenticeship programs are under way.

In many instances commendable work is being done in preparing youngsters for the tests. Sometimes the help comes from unions, sometimes from joint programs and in other instances from totally independent organizations. These tutoring programs have been very worthwhile. Certainly no one can quarrel with tutoring, with preparatory programs to familiarize youngsters with the problems they will face in the examination and refresh their grasp of math and other related subjects. This is fine. This is commendable.

But let me caution here that we must be careful of the label that is given to this sort of preparation. In some quarters it is called pre-apprenticeship training. I frankly feel this phrase should be avoided entirely because it is misleading and can be confused with other programs.

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There is one program, for instance, whereby young men are put to work at lower levels of pay, at lower levels of work and with lesser qualifications than the normal apprenticeship program. To some, this is pre-apprenticeship.

And then there is a third operation where young men are put on job sites where there are apprenticeship programs, but these youngsters are employed in capacities where they do menial labor, take part in no program of training and fulfill no evidence of preparation for apprentice work.

What sort of apprentice training these youngsters are engaged in, I fail to see; to some persons this is referred to as pre-apprenticeship.

So, we must be careful of the phrase. The important role, to my way of thinking, is to fill the positions in the established, high-standard apprenticeship programs, and to do so we must make as much information as possible available to potential applicants. We have found that where youngsters have been properly informed, the number of young men to sit for the tests and to pass them increases dramatically -- including the candidates from minority groups. Consequently, the number of non-whites to flow into the trades has become considerably greater. And, in so doing, an exhaustive study of the Negro in apprentice programs has disclosed that there is no discrimination nor resistance to anyone who passes the examination. Whoever passes the test and goes to work is accepted fully.

The only resistance is the refusal by unions to dilute or erode the apprentice standards of training that are applied equalty to all.

In the District of Columbia, where I have seen at first-hand how the program works, the Apprenticeship Information Center, since it opened in 1963, has placed 789 youths in accredited apprenticeship programs. More than 58 percent of these youths were from minority groups. They came to the Center as referrals by schools, churches and neighborhood centers.

In the D.C. program, the unions have set qualification levels at what they have learned is the realistic need of the prospective apprentice in a particular trade. In some instances, a high school education or its equivalent have been found to be necessary to prevent wholesale dropouts. In others, a ninth grade education has been found to be sufficient.

The apprenticeship information program -- excellent as it is -- revealed not the shortcomings of the union programs, but the woeful failings of the D.C. educational system. The many hundreds of applicants who failed to qualify were found, for the most part, to be unable to read sufficiently well to cope with the tests.

Near to Washington, in Baltimore, there is LEAP -- Labor Education Advancement Program -- a program established by the Urban League and the AFL-CIO with the aid of a Ford Foundation grant. Working in conjunction with the Department of Labor, the Baltimore Building Trades Council is recruiting 300 disadvantaged Baltimore youths to participate in the educational preparatory program aimed at placing them into apprenticeable construction trades.

Farther north, there is the pioneering program of the Workers Defense League, which has the full cooperation of the AFL-CIO, and was set up in conjunction with the A. Philip Randolph Education Trust and the Department of Labor.

The Workers Defense League program took itself into Brooklyn's Harlem in 1964 -- into the Bedford-Stuyvesant section -- and through its educational preparatory program enabled 74 youngsters from minority groups to enter apprenticeship programs. These men are now working as apprentices in sheetmetal, elevator construction, electrical, printing, stone derricks and ironwork. Similar programs of the Workers Defense League are now being undertaken in Buffalo and New Rochelle.

But all is not achieved by these methods alone. Local 3 of the IBEW in New York has more than 200 non-white youngsters in training at this time, all of whom were recruited through the customary channels. Other unions are also carrying out long-standing programs where youths of minority groups have always made up a sizable percentage of those being trained.

Let's look at some other cities. In Philadelphia, 64 Negroes have entered construction apprenticeships; in Chicago, there are about 100 new Negro apprentices in training; in Oklahoma City 13 youngsters from minority groups entered construction trade apprenticeships this month alone.

Meanwhile, in Detroit, the Trade Union Leadership Council, in co-operation with the building trades councils there, is carrying out a program of training some 200 Negro youths for apprenticeship examinations; and in Phoenix, Arizona, union bricklayers are carrying on training-to-apprenticeship for 20 disadvantaged youths.

These examples are few, I know. I am also aware that among those who are critical of the apprenticeship programs, there is an inclination to find little that is praiseworthy in the apprenticeship establishment, as they choose to call us. They point out that those of us involved in operating these programs are likely to emphasize the absence of qualified Negro applicants and to emphasize the relative progress that has been made despite great difficulties. To this charge I plead quilty.

But by the same token, according to an in-depth study of Negroes in apprenticeship programs by Professor Ray Marshall at the University of Texas, the civil rights spokesmen are also likely to emphasize discrimination by unions, by employers and by apprenticeship agencies and see a minimum of change.

The professor said the problem was too complex for such simple explanations. I agree. But he also pointed out that anti-discrimination legislation -- the Civil Rights Act -- only stops discrimination, it does not cause affirmative action to take place.

The fact that affirmative action is taking place at the instigation of the labor movement in conjunction with community organizations, schools, government and civil rights groups, should mute some critics. But most important the affirmative action should help produce the needed apprentices and tomorrow's craftsmen.

This step beyond non-discrimination and into participation and encouragement of Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other non-whites is evidence of good faith and of a genuine desire to prove that apprenticeship programs are open to all who can qualify.

That is the goal of the AFL-CIO and it is, I am confident, the goal as well of all who truly believe in apprenticeship.

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NEWS from the AFL-CIO

NA. 8-3870

LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE PROGRAM 38, SERIES 7

FOR RELEASE, A.M. PAPERS, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1968

More Negroes hold skilled jobs in construction than in most other industries, and apprenticeship opportunities in construction are widening, the AFL-CIO's Director of Civil Rights said today in a network radio interview.

Donald Slaiman pointed out that the latest government report on construction employment in larger firms with federal contracts shows that Negroes make up 16.6% of the blue collar work force -- the most solidly unionized segment of the industry. But, he said, in the mostly unorganized white collar part of the industry, Negroes hold less than 1% of the jobs.

Questioned by reporters on LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE, Slaiman said that aside from "isolated cases of discrimination" in construction jobs, the main problem now is to "recruit, train, motivate and prep" minority group workers for apprenticeship programs, "and get them to come through the doors when the doors are open." The AFL-CIO produced public service program was broadcast Tuesday at 7:35 p.m. EST, on the Mutual Radio Network.

Slaiman credited union-supported programs of the Workers Defense League and the Urban League that recruit and prepare apprentices, with bringing more minority group youngsters into the skilled trades.

In the last three years, such programs have brought "more than 1,000 Negro and Puerto Rican apprentices" into construction jobs in 16 cities, he said. He acknowledged that the number of recruits "is still small," but said that the two-pronged drive of "insuring non-discrimination, plus insuring that there will be qualified applicants," is producing significant results.

Slaiman said that with job requirements rising -- "both educational background and actual mechanical skill --" there has to be a "massive effort among all parties, communities, employers and unions," to upgrade youngsters for the skilled trades and give them "meaningful work" while they build their capabilities.

Reporters questioning Slaiman were Stanley Levey of the Scripps-Howard Newspapers and Alan Adams of Business Week magazine.

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(Text of LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE is available at AFL-CIO Public Relations Department, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.)

LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE
Mutual Broadcasting System

PROGRAM 38, SERIES 7
Tuesday, January 9, 1968

SUBJECT : Apprenticeship Opportunities for Minority Group Youngsters

GUEST : Donald Slaiman, Director, AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights

PANEL : Alan Adams, Washington correspondent for Business Week magazine
Stanley Levey, labor correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspapers

MODERATOR: Frank Harden

HARDEN: LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE. Welcome to another edition of LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE, a public affairs program brought to you by the AFL-CIO. LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE brings together leading AFL-CIO representatives and ranking members of the press. Today's guest is Donald Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights.

The apprenticeship system -- both on-the-job experience and classroom study -- has long been the traditional avenue for young workers into the skilled trades. The department Mr. Slaiman heads works closely with unions, employers and other community groups to help minority group youngsters enter apprenticeship programs. Here to question Mr. Slaiman about apprenticeship opportunities today, are Stanley Levey, labor correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspapers, and Alan Adams, Washington correspondent for Business Week magazine. Your moderator, Frank Harden.

And now, Mr. Levey, I believe you have the first question.

LEVEY: Thanks, Mr. Harden.

Mr. Slaiman, what are the facts about Negroes in the construction trades? Are they or aren't they getting into unions, and, are they or aren't they getting jobs?

SLAIMAN: Well, the fact is, there are large numbers of Negroes who have jobs in the construction industry -- especially in many of the union construction jobs.

The problem is, that as in all industries in the United States, Negroes and other minorities tend not to be in certain jobs -- that is, the highest-paid jobs in the industry. This is due to patterns of discrimination that existed in the past. It is also due to the fact that when the discrimination is ended, few Negroes have the experience or training to enter the higher-skilled jobs.

Now, in the construction industry, because of the nature of unionism, especially, most of the jobs are skilled jobs, so there are more Negroes in skilled jobs in the construction industry than in most other industries.

This leaves us with the fact that although they are in skilled jobs as bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, roofers, etc., they have entered some of the trades in any numbers, only very, very recently.

But, even in those cases, the percentages may be higher than in some other industries. Overall in the construction industry, the Negroes' penetration into skilled trades is far higher in almost every part of the country than it is into white collar jobs.

ADAMS: Well, Mr. Slaiman, there are some three million skilled tradesmen in the industry. Do you have any idea of the number of Negroes -- the percentage of Negroes -- among them?

SLAIMAN: No, we don't have that kind of figures. We should get them shortly after the EEO 2 and EEO 3 forms are filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

But, I can give you some figures which are some indication -- figures compiled from the employer forms submitted by construction industry employers with government contracts. I don't know how accurate the figures are, but the first figures they got for contractors throughout the country with government contracts and 100 or more employees, showed 466,800 workers last year.

In the white collar section of the industry, .8 percent were Negro -- those are all non-union jobs. In the blue collar section of the industry, they had 16.6 percent Negro. This is a fairly good percentage. Naturally, a good part of these were laborers, carpenters, bricklayers and so forth. But, even so, you will note that in the construction industry, union laborers make at least $3.50 an hour. Carpenters' and bricklayers' wages tend to be much higher. So, among these contractors, a good percentage of the blue collar work force was Negroes working at good-paying jobs, even though they may not have been heavily concentrated in the best-paying jobs.

ADAMS: Well, if the picture is as favorable as you say, Mr. Slaiman, why are the construction unions being singled out on the subject of civil rights? I know that at last month's AFL-CIO Convention, a civil rights leader ran down a list of local unions that he said had no Negroes, and had had none in their apprenticeship programs for years.

SLAIMAN: Well, you see, what's picked out are the five highest-paid of 20 different trades. These do have a small percentage of minority group workers.

Now, we are working to see that the percentages increase there. Thirty or 40 years ago, you could find, in many of the local unions, barriers or simply no Negroes. But, that is not the situation today.

Today, we have to deal with a situation in which, aside from isolated cases of discrimination, the real problem is insuring that even when there is non-discrimination, there are qualified applicants. In many cases, this means somebody to recruit, and motivate, and train, and prep minority group youngsters and older workers -- and to get them to come through the doors when the doors are open. That is, when there is not discrimination.

Take some of the things cited at the Convention. It was mentioned that in five trades, there were only about six Negro apprentices as of some date -- April 1966, I believe. Well, the Workers Defense League has gone into Cleveland, with the cooperation of the trades, and in the last three months, has placed 17 Negro apprentices -- 10 ironworkers and seven electricians -- which is four times the number mentioned in 1966.

Now, let's take it on a national basis. In that same speech, Mr. Wilkins, (Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) said that from 1950 to 1960, the number of Negro apprentices in all trades -- not only building trades, but in all trades in the United States -- increased by only one. But, from 1960 to 1967, these out-reach programs of the Workers Defense League, and the Urban League, that have been recruiting youngsters, have placed -- within the last three years, by themselves, in just the construction industry, in just 16 cities -- more than 1,000 Negro and Puerto Rican apprentices. So, while the number of jobs in these trades is still small, when we work on insuring non-discrimination, plus insuring that there will be qualified applicants, we are beginning to get significant movement.

LEVEY: Mr. Slaiman, who can take credit for the changes that you cite? Can the construction unions in question take that credit? Isn't it a fact that these changes you speak of -- and they are good -- isn't it a fact that they have been literally forced upon the major construction unions by a variety of sources?

SLAIMAN: Well, the programs I am talking about have produced results -- and they have produced more results, as Mr. Wilkins has pointed out, than the demonstrations, and compliance cases, and whatnot. He pointed out that after many years of demonstrations and compliance cases, there was very little movement. The programs that have brought significant results have all had the cooperation of the unions involved. There has been an occasional friction point, such as the early problems of Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers in New York, but even these have been taken care of. A recent New York Times piece mentions that Local 28 is cooperating with the Workers Defense League program. And, I might mention that there are now 54 Negro and Puerto Rican sheet metal apprentices in Local 28 in New York City.

ADAMS: If I could go back to the speech at the Convention, which I thought was highly critical of the AFL-CIO, Mr. Wilkins, said he felt that the voluntary approach wasn't working effectively among the craft locals, and that he felt the government would have to do something more drastic to succeed. Do you think this is right? What is your approach?

SLAIMAN: Well, I think the question is really incorrectly posed. To just wait in any civil rights area, for voluntary approaches, has always proved inadequate.

That is why we, as well as Mr. Wilkins, have supported legislation and have agreed that sound implementation of the legislation must have support and cooperation.

But we found, especially in the apprenticeship skilled trade areas, as Mr. Wilkins has found, that individual cases -- and even court cases -- take a long time and produce limited results. Only when you have a massive effort among all parties -- that is, communities, employers and unions cooperating -- will you get significant results in skilled jobs, as opposed to just opening up the door to semi-skilled jobs, which require only limited ability.

LEVEY: Didn't the threat, Mr. Slaiman -- did't the threat of court action in Cleveland very largely help produce the results you cited just a few minutes ago?

SLAIMAN: The threat of court action, as well as negotiations at the same time, had an impact on one local union -- the one case in which apprentices were recruited and passed. There was a question of whether they were fairly treated. But, the activities of the Workers Defense League and the unions cooperating with them, I don't think primarily came from that threat.

I think the results came from the fact that when the Workers Defense League went in, other building trades leaders assured the local building trades people that they had a constructive program. They gave it a chance and saw good results. As a result, in each case where a Joint Apprenticeship Council has announced a test, Ernest Green, director of the Joint Apprenticeship Committee of the Workers Defense League, has obtained the information on the time and place of the test and how to apply -- and has also got the applicants prepared and ready, and found very little problem in any of the trades, so far.

LEVEY: Mr. Slaiman, just how realistic are these standards that the construction trades insist upon as requirements for apprenticeships? I notice that at the Building Trades Department meeting in Miami, preceding the AFL-CIO Convention, Neil Haggerty, the president of the Department, and AFL-CIO President George Meany, both said that they favor improved conditions for Negroes, but not at the cost of relaxing standards. Now, just the other day, President Johnson said, that in order to fight massive unemployment, we've got to go out and find jobs -- and, if necessary, the government has to be the employer of last resort for Negroes. Isn't it up to the unions in the construction industry, at this critical point, to adopt a similar philosophy of emergency, take another look at these standards of theirs, and ask themselves honestly, whether they are really standards for young men coming into the trade, or whether they are really barriers to the young men?

SLAIMAN: Well, you have raised a number of problems, Mr. Levey.

The problem of providing jobs for completely unskilled people -- some are those thought to be unemployable -- some have no real job experience -- means that the government has to be the employer of last resort, to provide unskilled jobs that are socially necessary. That means work that cities should be doing, but can't afford. Jobs as nurses' aides and educational aides -- or repairing and fixing up parks.

Private industry is asked to find suitable jobs for these people, too, and when necessary, give them some minimal training.

But, you are not going to take somebody with no work experience, and very little educational background, and make them a highly-skilled person very easily.

Now, in some cases, the trades have met this problem. The Carpenters Union, the Operating Engineers Union, the Bricklayers Union, the Painters Union, have set up free apprenticeship programs, in which they take under-qualified people who normally wouldn't qualify, not only as a journeyman, but wouldn't meet the minimum requirements for apprenticeship, because they don't have enough to take the academic work and learn. They have set up programs to raise the background levels of these people, so that they will be able to enter as first-year apprentices after some pre-work -- both school and practical work.

But, generally speaking, as to skilled and technical jobs -- and this is not limited to the construction industry -- there are tool makers in the auto industry, highly skilled steel workers and draftsmen -- by-and-large, there are many minority group people -- youngsters and otherwise -- who are under-employed now, who are not the hard-core unemployed, who should be moving up into these trades. It is no advantage to reduce the standards, if those who come in are unable to do the jobs. The fact is, that the requirements -- both educational background and actual mechanical skill requirements -- in most of these trades, is rising not falling. It is just an illusion to think that the hard-core unemployed can be taken care of in the highly-skilled trades.

We have to upgrade the educational backgrounds of people, so that they can go into the highly-skilled trades. And while the hard-core unemployed are getting their standards raised, provide them with meaninful work now, even if it is not of the most highly-skilled variety. Then, those who make it -- those who get jobs -- those who get some skills --those who are making a living now -- if they take extra training and extra education, may move up the ladder into more highly-skilled jobs.

As I say, this is a general problem. It is not confined to just the construction industry. When the automobile industry in Detroit agrees to hire thousands of hard-core unemployed, they are not agreeing to hire them as tool makers; they are putting them in at the lower levels. Now, I said lower levels, but they are putting them into better jobs than they ever thought of getting. But, they are not starting at the skilled journeyman jobs.

ADAMS: On that point, Mr. Slaiman, these unskilled people going into auto industry jobs -- are they going into the union -- into the United Auto Workers?

SLAIMAN: Yes. Sure.

ADAMS: Well, would they, in the case of construction, go into the construction unions, even at lower level jobs that take less skill?

SLAIMAN: Of course. When a man goes into the Laborers Union at $3.50 or more an hour, he is going into the type of job that is semi-skilled in industry, with equivalent pay -- maybe higher.

When you speak of a laborer in the construction industry, you are not speaking of an unskilled sweeper. They do many types of work. Now, when a man goes in as an apprentice -- as an apprentice carpenter, for instance, starting maybe at $2.00 or $2.25 an hour -- he joins the union long before he is a full-fledged journeyman. Even those youngsters who go into pre-apprenticeship programs at a lower level than the first-year bricklayer are in the union.

LEVEY: I wanted to get on to another point. One of the biggest problems, and apprently, one of the biggest programs of the Administration, will be in rebuilding the nation's cities -- the Model Cities Program. This should mean thousands -- perhaps, millions of jobs for construction workers. Now, are the construction unions taking part in these programs, or, what solutions do you have for these people?

SLAIMAN: Well, most of these programs are still on the drawing board. The construction unions are aware of both the problems and potentialities of these programs. They are beginning to look for ways they can get some of this work as union, and, at the same time, provide union membership for increasing numbers of minority group workers who will undoubtedly be on a lot of this work.

Now, the details of how this is to be done are not simple. No blueprints have been laid out by the government, by the unions or by the employers, as yet. I think this will be an important aspect of the work, providing far more job opportunities than the limited number of apprenticeships. The blueprints aren't fully laid out. All I can say at this time is that there is an interest. There was an expressed determination at the Building Trades Convention by both the government and the construction unions, to find the best way to meet this program.

LEVEY: Mr. Slaiman, doesn't that Model Cities Program provide a very strong whip for the government to push recalcitrant construction trades unions into a more responsible position with respect to Negroes?

SLAIMAN: Well, I don't think the unions are recalcitrant on this. Not only Mr. Haggerty of the Building Trades Department, but many other union leaders expressed; one, a firm policy of non-discrimination; two, an interest in more than just a non-discrimination policy -- affirmative action to assure entry; and three, numerous expressions of the importance of exploring the Model Cities and Rehabilitation Programs, and finding ways to see that these are well-paid and unionized jobs, rather than cheap jobs.

ADAMS: One of the points Mr. Haggerty raised at the Convention, Mr. Slaiman, was that he felt that the construction unions should seek out young Negroes and other minorities in the ghetto areas for pre-apprenticeship training. How would that work?

SLAIMAN: Well, one of the reasons why we support programs like those of the Workers Defense League, the Urban League, and other groups that are recruiting, is that we have found that it isn't

easy to recruit applicants for jobs -- especially jobs that have some requirements and some history that shows youngsters have stayed away from these jobs -- that they had a disincentive, because they thought it was no use.

The business agent of a small local might not be very productive in finding people. Therefore, in those programs, you have full-time people who know the ghetto, who know the community, who know where the youngsters are -- people who know what's in the schools -- go out and do the recruiting, preparing and motivating needed. You get a much better flow of applicants that way.

LEVEY: Mr. Slaiman, how long do you think it is going to be until Negroes represent a substantial part of the three million skilled craftsmen in the United States?

SLAIMAN: It's very hard to estimate. I think that if we do the kind of job we are doing in apprenticeships on a broad scale across the country -- in all industries and in all parts of the country -- that the pace will be rather rapid. But, that is also, if we have a high level of employment, and, if our school and ghetto problems are generally eased. Under such circumstances, it won't take long. But, if these other things aren't taken care of, we're in trouble.

HARDEN: Thank you, gentlemen. Today's LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE guest was Donald Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights. Representing the press were Alan Adams, Washington correspondent for Business Week magazine, and Stanley Levey, labor correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspapers This is your moderator, Frank Harden, inviting you to listen again next week. LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE is a public affairs production of the AFL-CIO, produced in cooperation with the Mutual Radio Network.

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
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PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

February 21, 1968

Dear Friend

Enclosed is an exchange of letters between Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz and President Neil Haggerty of the Building and Construction Trades Council, AFL-CIO. President Haggerty's letter outlines a program of affirmative action re the recruitment of minority youth for apprenticeship programs.

Over 25 cities are now involved in such programs with the cooperation of local building trades councils and organizations like the Joint Apprenticeship Council of the Workers Defense League/A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund and the National Urban League.

My "Labor News Conference" (also included) of January 10 details some of the experiences and problems in this area.

With warm regards.

Cordially,

Don Slaiman

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

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Enclosures

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Building and Construction Trades Department

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 SIXTEENTH ST., N.W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

District 7-1461

February 1, 1968

Honorable W. Willard Wirtz
Secretary of Labor
Washington, D. C. 20210

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The Building and Construction Trades Department, desiring to implement the action taken by its 54th Convention which endorsed affirmative action generally and in principle for the purpose of preventing any possible discrimination in the operation of local unions chartered by its affiliated International Unions, proposes to undertake, both directly and through the individual General Presidents, subscribing hereto, the following:

(1) To foster, with the cooperation of appropriate management organizations:

(a) Programs of recruitment of qualified applicants for apprenticeship from the Negro population and other minority groups, and

(b) Programs for special attention to deficiencies affecting the full qualification of Negro and other minority group applicants, if such exist, and remedy the same if practical;

(2) To endorse and support projects such as OUTREACH AND LEAP in those 48 cities where such projects have been undertaken and in other cities where such projects are started in the future, urging local unions to give full cooperation, not only by disseminating information concerning the apprenticeship program to those who operate the project, but also by working actively with the project so that it may be better able to recruit applicants specifically according to the needs and requirements of the apprenticeship program;

(3) To counsel and urge its affiliates to consider appropriate means whereby suitable minority candidates may be recruited;

(4) To recommend that apprenticeship programs, sponsored or co-sponsored by its local unions, disseminate full information concerning program entrance and necessary qualifications, not only to the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, but also to one or more sources of potential minority candidates within the community;

(5) To urge upon all affiliate local unions the social and economic necessity of striving for satisfactory minority participation;

(6) To recommend that affiliate local unions and joint apprenticeship committees explore mutual problems with appropriate organizations directly representative of minority groups within the community.

Each segment of the industry will adapt and adopt this proposal according to its structure and requirements with full recognition of the joint characteristics of the apprenticeship program. There will be maximum utilization of responsible civil rights organizations willing to join in a cooperative effort to effect this proposal with full recognition of the necessity for industry to formulate its requirements for employment and entry in the trade.

We offer this form of public-private cooperation as a means of recognizing and meeting social responsibilities in full and voluntary support of government efforts to eliminate, once and for all, discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin, with the endorsement of the Department's Executive Council.

Sincerely yours,

C. J. Haggerty

C. J. Haggerty
President

CJH/s
OPE1U#2

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON

February 2, 1968

Mr. C. J. Haggerty, President
Building and Construction Trades
Department, AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear President Haggerty:

I am gratified to receive your letter of February 1, 1968 in behalf of the Building and Construction Trades Department and subscribing General Presidents. In your letter, you express in detail an affirmative action program to eliminate any discrimination in apprenticeship programs, thereby proposing to implement action taken by your 54th Convention.

When these proposals are carried out, they will, in my opinion, represent a strong and progressive forward step toward answering, once and for all, complaints that building trades unions may not be exerting their best efforts in full support of private and public action to eliminate discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin.

This action of yours is entirely in accordance with my remarks to you at your convention, and I welcome your complete expression of cooperation with the thought that best possible solutions may lie in voluntarism by the unions themselves, in cooperation with appropriate management organizations. This is, indeed, recognizing and meeting social responsibilities in support of government efforts under law. You are to be commended for the forthright position you have taken.

Meanwhile, in the light of these assurances and in furtherance of my responsibilities under Executive Order 11246 and the Fitzgerald Act, P. L. 75-308 (August 16, 1937), I propose to continue carrying out anti-discrimination provisions concerning apprenticeship, contained in 29 CFR 30, without change or amendment, through the

Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, in accordance with present regulations. Any conflict between governmental action under these regulations and the activities of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance shall be called to the attention of the Under Secretary of Labor for satisfactory resolution.

Sincerely,

Willard Wirtz

Secretary of Labor

Apprenticeship

Week of August 26, 1968

530 APPRENTICE AND JOURNEYMAN PAINTERS
TO BE TRAINED ON THE JOB

WASHINGTON -- Over 300 disadvantaged or jobless youth will train as painter-decorators and paperhangers under a $500,000 on-the-job training contract, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz has announced.

A total of 530 persons will be trained -- 320 youths selected mainly from apprenticeship preparation projects, and 210 journeymen who need skills upgrading to forestall layoffs.

The contract was signed with a labor and management committee called the National Joint Painting and Decorating Apprenticeship and Training Committee representing programs in 22 States and the District of Columbia.

The 320 from Apprenticeship Outreach programs, funded by the U.S. Department of Labor in 36 cities, will be given six weeks of pre-job training before beginning 20 weeks of training on the job.

Outreach programs are the cooperative efforts of the Building and Construction Trades Councils, AFL-CIO, and minority civil rights organizations.

The contract will help combat critical skill shortages in the painting and decorating industry. It will provide unemployed and disadvantaged persons a chance to gain skills through apprenticeship. It will also develop and carry out journeyman training programs necessary to offset skill obsolescence in 80-hour courses.

The total Labor Department investment is $496,521. Of this amount, $164,175 is for the cost of on-the-job training, $232,422 is for supplementary classroom instruction, and $99,924 is for training allowances for the apprentices.

The contractor will plan, develop and promote subcontracts with local joint apprenticeship and training committees, local unions and district councils of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America. It

(MORE)

will assist these subcontractors in developing training guides, plans and schedules to assure thorough training.

The subcontractor will receive a flat fee of $100 for each trainee who successfully completes the 20 weeks of on-the-job training. On finishing this on-the-job training, the trainee will continue his apprenticeship for an additional 2-1/2 years.

William Duval, director of education for the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of American, AFL-CIO, and Glen Craven, executive director of the Painting and Decorating Contractors of America, will supervise the administrative staff and serve as liaison between the contractor and the Department of Labor.

# # # #

# # #

Apprenticeship

OAKLAND CONSTRUCTION TRADES TO TAKE IN OVER-AGE MINORITY APPRENTICES

WASHINGTON -- Apprenticeships in the construction trades will be open to 100 minority group workers, mostly in their 30's and 40's, in the Oakland, Calif., area, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz has announced.

The Department of Labor has agreed to an 18-month contract with a nonprofit corporation called Project Upgrade to conduct the program. It is being supported by $440,000 in Labor Department funds and a $110,000 grant from the Ford Foundation.

The program is a joint endeavor of the Alameda County Building and Construction Trades Council, AFL-CIO, and the Alameda County Contractors' Association, in cooperation with Oakland area minority groups.

Project Upgrade, Inc., will promote the employment of minority workers as journeymen in the construction trades. It

(MORE)

will also locate, motivate, guide, and help minorities to qualify for journeyman status through apprenticeship.

Trainees will be selected from minority applicants who have backgrounds or aptitudes in mechanical skills, the physical ability to perform the work, strong motivation to enter the construction field, and are over the normal apprenticeable age.

They will be selected by review committees composed of an equal number of representatives of contractors and building-trade unions in the various trades.

The selected trainees must be judged by the review committees to be at least 50 percent proficient in the trade of their choice, and must attend related classroom instruction at least six hours a week at Laney College in Oakland.

Participating contractors must pay trainees the prevailing union wage rates and all fringe benefits normally provided a union journeyman and provide union working conditions.

Contractors will receive reimbursement pegged to a sliding scale based upon the rated proficiency of the trainees, decreasing every three months.

The Ford Foundation grant was made to offset administrative costs of the program, permitting all of the Labor Department funds to be used for salaries of instructors and the cost of training incurred by the building and construction contractors.

# # #

Week of September 30, 1968

Follow up
Apprenticeship

70 MINORITY YOUTH IN TAMPA, SAN DIEGO
GET APPRENTICESHIP CHANCE

WASHINGTON -- Two new projects to help 70 minority youth pass apprenticeship tests in the building and construction trades through "cram" courses have been announced by Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz.

Level of Bldg Trade involvement & are goals needed?

Agreements have been signed for Apprenticeship Outreach programs in Tampa, Fla., and San Diego, Calif., with local AFL-CIO building and construction trades councils and social-action agencies.

The Tampa program will place 30 minority applicants in apprenticeship preparation projects with a Federal investment of $45,896.

The Tampa program is conducted by the Urban League. Its programs, known as Labor Education Advancement Programs (LEAP), now operate in 19 cities, including the one just announced.

The San Diego program will be conducted by the San Diego Construction Industry Affirmative Action Committee. The San Diego Apprenticeship Outreach program will prepare 40 minority applicants for apprenticeship openings, with a Federal investment of $52,047.

In each city, expert guidance and coaching will be provided for apprenticeship candidates by the area's AFL-CIO building and construction trades council.

This brings to 44 the number of cities where Apprenticeship Outreach programs are being conducted.

(MORE)

Under the Manpower Administration's Apprenticeship Outreach programs, 2,425 unemployed youths are being put through 4-to 10-week courses for specific examinations in 18 building and construction trades, such as carpentry, sheet metal working, and plumbing.

Youth are recruited in each city from local State Employment Service agencies.

Apprenticeship sommittee members and other familiar with the examinations assist in developing study materials and in coaching and tutoring applicants. Mock oral tests are given, and extensive coaching and tutoring help them score well in tests held by joint apprenticeship committees.

The tutoring concept, now called Apprenticeship Outreach, was created and conducted by the Workers' Defense League (WDL) in New York City three years ago with considerable success. WDL currently operates Apprenticeship Outreach programs in six communities.

Other agencies conducting Apprenticeship Outreach programs include:

-- The Urban League, the largest contractor, with LEAP programs operating in 19 cities.

-- The building and construction trades councils, AFL-CIO, with 11 independent programs. The councils also assist with advice and guidance in all outreach programs.

(MORE)

NEWS DIGEST - 9/30/68
70 MINORITY YOUTH GET
APPRENTICESHIP CHANCE - P.3

-- The Trade Union Leadership Council, Detroit, Mich., a and Philadelphia, Pa., and the Opportunities Industrialization Center, Pittsburgh Pa., and Washington, D.C.

# # #

State Sen. Edward Fadeley against incumbent Republican Rep.

Outreach Plan Spurs Negro Apprentices

Apprentice Outreach programs are given a big share of the credit for the doubling of the number of Negroes participating in apprenticeships in the past 18 months.

Sec. of Labor Willard Wirtz said an estimated 8,100 Negroes are currently in apprenticeship programs registered with the Labor Dept. or state apprenticeship agencies.

The outreach programs are currently being conducted in 44 industrial areas by manpower and social action agencies in conjunction with the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Councils.

The number of Negroes entering apprenticeship has risen dramatically in the past two years, Wirtz said. About 1,800 were enrolled in 1966 and more than 2,630 in 1967. In the first six months of 1968 more than 1,400 were registered, he added.

The Workers Defense League, the Urban League's LEAP program and other minority organizations, working with the AFL-CIO councils, have placed more than 1,650 Negroes in apprenticeships, the Labor Dept. said.

AFL-CIO News 10/12/68

Week of December 16, 1968

5,600 HARD-CORE JOBLESS TO GET CIVIL SERVICE JOBS AT DEFENSE FACILITIES

WASHINGTON -- More than 5,600 hard-core jobless youths and adults will be placed in training for Federal Civil Service jobs at Defense Department facilities in 41 metropolitan areas, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz has announced.

The Departments of Labor and Defense have worked out an agreement to use the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) structure in those cities that have CEP. Persons already interviewed and gauged for their abilities by the CEP's will be recruited for the new job opportunities.

They will be given work experience through the type of program the Neighborhood Youth Corps has been operating and then given permanent Civil Service status without written tests.

Initial work experience will be provided trainees in office and production occupations, mostly clerical and helper categories. At least half of the jobs are expected to lead to careers in the fields of drafting, printing, data processing and some of the skilled trades in shipyards and airbases.

Wages will be paid by the Labor Department during the work experience and training phases. It is estimated that trainees will be ready for permanent jobs at the Defense facilities in nine months or less.

(MORE)

Recruiting will begin in January 1969, through the local State employment service offices and will continue over a period of several months as civilian jobs at the facilities open up. The program is called Project Value.

The wage structure for the trainees will conform to Neighborhood Youth Corps regional scales and will progress upward for six months. NYC out-of-school pay rates range from $1.40 to $1.60 an hour.

To guard against the kind of failure the hard-core jobless have experienced with written tests, they will be permitted to qualify under the Worker-Trainees Supplement to the Maintenance and Service Worker Examination. This new rule, adopted in June 1968, by the Civil Service Commission, allows an applicant to qualify on the basis of:

1. Reliability and dependability.
2. Dexterity and safety.
3. Ability to handle weights and loads.
4. Ability to follow directions.
5. Likelihood to succeed in the job assignments.

Project Value has a single objective: to provide permanent employment with opportunity for career progression in the regular work force for disadvantaged men and women 16 or older who have been previously considered unemployable.

(MORE)

Each trainee will be given a two-week orientation which will include counseling, testing, grooming, and job information. A remedial education course will be developed to run concurrently with on-the-job training for an average of 5½ months, according to the trainee's need.

The Project Value agreement avoids a return to the school atmosphere that has proven to be unsuccessful with these trainees.

When they meet full employment standards, they go on the Department of Defense payroll with a GS rating for white collar jobs or a Wage Board rating for blue collar. Minimum wages under the Wage Board vary from trade to trade and city to city, but for a GS employee the present minimum is $3,889.

The trainees will also be provided with transportation and medical services, when necessary.

The agreement also provides that:

"Although a trainee may not meet minimum standards of performance of the job for which he is being trained, as long as he... is trying to be a responsible worker he will be continued in the program and be considered for reassignment to another occupational area....

"By the end of the nine months, all trainees should be placed in permanent jobs with the host activity.... He may be given

(MORE)

permanent employment at any stage of the training program.... The program will be successful only if trainees completing the program are placed in permanent employment."

The 41 areas and the number of trainees to be employed in each are:

Atlanta	100
Baltimore	85
Boston	155
Chicago	70
Cleveland	25
Columbus	85
Miami-Dade County	20
Dallas (non-CEP)	20
Dayton	260
Denver	50
Detroit	100
El Paso (non-CEP)	75
Fort Worth (non-CEP)	25
Oahu, Hawaii (non-CEP)	230
Houston	20
Indianapolis (non-CEP)	100
Kansas City	25
Long Beach-Los Angeles	330
Louisville (non-CEP)	45
Memphis (non-CEP)	65
Minneapolis-St. Paul	25
Newark	25
New Orleans	25
New York City-Jersey City	110
Norfolk	410
Oakland-Richmond	375
Oklahoma City (non-CEP)	285
Omaha	40
Philadelphia	430
Phoenix	25
Pittsburgh	20
Portland, Oreg.	20
*Salt Lake City-Ogden (non-CEP)	190
San Antonio	375
San Diego (non-CEP)	260
San Francisco	170
Seattle	210
St. Louis	155
Tampa	20
Tulsa	20
Washington, D.C.	550

* Enrollment restricted to Indian youth -- principally Navajo.

* * *

News Digest 12-30-68

Manpower - Training

Week of December 30, 1968

OPERATING ENGINEERS TO TRAIN
800 JOBLESS AND UNDEREMPLOYED

WASHINGTON -- Nearly 800 jobless or disadvantaged underemployed youth will be trained as operating engineers under a U.S. Department of Labor contract just announced by Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz.

The International Union of Operating Engineers, AFL-CIO, signed a $2-million contract authorizing a coupled (on-the-job and classroom) training program under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) in eight States.

Training will take place in the District of Columbia, 50 trainees; Alabama, 100; Arizona, 100; California, 118; Connecticut, 100; Indiana, 100; Ohio, 100; Pennsylvania, 100, and Wisconsin, 100.

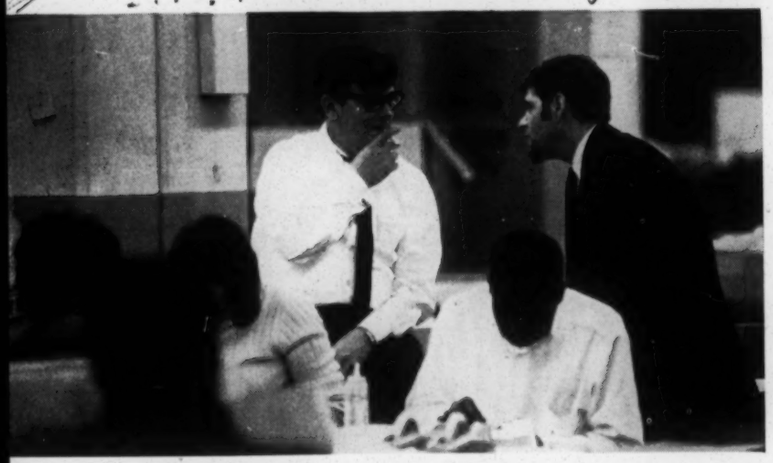
The two-year contract will provide 26 weeks of on-the-job training for 98 preapprentice operating engineers and 20 preapprentice water treatment engineers. Six weeks of on-the-job training has been slated for 555 apprentice-entry operating engineers, 70 heavy-duty mechanics, and 40 technical engineers (surveyors).

The trainees will receive classroom instruction related to their respective occupations.

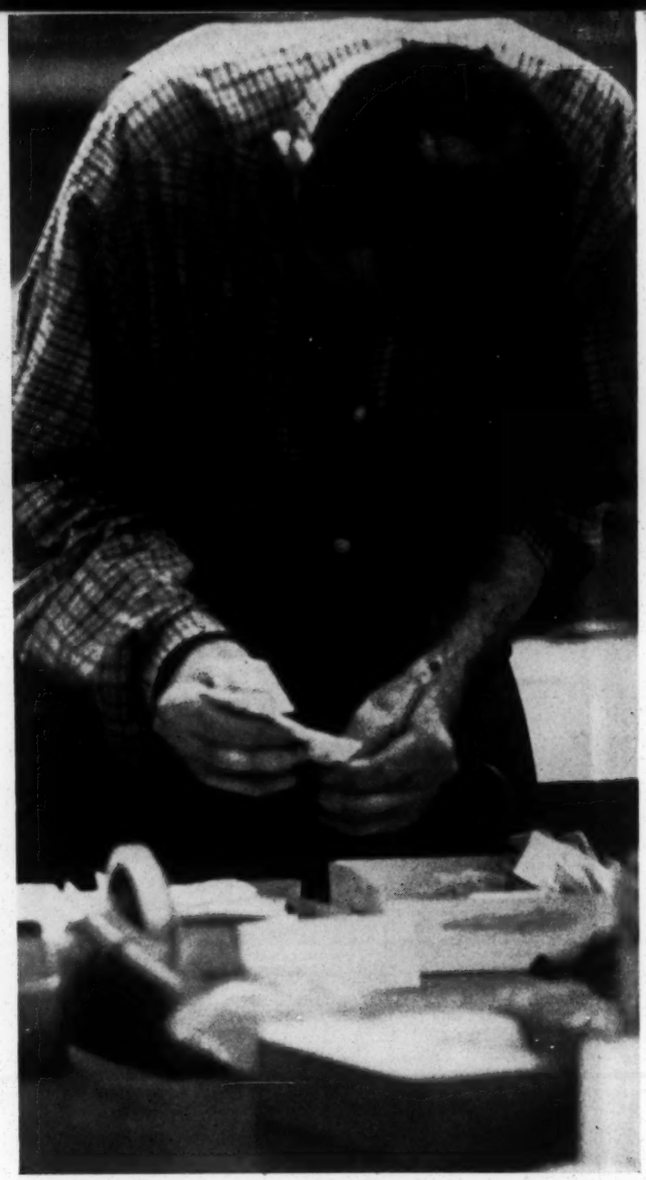
The Labor Department has allocated more than $2 million in MDTA funds in the program: $583,556 for on-the-job training costs; $772,107 for supplement classroom instruction, and $662,180 for training allowances.

* * *

Manpower – Training



Factory manager and psychologist watch illiterate workers test skills on experimental "work samples."



'Graduate' at left checks production in factory area, as ghetto work

LABOR

Tests that sharpen work skills

'Work samples' method devised to guide European refugees in 1930s now serves hardest-core unemployed

Techniques invented to test and develop the work abilities of European refugees—and later of physically and mentally handicapped patients—are being applied successfully to the hardest-core unemployed: workers who cannot read English at the sixth-grade level. The experimental method bypasses the whole issue of functional illiteracy—indeed, of language as a measure of work ability. It uses a series of industrial tasks to evaluate—and strengthen—the worker's ability to hold down a productive job, often for the first time in his life.

For 10 months, the Philadelphia Jewish Employment & Vocational Service has been applying its "work samples" test method to functionally illiterate ghetto residents. The experiment has proved so productive that the Labor Dept.—which financed it—has expanded the project to nine additional cities and one rural area. JEVS officials are currently teaching work samples techniques to employment counselors from hard-core areas of Boston, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Louis, San Francisco, Phoenix, Washington, D. C. and the Mississippi Delta.

Since the 1960 U. S. census found 11-million out of 126-million adults to be either entirely or functionally illiterate, the importance of the technique is obvious.

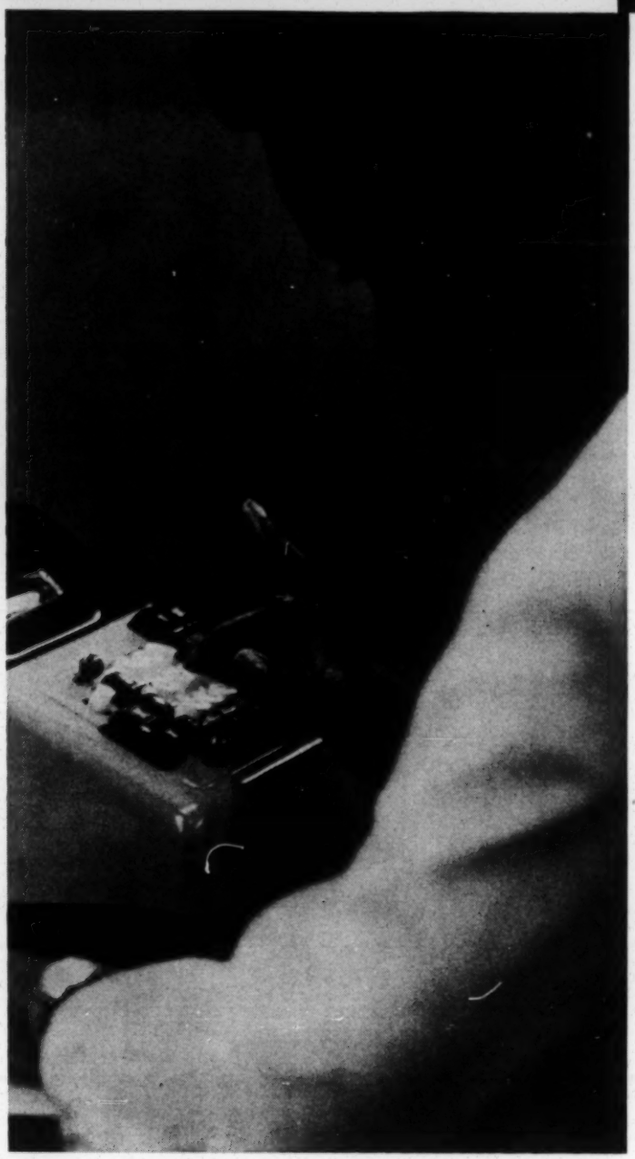
Battery of tests. Basically, the JEVS method consists of a battery of 28 skill tests given in an industrial setting, coupled with psychological and guidance counseling. Originally it was developed in the 1930s to analyze the skills of European Jewish refugees who could not speak or write English well enough to take conventional, language-oriented tests. Since then, it has been refined to evaluate the capabilities of—and to some extent motivate—the physically and mentally handicapped.

Emphasis is on the realism of the industrial setting, which includes a factory that subcontracts assembly and packaging work from the government and private industry. Recently, for instance, it fulfilled subcontracted assembly jobs for the Burpee Seed Co. and for Black & Decker, a tool manufacturer.

"We're not testing them on toys," says Bernard Orr, JEVS director of the $142,000 Labor Dept. project. "Everything here has a direct relationship to industrial tasks—including the time clocks."

The Labor Dept. decided to expand the project because 34% of the 270 ghetto volunteers who had combined two-week testing in JEVS work samples with job counseling by the Pennsylvania State Employment Service were still employed three months afterward. At first glance an unimpressive statistic, the 34% compared well with the 19% of the control group who were still on the job after receiving only the job counseling.

Higher hurdles. The JEVS system is designed to place increasing d



worker (center) tackles a simple task, and girl (right) puzzles out a more complex operation.

mands on the worker as he proceeds through the various work samples—from the simple counting of nuts and bolts and clerical and sorting tasks to soldering and the disassembly and reassembly of a complicated door lock mechanism. The tasks are performed under time-clock pressures, and the testing area is ringed by counselors who grade the worker at each step.

The door lock test, for instance, provides an opportunity to grade the worker on ability to perceive spatial relationships, hand coordination, finger dexterity, and frustration level.

Other tasks may require the worker to sort pieces of colored tile—to spot color-blindness—or to weigh packages on a post office-type scale—to determine both his accuracy and arithmetical skills.

An important task requires him to thread a hundred nuts halfway up the shafts of a hundred bolts. The result measures his ability to continue to follow instructions carefully through a long, repetitious, boring job.

After two weeks, the worker receives grades on his adjustment to industrial routine, punctuality, skill potentials, working relations with associates, and reaction to supervision. The State Employment Service uses these grades to match him to a job or pass him on to further training.

Job hunters. Indeed, the State Employment Service reports that many graduates of JEVS work samples testing and employment service counseling don't wait for the service to find them jobs; they go out and find them on their own.

The service lists other benefits:

- Work samples graduates get a broader selection of job and training offers, with more opportunities for advancement, than the average employment service counseling graduate.
- Some employers accept the work samples test results as a substitute for a high school diploma or job history.

The JEVS and the State Employment Service naturally are eager to encourage this trend.

"We're getting excellent feedback from employers who hired workers on the strength of the work samples program instead of putting them through the usual paper and pencil tests," says an employment service official. "Now we're hoping that word of mouth will begin to operate and other employers will become willing to hire on a work samples basis. "What we really need is a widespread commitment from important companies in the business world to use this method."

For ghetto trainees with emotional problems, the JEVS factory frequently provides the moment of truth: a strong dose of real-life working conditions, with production line pressures, foremen breathing down their necks, and pay computed on a piecework basis. The factory's five

Worker is timed and graded on down-to-earth test of changing a tire.

Supervisors get tougher as tasks do. Lorenzo Fauntleroy is the toughest.

areas—like the work samples tests—become more complex as the worker moves from one to another.

Tougher bosses. Supervision, too, becomes harder to take as the worker progresses. The foreman in No. 1 area is Frank Calciano, a genial and outgoing type. No. 5 area foreman is Lorenzo Fauntleroy, a 6-ft.-3-in. former Army warrant officer who practices a gruffer and less direct style of supervision. The slackening of supervision is designed to instill self-confidence; its increasingly abrasive nature tests the worker's ability to stand the gaff. A trainee who can't take it may be recommended for sheltered shop work.

Since the factory operates under psychologists' supervision, conflicts occasionally arise between the foremen—concerned about profits—and the psychologists—concerned about their clients.

Once, when production was down, the plant took on a subcontract that obviously distressed many of the trainees. Despite the loss of income, factory director David Yusem threw it out. "In the final analysis," he says, "we're here to help our clients' future progress."

Psychologists on the job. As a result, JEVS psychologists spend much of their working day on the factory floor.

Since most of the JEVS workers have a history of welfare dependency, motivating them to work is a major task—sometimes unsuccessful. Many hard-core unemployed simply see no logic in giving up a steady—albeit low—income for the vagaries of a job they're pretty well convinced won't be much.

"After all," points out Yusem, "there's greater stability in welfare than in a marginal job."

Aid to dropouts. In addition to the pilot project with functional illiterates, JEVS has participated in a project with potential high school dropouts that offers perhaps even more hope.

Under a three-year Labor Dept. grant that ended last June, the Philadelphia school system sent the agency some 300 high school students who had been judged ready to drop out and join the ranks of the unemployed—and perhaps permanently unemployable. JEVS applied the same work samples and factory experience techniques to this group.

"It was highly worthwhile," says a school official who's hoping the Labor Dept. will finance the project again. "It made many students aware of the possibilities. They discovered they could do a job. We believe it kept a lot of them from quitting."

Labor briefs

Rubber workers covered by supplementary unemployment benefit plans divided $5-million in yearend bonuses under United Rubber Workers contracts. URW's plans provide for an annual division of employer payments in excess of what is needed for maximum funding of reserves. The spillover, which varied from company to company, ranged from $35.07 each for 19,921 workers in the Uniroyal chain to $72 for 20,203 Goodyear workers and $83 for 3,386 employed by Armstrong Rubber. Some smaller groups got up to $100 each in pre-Christmas checks.

Long-term stability in the U. S. shipbuilding industry is an objective of the International Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers. IUMSWA and the Quincy (Mass.) Div. of General Dynamics have just signed a contract expiring Mar. 16, 1974. It provides for $1.07 an hour in economic benefits. A union spokesman says that only shipbuilders "with such stability can expect to participate successfully in major shipbuilding programs in the future."

Vacation bonuses ranging from $30 to $120 over regular vacation pay and other fringe gains negotiated by the United Steelworkers in 1968 went into effect Jan. 1—but the industry's 400,000 workers aren't uniformly happy. The fringe package is an important plus for the workers, but there is no wage increase until Aug. 1.

Strike funds are growing. The United Auto Workers reports that its strike fund topped $70-million in November—UAW's biggest war chest ever—and that its "defense" income currently is $1.5-million a month above expenditures. The United Steelworkers' first strike fund, set up in early 1968, amassed $25-million in reserves in its first five months.

Legislatures meeting in 1969 and 1970 could mean "some difficult times" for unions, says AFL-CIO. The labor federation is concerned about the influence that 31 Republican governors will have when or if states take up labor legislation.

Sugar plantations in Hawaii face demands by the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union that could add $25-million to the industry's labor costs through Mar. 31, 1971. Among other things, ILWU wants a 50¢-an-hour pay hike for 10,500 workers on 23 plantations.

Week of January 6, 1969

Manpower - Apprenticeship

OKLAHOMA BUILDING TRADES SURPASS MINORITY GOALS, START NEW EFFORT

WASHINGTON -- The AFL-CIO building trades council in Oklahoma City will prepare another 40 minority youths for skilled-craft apprenticeships under an agreement with the U.S. Department of Labor.

A one-year Apprenticeship Outreach contract for $48,625 has been approved with the Southwestern Oklahoma Building and Construction Trades Council.

In its previous contract completed last month, the Council nearly doubled its goal of 40 successful minority applicants and placements. It placed 70 in 10 building trades.

Construction trades placements includes 7 bricklayers, 6 carpenters, 14 cement masons, 2 electricians, an ironworker, an operating engineer, a painter, 5 pipe tradesmen, 28 roofers, and 5 sheetmetal workers.

To accomplish this, the council recruited and prepared 338 candidates in the southwestern counties of Oklahoma.

In addition to the 70 candidates hired as apprentices, another 10 have passed their examinations and are waiting for placement.

This brings to 2,024 the total number of minority apprentices hired through the national outreach program in the past 24 months.

The Apprenticeship Outreach program was first developed by the Workers' Defense League in New York City. It is designed to "reach out" to minority youngsters, motivate their interest in becoming skilled craftsmen, and help them pass apprenticeship tests.

The program is basically a recruitment and tutorial project which prepares minority candidates for specific apprenticeship examinations, principally in 18 building and construction trades. It entails 4 to 10 weeks of concentrated study in mechanical reasoning and spatial relations as well as test-taking techniques. Part of the preparation involves mock oral examinations with volunteers acting the role of interviewers.

# # #

U.S. Dept of Labor
News Digest

Week of January 6, 1969

Manpower - Apprenticeship

UAW JOINS GROWING LIST OF APPRENTICESHIP OUTREACH SPONSORS

WASHINGTON -- The United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW) has become the 10th major organization to sponsor an Apprenticeship Outreach Program, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz has announced.

The UAW will prepare at least 100 minority youths for apprenticeship entrance tests through tutor and cram courses in the Detroit area. The UAW will be assisted by $83,705 in Federal funds to complete the project.

This brings to almost 3,000 the number of minority youth sponsored for apprenticeships by civil rights, social action and labor groups in 51 cities in the past two years.

Of the 3,000 more than 2,000 have already been hired as apprentices, mostly in the building and construction trades.

The UAW is the first labor organization outside the building and construction trades to sponsor such a project.

Apprenticeship Outreach, a program supported by the U. S. Department of Labor, searches among minority youth for potential skilled craftsmen. Its sponsors guide young minority applicants into the skilled crafts by finding them, motivating them, and preparing them for specific examinations by providing person-to-person coaching and counseling to enable them to pass entrance tests.

The Outreach program is based upon a tutoring concept first developed by the Workers' Defense League in New York City. Four-to-ten-week "cram" courses were designed to help apprentice candidates prepare for specific

(MORE)

examinations in the building and construction trades, such as carpentry, sheet metal working, and plumbing. Mock oral tests, extensive coaching and private tutoring helped them score well in tests held by joint apprenticeship committees.

The UAW contract announced today indicates that the Apprenticeship Outreach Program is now beginning to enlist the active support of labor unions outside the building and construction trades.

# # #

BALTIMORE SUN JAN 16, 1969

Training The Unskilled For Well-Paying Jobs

By Ann L. Drees

DOZENS of unemployed men walk the streets of a northern ghetto day after day while a few blocks away jobs in an industrial plant go unfilled for lack of qualified applicants.

A Mexican-American family migrates from place to place in a truck, following the crops, while an electronics firm near their home in the Southwest searches for skilled workers.

In a southern community a frozen foods company needs trained technicians, but displaced farm workers living nearby have lost all hope of earning a decent living.

The key to matching men to well-paying jobs today is training.

Cooperating Agencies

In its efforts to aid the disadvantaged, the Economic Development Administration of the United States Department of Commerce seeks to attract industry into areas of high unemployment and create new jobs. But often, before new plants will hire the local unemployed, an extra step—training—is needed. For this reason, Commerce participates in the development of training programs.

In fiscal, 1968, more than 14,495 of the nation's hard-core unemployed and underemployed were trained for well-paying jobs in programs sponsored by Commerce and other cooperating agencies.

Establishment of skill centers, where trainees are taught things as basic as cleanliness, grooming and getting to work on time as well as vocational skills, has helped open up new opportunities for those whom President Johnson has called "the last in line."

Under the Manpower Development and Training Act, $22 million has been set aside annually since fiscal 1966 for training of the hard-core unemployed in various designated areas. Commerce cooperates with the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare to carry out this program.

When the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor receives an application for a training project from an area designated by Commerce as qualified on the basis of high unemployment or low family income, a committee of representatives from Commerce, Labor and HEW reviews the project and recommends whether it should be approved. Once a project is approved, HEW enters into a contract with the training agency to finance the actual training, while the Department of Labor pays weekly allowances to the workers being trained. Sometimes, the training agency is an industrial firm, which assumes responsibility for paying the trainees.

New Start

In assessing the needs of a community and the assistance required in getting training programs underway, Commerce officials meet with city and state officials as well as private employers and community groups in target areas. For many Americans, the result has been a new start in life.

"I didn't believe it could happen to me." These are the words of a young Negro girl who rushed up to greet the field representative of the San Diego Skill Center in California, as he paid a follow-up visit to the data-processing company where she worked. She had gone to the Skill Center with a ninth-grade education and a police record. After a few basic courses she was hired by the data firm as an electronic assembly trainee starting at $1.60 an hour. She had gradually become a valued employee, gaining new self-respect as well as a raise in salary.

Spoke No English

The people at the San Diego Center also tell about the 45 Mexican-Americans who spoke no English. They were divided into three classes of 15 each and given 20 weeks of language training in industry-oriented English — words applying to tools, safety, etc. They were also taught how to fill out job application forms. At the end of the course, 39 were placed in jobs, 20 with an aircraft company which paid them $2.47 an hour to file the rough edges off metal. They now earn $3 an hour. They take great pride in their work and improved standard of living.

The San Diego center was started with a public works grant from Commerce to remodel and equip a vacant school building for the training program.

Skill Center

In Newark, N.J., another area with a severe hard-core unemployment problem, a Commerce-assisted skill center has also been successful. It opened in 1966 on the site of a former teachers' college. Today men and women of all ages — most from minority groups — take a variety of courses ranging from cooking and typing to drafting, tool grinding, shoe repairing, upholstering and landscape gardening.

The response to this project has been so enthusiastic Commerce recently approved a grant of $1,541,000 to help build and equip a new center in Newark with a 1,500 student capacity.

Meanwhile, the center is planning to experiment with a new program to prevent high school students from dropping out. They will be invited to spend a few hours of each school day at the center learning automobile and radio repair. The aim is to keep students in school by applying their personal interests to vocational training for the future.

Along with the Interfaith Interracial Council of the Clergy and various federal agencies, the Commerce Department also participates in a program aimed at enabling once-jobless workers in the Philadelphia area to learn construction skills while rehabilitating slum houses. At a starting salary of $1.75 an hour which goes up as skills increase, the trainees are learning to spread concrete and install plumbing and electrical wiring. In addition to giving these workers a new start in life, the project means a new home for low-income families who buy the finished product.

Lumber Business

Commerce's extensive planning for the economic development of low-income Indian reservations is also beginning to pay off in trained men for jobs such as those created by a new tribal lumber business on the Umatilla Indian Reservation in Oregon. Under the Manpower Training program, Indians on the reservation have been trained as heavy equipment and power saw operators, engineering helpers and for other jobs related to the new business, enabling them to work together toward a brighter economic future for themselves and their community.

Training is but part of Commerce's overall economic development mission, but helping disadvantaged Americans get off relief rolls onto the payrolls and tax rolls is an essential part.

AFL-CIO NEWS, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 11, 1969

Labor to Train 4,000 In 11 Appalachian States

The AFL-CIO Appalachian Council will train 4,000 jobless and underemployed workers in depressed urban and rural areas of the 11 states in the Appalachian region under a Labor Dept. contract.

Labor Sec. Willard Wirtz said the federal government will invest almost $4 million in two training programs being developed by the council.

States affected by the project are Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia.

The AFL-CIO proposals for both projects are coupled programs, covering on-the-job and classroom training. A variety of employers will cooperate in the programs throughout the region.

The larger of the two programs will aid 3,000 people in nonrural sections with an investment of $2,648,500 in Manpower Development & Training Act funds.

The second proposal calls for training opportunities for 1,000 rural residents with an investment of $1,256,160 in MDTA funds.

The jobless or underemployed workers will be drawn from the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps work experience programs and from the ranks of the disadvantaged unemployed. Trainees will receive wages and fringe benefits in accordance with existing bargaining agreements.

Acting as prime contractor, the Appalachian Council will negotiate subcontracts with private employers throughout the 11 states to hire and train workers.

The programs will be directed by Miles C. Stanley, chairman of the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council, and Richard L. Wilkes.

Manpower — Training

Minority Areas, Firms Begin New Jobs Plan

3-Man Team Trying to Make Industry, Communities More Relative to Each Other

BY JACK JONES
Times Staff Writer

"We're feeling our way because no one has ever done this before," says the head of a three-man team attempting to keep minority communities and those companies with hire-the-hard-core programs really tuned in on each other.

"We have to throw away the old industrial rule book," says Carl B. Kludt, one-time personnel development manager for Hughes Aerospace Group and now director of the Ford Foundation-backed Community Affairs Program of the American Society for Training and Development (ASTD).

Kludt is hoping to be heard by more of the nearly 400 local ASTD members and the nearly 7,000 nationally who are training and personnel men in industry.

Life has taken a turn for training and personnel people since private industry began finding itself up to its earlobes in programs —either with or without federal subsidies—to hire and train "unemployables" from poverty-stricken minority areas.

Status Changes

The training director, Kludt says, "used to be just the guy they called in to update the manuals. Now we're change agents."

The ASTD community affairs program is trying to do what Harold M. Jacobs, its associate director for industry, calls "making industry and the community more relative to each other."

This entails changing attitudes on both sides of the line—in the minority communities about the companies — and in the companies about the culture and behavior patterns of trainees from ghettos and barrios.

Ernest Preacely, one-time neighborhood adult participation project official and now Jacobs' counterpart (associate director for the community) in ASTD, the community program, has compiled with Kludt a list of "threatening spectres" to which the project presumably must respond.

Industry, Preacely points out, feels that it is "doing the right thing by the community" with its training programs, but is unaware that many in minority areas see companies as colonizers.

No Self-Determination

The present application of manpower training, Preacely and Kludt have concluded, "is pure colonization without self-determination for the community."

Defining that a little further, Kludt wrote:

"Blacks and browns are just becoming aware that their communities are being 'built up' to be controlled from a 'home base' outside their community.

"They are becoming aware that industry can 'turn it off' at any time. The franchise, subsidiaries and 'branch plants' are really vehicles of colonization, not black and brown self-determination."

In other words, says Kludt, "What happens when the top executive in the home office of some company decides they've had enough and shuts down the program?"

While minority-group people want "some control for self-determination reasons," industry might say:

"Hell, no. What's wrong with you people? We're trying to help with our money!" suggests the Kludt-Preacely projection for future approaches to the problem.

When Northrop Corp. was ready to launch its program training the hard-core in Venice for jobs at its Norair Division in Hawthorne, the ASTD community program group was involved in helping prepare plant supervisors for the shock.

This involved bringing the Sons of Watts, young men with street-gang backgrounds, into the plant to exchange ideas and attitudes with foremen and others.

"Both sides," says Jacobs, "got new respect for each other."

When North American Rockwell Corp. was setting up its NARTRANS Corp. subsidiary, hiring exclusively hard-core jobless from Watts and East Los Angeles, the Kludt group was called in to precondition the staff.

R. C. Robinson, NARTRANS vice president and general manager, credits the ASTD team with much of the company's success in turning its trainees into effective workers.

In Robinson's view, ASTD saved his company about six months because "the staff began talking to each other right away."

The ASTD project originally received Ford Foundation funds in early 1966 along with the Management Council and the Opportunities Industrialization Center to bring together industry resources with the OIC training operation in the black community.

For one reason or another, the OIC-Management Council-ASTD tieup visualized by the Ford Foundation was never really effective.

Last February ASTD got a second Ford Foundation grant ($147,600 for two years) "to provide technical and other services to manpower training programs serving the disadvantaged and to industrial training efforts."

This has involved calling on one company's training specialist to help another firm suddenly finding itself dealing with the hard-core or getting some firm's expert to devote time to the East Los Angeles Youth Training and Employment Project or similar antipoverty set-up.

In a way, says Jacobs, "we are simply talent brokers."

ASTD also is working closely with community groups in East Los Angeles, Watts and other areas to promote job clearing houses for the trading of job information and the luring of companies to "hire on the spot" sessions that sidestep formal procedures.

Just how effective ASTD can be in making industry innovative in its attack on the hard-core unemployment problem remains to be seen.

POVERTY
(continued)

from the present $30-million to $100-million. Under this program, the Government helps poor families pay their rent.

In addition to increasing present programs, Mr. Johnson called for creation of an Urban Developemnt Bank to help cities finance public facilities, such as parks and buildings.

The bank would issue [redacted]erally guaranteed bonds, on which the Federal Government would subsidize interest. Mr. Johnson said this would involve "little direct cost to the Federal Government."

The President called for a $458-million increase, to $3.5-billion, for the Government's array of manpower training programs administered largely by the Labor Department and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Under the Administration's plans, he said, the poor will comprise more than 85 per cent of those to be trained. Included in this is the program sponsored by the National Alliance of Businessmen, which trains the hard-core unemployed.

For feeding the poor, President Johnson called for an increase of $291-million, to a total of $956-million for the fiscal year 1970 in food stamps and direct assistance.

Under the Johnson Administration plan, about $675-million of this would come, for the first time, from a special fund received by the Agriculture Department from customs duties.

In signing the budget today in the East Room of the White House, President Johnson said he considered it "progressive and responsible." His only reservation, he said, was that "it doesn't go as far as I want it to in the funding of many domestic programs."

Manpower – Training

Week of January 20, 1969

STAFF TRAINING PUSHED AS 47,000 ARE HELPED OFF WELFARE ROLLS

WASHINGTON -- The U.S. Department of Labor is training teams of employment specialists in most cities to ease welfare clients into job training or full-time jobs.

A special staff training program is being emphasized for personnel connected with Work Incentive (WIN) programs already under way in 34 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and Guam.

Eighteen week-long training sessions have been conducted across the country in the last three months by employment specialists from the Manpower Administration headquarters. More than 500 State employment service people from 48 States have been provided the special knowledge needed to handle the local WIN programs.

Enrollments are moving ahead rapidly. By the end of January 47,000 persons will have been enrolled.

The program will be launched within the next six months in the other 16 States, where changes in State laws must first be made, and in the Virgin Islands.

The Federal Government finances 80 percent of the cost of the WIN program and the States finance 20 percent.

Federal funds totaling $117.5 million were appropriated for the first fiscal year to conduct work and training projects, and to provide day-care facilities for children whose mothers are enrolled.

US Dept Labor News-Digest

(MORE)

As of the start of 1969, $74 million of the Federal funds have been approved for projects involving 80,000 participants, and State governments have put up an additional $15 million.

The funds appropriated by the Congress would provide for the enrollment of 100,000 persons by the end of June.

WIN enrollments will not exceed the 100,000 level until after June when the program, by then operating in all 50 States and the four territories, may be expanded as it begins it second year.

Purpose of the WIN program is to restore to economic independence the employable persons in families receiving "Aid to Families with Dependent Children" (AFDC). There are close to 1-1/2 million families whose members may be eligible for referral to the WIN program.

Program participants remain on welfare while they are enrolled and preparing for a job. The WIN staff does not recruit, but waits for referrals from the welfare agencies.

WIN is a new concept, and its launching has involved some innovations.

One is that the local offices will assign teams to work exclusively with persons on welfare rolls. These specially-trained five-man WIN teams, employed by the State and paid from Federal funds, will be assigned to the local employment service staffs in areas having a large number of welfare clients. Initially each team will have a maximum case load of 200.

Social and medical services, including child care, are supplied by the public welfare agencies which refer public assistance clients to WIN.

The local WIN teams, through the organizational facilities of the Federal-State employment service, supply counseling and testing, job orientation, basic education, training in communications and employability

(MORE)

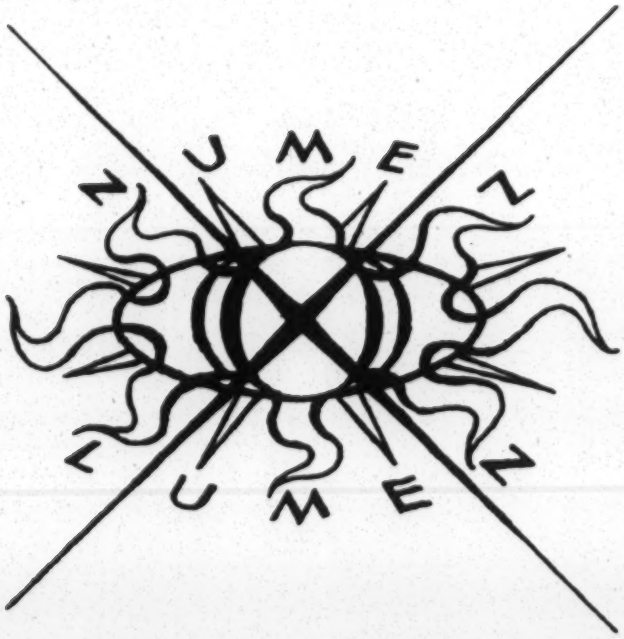
skills, work experience, skill training either in classrooms or on the job, and special job development and placement services.

The WIN program was ordered by the Congress last year in amendments to the Social Security Act. Its administration was delegated to the Department of Labor, and is being conducted by the Department's Manpower Administration.

# # #

TRAINING SPECIFICATIONS

APPRENTICEABLE WISCONSIN OCCUPATIONS



The University of Wisconsin Extension Division

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

Apprenticeship

BULLETIN T-149

APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING in the ELECTRICAL CONTRACTING INDUSTRY

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

THE NEGRO WAGE-EARNER

AND

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAMS

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS
WITH RECOMMENDATIONS

LABOR DEPARTMENT
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, NEW YORK

Gary F. Vito

The University of Wisconsin
Center for Studies in Vocational
and Technical Education
announces the publication of

RESEARCH IN APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING:
PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE

Papers included in this volume were presented at the Conference on Research in Apprenticeship Training held in Madison, Wisconsin in September 1966. The conference was co-sponsored by The Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research, U.S. Department of Labor, and the Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, The University of Wisconsin.

The objectives of the conference were: to present the findings of scholarly research; to provide balanced participation--both in presentations and attendance--by bringing together representatives from universities, government, labor, and management; and to stimulate a dialogue among the various groups interested in apprenticeship training.

Apprenticeship training was discussed from the broad perspective of the labor market. Particularly important here was the identification of forces which have controlled the supply of and demand for apprentice-trained labor. Papers also dealt with more specific issues: problems of related instruction, the role of joint apprenticeship advisory committees, the use of pre-apprenticeship training, and minority groups in apprenticeship.

Contents of this Proceedings:

Apprenticeship in the United States: Labor Market Forces and Social Policy	David J. Farber
Discussion:	Jack Barbash A. Harvey Belitsky
Apprenticeship and the American Labor Movement	Vernon E. Jirikowic
The Pursuit of Excellence in Apprenticeship Training: Research Procedures, Instruments, and Challenges	Alfred S. Drew
Discussion:	Frank G. Musala
Related Instruction: Basic Problems and Issues	George Strauss
Discussion:	Morris A. Horowitz Don Vial
A Study of Registered Joint Apprenticeship Committees in Wisconsin Building Trades	Alan C. Filley Karl O. Magnusen
Discussion:	Charles F. Hanna Herbert A. Perry

A Perspective on Apprenticeship Today	Hugh Murphy
Increasing Apprenticeship Opportunities Through Pre-Employment Training	John S. McCauley
Discussion:	Paul V. Johnson
National and State Apprenticeship, 1960-1966: Up to Date or Out of Date?	F. F. Foltman
Discussion:	Leon S. Tunkel Sol Swerdloff
Negro Participation in Apprenticeship Programs	Ray Marshall
Discussion:	Don Irwin
The Negro, Apprentice Training Programs, and Testing	Irving Kovarsky
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1180 Observatory Drive
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

File ~~RACT~~

Apprenticeship —
Preparatory Training

1. How many people are at a hearing if 16 are men and 5 are women?

2. If it takes a man two hours to put together a machine, how many machines can he put together in one week (5 days) working 6 hours per day?

3. A man puts in the following hours of work in one week:

Monday - 9 hours		
Tuesday - 6 hours	a)	How many hours did he work in one week?
Wednesday - 9 hours		
Thursday - 12 hours	b)	If he is supposed to work a 35 hour week, how many hours of overtime did he work?
Friday - 10 hours		

4. Going to work by car takes 1 hour 10 minutes. Because of delays the trip to work took 2 hours 5 minutes. How many more minutes did the trip take?

5. Jim gets 14 miles per gallon on his car. Bob uses up 15 gallons in travelling 225 miles. Whose car is more economical?

6. A truck cost $8496 and a man makes monthly payments of $708. How many months will it take him to pay off the car?

7. The cost of an article increased 4 times over a period of 2 years. If the article then cost $2.07, what is the present cost of the article?

8. The number of inches in 4 yards is ... ?

9. If 2 feet of wire is to be cut from a roll 6 yards long, how many inches will be left?

10. It takes 12 minutes to complete a trip by Lotus around Monza. How many trips can the car complete in 2 1/2 Hours?

11. Two rings are to be placed one inside the other. One ring has a diameter of 6.8 and the other has a diameter of 3.7486. What is the difference in diameter?

12. A room measures 16 feet by 24 feet. How many square feet of tile will be be needed to cover the floor?

13. If 6 inch strips can be cut from a length of rope 8 3/4 feet long, how many strips can be cut?

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS IMPORTANT IN APPRENTICESHIP

1. Willingness to ask questions and learn.

2. A degree of caution because of hazards involved, yet not scared.

3. Ability to work with others because of the teamwork involved on the job.

4. Will not be deterred by weather conditions.

5. Willingness to do jobs that are not flattering such as running errands.

6. Give friendly attitude, not antagonistic.

7. Wear shirt, tie, and jacket.

ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE

1. Explain yourself clearly on the job.

2. Ask questions precisely.

WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT OBLIGATION OF APPRENTICESHIP

1. Attend all classes during apprenticeship.

2. Follow union obligations, pay dues, attend meetings, etc.

3. Willingness to adjust to economic comditions of craft - lay-offs, etc.

4. Willingness to travel anywhere to work.

5. Not deterred by time factor involved in training program. Will stick with program for full term of apprenticeship.

INTEREST AND MOTIVATION

1. Interesting work: chance to get a union card, along with the benefits offered. Chance to be a member of a union that is noted for looking afters its members. Chance to participate in the organization by becoming a full journeyman.

2. Offers security and an opportunity to provide material goods for the family, an opportunity that has never been offered before.

4. Sense of responsibility in an occupation that has its hazards.

5. From own observation - always interested.

NAME _____

PERSONAL TRAITS (Evaluated by Interview)

Personality characteristics important in apprenticeship	1	2	3	4	5
Ability to communicate					
Willingness to accept obligation of apprenticeship					
Ability to reason and comprehend					
Interest and motivation					

REMARKS:

Interviewed by _____

1. How many pens are in a box if 15 are blue and 8 are red?

2. If a contractor can build 7 houses in a week, how many can he build in 2 months?

3. If John puts in 13 hours of overtime when his normal work week is 42 hours, how many hours did he work in a week?

4. If it takes 55 mins. to fly to Washington and 3 hrs and 5min. by monorail, how much longer does it take to travel by monorail?

5. A shop had 15 employers one year and 7 times as many people the next year. How many people are now employed?

6. A V. W gives 23 miles on a gallon of gas, how many miles can he travel on 15 gallons?

7. A girl spent 1/3 of her allowance on candy. If her allowance is 50¢, how much did she spend on candy?

8. To pay for an article costing $4440 what will be the monthly payments if you pay for it in one year.

9. If 4 inches are cut off from a piece of rope 4 ft. long, how many inches will be left?

10. If you can type one page in 12 minutes, how many pages can you type in 2 1/2 hours.

11. The diameter of 2 circles is 2.7 and 1.988 inches respectively. What is the difference in their diameter?

12. A man bought a house for $4,281 and sold it at a loss of $385.65. What was the selling price?

13. A piece of cloth 3 3/4 feet wide was divided into strips 3 inches wide. H ow many strips can you cut off?

14. If a highway 1290 miles long has 40 percent unpaved, how many miles are unpaved?

15. If you answer 21 out of 35 questions correctly on a test, what percent did you get correct?

16. Find the area of a floor 23 ft. by 17 ft.

17. $3.60 is to be divided among 3 people. The first receives 1/4 of the total amount, the second 1/3 of the total amount. How much did the 3rd individual receive?

18. A house is assesed at two-thirds of its value. The house is valued at $6,000. If the tax is $2.75 per $100 assessessed valuation, what is his bill?

Similar

few	limited	many
remember	recall	forget
leave	depart	enter
costly	expensive	cheap
habit	custom	
longing	desire	
strong	forceful.	frail
distant	remote	close
poison	toxin	anti-toxin
measure	guage	
borrow	take	lend
angry	engaged	calm
rural	country	urban
poison	venom	anti-toxin
concise	condensed	lengthy
conserve	save	destroy
moist	damp	parched
abridged	shortened	lengthy
calm	serene	stormy
definite	certain	vague
remote	distant	near
legal	lawful	illicit
smooth	sleek	rough
diplomacy	tact	crude
prudent	frugal	frivolous
cease	desist	continue
add	increase	subtract
sweet	saccharine	bitter
intermission	break	continue
praiseworthy	commendable	condemn

Mathematical Reasoning

1. Find the number of people in a room if 6 are men and 8 are women.

2. How many trucks ca a man build in 6 months if he can build 8 in one month?

3. John worked a 35 hour week. How many hours did he work if he worked 15 hours overtime?

4. It takes 35 minutes to get to work by subway and 1 hr. 10 min. by car. How much longer does it take by car?

5. Because business improved this summer a contractor will hire 3 times as many electricians as he did last summer. How many men will he hire this summer if he hired 15 last summer?

6. A car uses 15 miles per gallon. How far can it travel on 13 gallons?

7. If you sleep 1/3 of your life away, how many years have you slept if you are 22 years old.

8. A man bought a car for $4812. How much will each monthly payment be if he wants to pay it off in a year?

9. If you cut an 8 inch piece of rope from a piece 3 yards long, how many inches will be left?

10. If each person is allowed to speak 12 minutes, how many people can speak in a 2 1/2 hour discussion?

11. Find the difference between 2.876 and 2.6.

12. John bought a house for $3716 and sold it at a loss of $310.85. What did he sell it for?

13. How many square feet of grass is needed to cover a lawn 72 ft. by 15 ft?

14. Find 40% of 1200.

15. If on a test a pupil answered 34 of 40 questions correctly, what % did he get correct?

16. An office is divided into three sections, A.B, and C. In section A there are 8 typists and each can cut 12 stencils in one day, Insection B there are 12 typists and each can cut 7 stencils per day and in section C there are 9 typists each of whom can cut 11 stencils per day. How many stencils can the office cut in one week?

MINNESOTA CLERICAL TEST

(formerly the Minnesota Vocational Test for Clerical Workers)

by Dorothy M. Andrew, Donald G. Paterson, and Howard P. Longstaff

Name_____ Date_____

TEST 1—Number Comparison	TEST 2—Name Comparison
Number Right_____	Number Right_____
Number Wrong_____	Number Wrong_____
Score = R—W_____	Score = R—W_____
Percentile Rating_____	Percentile Rating_____
Norms Used_____	Norms Used_____

Instructions

On the inside pages there are two tests. One of the tests consists of pairs of names and the other of pairs of numbers. If the two names or the two numbers of a pair are *exactly the same* make a check mark (√) on the line between them; if they are *different,* make no mark on that line. When the examiner says "Stop!" draw a line under the last pair at which you have looked.

Samples done correctly of pairs of *Numbers*

79542_____79524

5794367__√__5794367

Samples done correctly of pairs of *Names*

John C. Linder_____John C. Lender

Investors Syndicate__√__Investors Syndicate

Now try the samples below.

66273894_____66273984

527384578_____527384578

New York World_____New York World

Cargill Grain Co._____Cargil Grain Co.

This is a test for Speed and Accuracy. Work as fast as you can without making mistakes. Do not turn this page until you are told to begin.

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Printed in U. S. A. The Psychological Corporation, New York, N. Y. 10017 65-118T

Test 1

√ Check if the two numbers are the same.

1. 307 ——— 309
2. 4605 ——— 4603
3. 976 ——— 996
4. 101267 ——— 101267
5. 3065432 ——— 30965432
6. 103345700 ——— 103345700
7. 46754 ——— 466754
8. 3367490 ——— 3367490
9. 2779 ——— 2778
10. 57394 ——— 57394
11. 63801829374 ——— 63801839474
12. 283577657 ——— 283577657
13. 75689 ——— 75689
14. 2547892026 ——— 2547893026
15. 336354 ——— 336254
16. 998745732 ——— 998745733
17. 623 ——— 623
18. 263849102983 ——— 263849102983
19. 5870 ——— 5870
20. 379012 ——— 379012
21. 8734629 ——— 8734629
22. 2549806746 ——— 2549806746
23. 57802564 ——— 57892564
24. 689246 ——— 688246
25. 1578024683 ——— 1578024683
26. 582039485618 ——— 582039485618
27. 63829172630 ——— 63829172639
28. 592 ——— 592
29. 829374820 ——— 829374820
30. 62937456 ——— 63937456
31. 8293 ——— 8293
32. 6382910293 ——— 6382910292
33. 781928374012 ——— 781928374912
34. 68293 ——— 68393
35. 18203649271 ——— 18293649271
36. 4820384 ——— 4820384
37. 283019283745 ——— 283019283745
38. 73927102 ——— 73927102
39. 91029354829 ——— 91029354829
40. 38291728 ——— 38291728
41. 6283910293 ——— 6283910203
42. 392018273648 ——— 392018273848
43. 820 ——— 829
44. 572937273 ——— 572937373
45. 7392 ——— 7392
46. 8172036 ——— 8172036
47. 68391028364 ——— 68391028394
48. 48293 ——— 48292
49. 739201 ——— 739201
50. 62839201 ——— 62839211
51. 5829 ——— 5820
52. 192836472829 ——— 192836472829
53. 362 ——— 362
54. 2039271827 ——— 2039276837
55. 73829 ——— 73829
56. 82739102837 ——— 82739102837
57. 48891028 ——— 48891028
58. 7291728 ——— 7291928
59. 172839102839 ——— 172839102839
60. 628192 ——— 628102
61. 473829432 ——— 473829432
62. 478 ——— 478
63. 372816253902 ——— 372816252902
64. 64829 ——— 64830
65. 4739210249 ——— 4739210249
66. 748362 ——— 748363
67. 728354792 ——— 728354772
68. 3927 ——— 3927
69. 927384625 ——— 927384625
70. 4628156 ——— 4628158
71. 6382 ——— 6392
72. 12937453829 ——— 12937453829
73. 523 ——— 533
74. 7263920 ——— 7263920
75. 74293 ——— 74293
76. 82734291 ——— 82734271
77. 2739102637 ——— 2739102637
78. 62810263849 ——— 62810263846
79. 638291 ——— 638291
80. 62831027 ——— 62831027
81. 527 ——— 529
82. 172438291026 ——— 172438291026
83. 7253829142 ——— 725382942
84. 836287 ——— 836289
85. 62435162839 ——— 62435162839
86. 6254 ——— 6256
87. 6241526 ——— 6241526
88. 1426389012 ——— 1426389102
89. 825 ——— 825
90. 67253917287 ——— 67253917287
91. 6271 ——— 6271
92. 263819253627 ——— 263819253629
93. 82637 ——— 82937
94. 728392736 ——— 728392736
95. 62739 ——— 62739
96. 728352689 ——— 728352688
97. 463728 ——— 463728
98. 73829176 ——— 73827196
99. 4825367 ——— 4825369
100. 56382018 ——— 56382018

√ Check if the two numbers are the same.

101. 789 ——— 789
102. 819263728192 ——— 819263728172
103. 682537289 ——— 682537298
104. 7245 ——— 7245
105. 82936542891 ——— 82936542891
106. 4738267 ——— 4738277
107. 63728 ——— 63729
108. 6283628901 ——— 6283628991
109. 918264 ——— 918264
110. 263728192037 ——— 263728192073

111. 52839102738 ——— 5283910238
112. 6283 ——— 6282
113. 7283529152 ——— 7283529152
114. 208 ——— 298
115. 82637201927 ——— 8263720127
116. 15273826 ——— 15273826
117. 72537 ——— 73537
118. 726391027384 ——— 726391027384
119. 627389 ——— 627399
120. 725382910 ——— 725382910

121. 46273 ——— 46273
122. 629 ——— 620
123. 7382517283 ——— 7382517283
124. 637281 ——— 639281
125. 2738261 ——— 2728261
126. 627152637490 ——— 627152637490
127. 73526189 ——— 73526189
128. 5372 ——— 5392
129. 63728142 ——— 63728124
130. 4783946 ——— 4783046

131. 82637281028 ——— 82637281028
132. 628 ——— 628
133. 7293728172 ——— 7293728177
134. 7362 ——— 7362
135. 927382615 ——— 927382615
136. 85345 ——— 85345
137. 895643278 ——— 895642377
138. 726352 ——— 726353
139. 7263524 ——— 7263524
140. 632685 ——— 632685

141. 273648293048 ——— 273648293048
142. 634 ——— 634
143. 7362536478 ——— 7362536478
144. 7362 ——— 7363
145. 7362819273 ——— 7362819273
146. 63728 ——— 63738
147. 63728192637 ——— 63728192639
148. 728 ——— 738
149. 62738291527 ——— 62738291529
150. 63728192 ——— 63728192

151. 73526 ——— 73526
152. 7283627189 ——— 7283627189
153. 627 ——— 637
154. 728352617283 ——— 728352617282
155. 6281 ——— 6381
156. 936271826 ——— 936371826
157. 82637192037 ——— 82637192037
158. 527182 ——— 527182
159. 6273 ——— 6273
160. 726354256 ——— 72635456

161. 725361552637 ——— 725361555637
162. 7526378 ——— 7526377
163. 685 ——— 685
164. 82637481028 ——— 82637481028
165. 3427 ——— 3429
166. 827364933251 ——— 827364933351
167. 63728 ——— 63728
168. 6273846273 ——— 6273846293
169. 62836 ——— 6283
170. 2638496 ——— 2638496

171. 738291627874 ——— 738291627874
172. 62826454 ——— 62836455
173. 42738267 ——— 42738269
174. 573829 ——— 573829
175. 628364728 ——— 628364928
176. 725 ——— 735
177. 627385 ——— 627383
178. 63354 ——— 63354
179. 54283902 ——— 54283602
180. 7283562781 ——— 7283562781

181. 62738 ——— 63728
182. 727355542321 ——— 72735542321
183. 263849332 ——— 263849332
184. 162837 ——— 163837
185. 47382912 ——— 47382922
186. 628367299 ——— 628367399
187. 111 ——— 111
188. 11829304829 ——— 11828304829
189. 4448 ——— 4448
190. 333693678 ——— 333693678

191. 3212 ——— 3212
192. 27389223678 ——— 27389223678
193. 473829 ——— 473829
194. 7382937 ——— 7383937
195. 3628901223 ——— 3628901233
196. 5572867 ——— 5572867
197. 87263543 ——— 87263543
198. 3678902 ——— 3678892
199. 15672839 ——— 15672839
200. 9927382 ——— 9927382

Ready for Test 2.

Do not turn this page until you are told to begin.

Test 2

√ Check if the two names are the same.

1. Hulme Co.——Hulne Co.
2. L. T. Piver——L. T. Piver
3. Foley & Co.——Foley & Co.
4. Floyd Gibbons——Floyd Gibbens
5. Dole Publishing Co.——Dole Publishing Co.
6. Chase Bag Co.——Chase Bag Co.
7. Aladdin Co.——Aladdin & Co.
8. Arthur Bier & Co.——Arthur Bier Co.
9. Mydall Cain——Mydell Cain
10. M. C. D. Borden & Sons——M. C. D. Borden & Sons
11. Midland Nat'l. Bank——Midland Nat'l. Bank
12. Hixon Lt'd.——Hixon Lt'd.
13. R. Weiner——R. Wiener
14. Pacqueres——Pacqueris
15. Ponemah Mills——Ponemah Mills
16. Keeley Institute——Keeley's Institute
17. Jim Pepper——Jim Pepper
18. Pictorial Review——Pictorial Review
19. Colette Cartier——Colete Cartier
20. Mayno Salon——Mayno's Salon
21. Glazo Co.——Glazo Inc.
22. Bonne Lee——Bonne & Lee
23. Vapo Cresolene Co.——Vapo Cresolen Co.
24. Wiebusch & Helger——Weibusch & Helger
25. A. M. Davis——A. M. Davis
26. Foote Lb'r. Co.——Foot Lb'r. Co.
27. Lander's——Lander's
28. Delle Ross——Dell Ross
29. Savage Rug Co.——Savage Rug Co.
30. Landon & Warner——Landen & Warner
31. Dennison's——Dennison's
32. Piggily Wiggily Co.——Piggily Wiggily Co.
33. Hurley Machine Co.——Hurly Machine Co.
34. J. Bauer & Black——J. Baeur & Black
35. Edwin Cigar Co.——Edwin Cigar Co.
36. Vik Oil Co.——Vik Oil Co.
37. John Skinner & Sons——John Skinner & Son
38. Eagle Pencil Co.——Eagle Pencil Co.
39. Hudson Bros.——Hudson Bros.
40. D. M. Ferry & Co.——D. M. Ferry Co.
41. Johnsen A. J.——Johnson A. J.
42. Todd & Son——Todd & Sons
43. Merrill Palmer——Merrill Palmer
44. T. Cook & Son——T. Cook & Son
45. Funk & Wagnall——Funk & Wagnull
46. F. H. Vizetelly——F. H. Vizitelly
47. Higgen & Co.——Higgin & Co.
48. Bert Cooksley——Bert Cooksley
49. W. C. Wadsworth Co.——W. C. Wadworth Co.
50. Alvah Bushnell——Alvah Bushnell
51. Armo Culvert Co.——Armo Culvert & Co.
52. Larous & Bro.——Larus & Bro.
53. Winstar W. B.——Winster W. B.
54. Bender L. C.——Binder L. C.
55. J. C. Andresen Inc.——J. C. Andresen Inc.
56. Vacuum Oil Company——Vacuum Oil Company
57. Endicott Co.——Endicott Co.
58. Minneapolis Mf'g. Co.——Minneapolis Mf'g. Co.
59. Beverly A. B.——Beverley A. B.
60. Jensen & Co.——Jenson & Co.
61. Meumann L. R.——Meumann L. R.
62. Stevenson & Co.——Stevenson & Co.
63. Haldoran H. P.——Haldoran H. P.
64. Evers Bros.——Evers Bros.
65. Nevens Sales Co.——Nevens Sale Co.
66. Outdoor Sign Co.——Outdoor Sign Co.
67. Young & Co.——Young & Co.
68. Goodyear Tire Co.——Goodyear Tire Co.
69. Redford Lb'r. Co.——Redferd Lb'r. Co.
70. Canadian National——Canadian Nat'l.
71. Standard Oil Co.——Standard Oil Co.
72. Valiant Mf'g. Co.——Valant Mf'g. Co.
73. C. Harris——C. Harris
74. J. Williams Company——G. Williams Company
75. Kaufmann A. C.——Kaufman A. C.
76. Frisby N. C.——Frisby N. C.
77. Donald T. C.——Donald T. C.
78. Waldo Inc.——Waldo Co.
79. Andres Mfg. Co.——Andres Mfg. Co.
80. Oriza Ann Legrand——Oriza Anne Legrand
81. A. Stein & Company——A. Stien & Company
82. Robert Courtney——Robert S. Courtney
83. Leonard Music Co.——Leonard Music Co.
84. George Morgan——George Morgen
85. Paulson's Cafe——Paulson's Cafe
86. Robert T. Quamme——Robert T. Quame
87. Traverse Studio——Traverse Studio
88. Upton Grain Co.——Upten Grain Co.
89. E. E. Atkinson——E. E. Atkinson
90. Zeisler Furrier——Ziesler Furrier
91. E. G. Kenyon——E. G. Kenyon
92. Backus, Roy——Backus, Ray
93. Carpenter Steel Co.——Carpenter Steel Co.
94. W. E. Davenport——W. E. Davenport
95. John Kingsley——John G. Kingsley
96. Lane Inc.——Lane Inc.
97. T. G. Lentingworth——T. G. Lentinworth
98. Elizabeth Bennett——Elizabeth Bennett
99. Charibel——Claribel
100. R. C. A. Victor Company——R. C. A. Victer Company

√ Check if the two names are the same.

101. Crane Ltd.——Crane Co.
102. Isaac F. Marcosson——Isaac F. Marcoson
103. Stromberg Carlson——Stromberg Carlsen
104. W. A. Evans——W. A. Evans
105. Mason Tile Co.——Matson Tile Co.
106. Clark Frame Co.——Clark Frame Co.
107. William G. Kellogg——William P. Kellogg
108. Berwind Briquets——Berwind Briquets
109. F. W. Bronson——F. W. Bronson
110. Nash Motors——Nash Motor

111. C. E. Locke——C. E. Lock
112. Mazer Cressman Co.——Mazer Cressmon Co.
113. Leslie Thrasher——Leslie Thrasher
114. Plough Inc.——Plough Lt'd.
115. Walpole——Wallpole
116. John Hergesheim——John Hergesheimer
117. Hudson Bay & Co. Ltd.——Hudson Bay Co. Ltd.
118. Lasco Co.——Lassko Co.
119. Albert Mills——Albert Mill
120. Yale Stores——Yale Store

121. Bob Fairbanks——Bob Fairbanks
122. Denton Products——Denten Products
123. Wells Dickey Co.——Wells Dickey Inc.
124. S. N. Jonas——S. N. Jonus
125. Warren Co.——Warren Co.
126. Kelly Transfer——Kelly Transfer
127. S. Karpen & Brothers——S. Karpen & Brothers
128. A. J. Drexel——A. J. Drexel
129. C. H. Salmon——S. H. Salmon
130. H. Simons Lbr. Co.——H. Simons Lbr. Co.

131. Villaume Lbr. Co.——Villaum Lbr. Co.
132. Banett Company——Banett Company
133. B. B. Quinn——B. B. Quinn
134. Beauville Co.——Beauxville Co.
135. Gordon Mfg. Co.——Gordon Mfg. Co.
136. Curtis Mill Co.——Curtis Mill Co.
137. S. Jacobs & Company——S. Jacobs & Company
138. W. Morton——W. Morten
139. F. D. Prescott——F. D. Prescott
140. Old Gold——Old Gold

141. Jones Inc.——Jones Bros.
142. Petropalm & Son Inc.——Petropalm & Son Inc.
143. Palmers Ltd.——Palmers Ltd.
144. Higgin Mfg. Co.——Higgen Mfg. Co.
145. Lehigh Coal Sales——Lehigh Coal Sales
146. Buick Motor Co.——Buick Motors Co.
147. George Carpenter——George Carpentier
148. H. H. Hemenway——H. H. Hememway
149. M. A. Gladding——M. A. Gladding
150. F. J. Cheney & Co.——F. J. Cheney & Co.

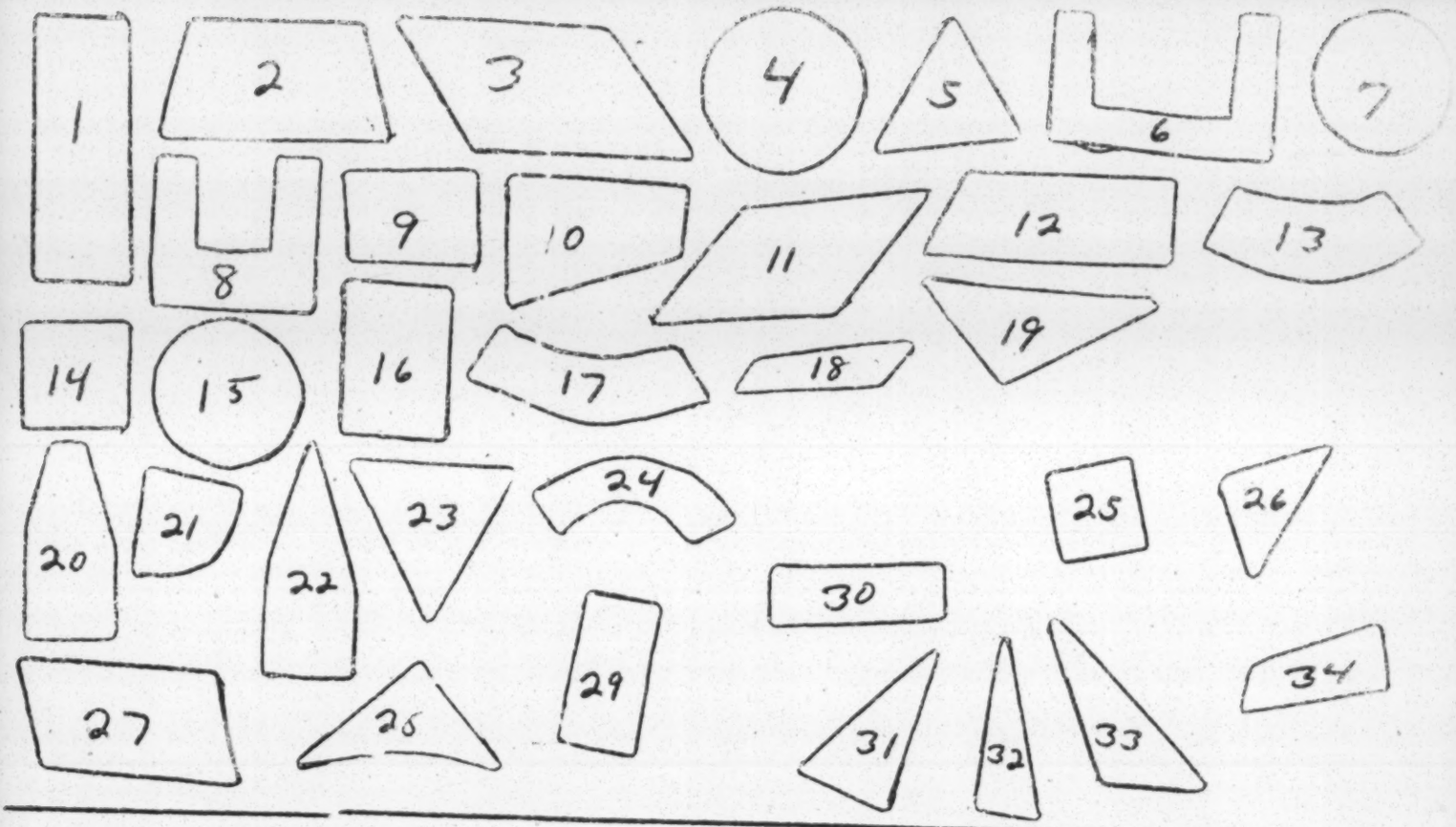
151. H. J. Heinz——H. J. Hienz
152. National City Co.——National City Co.
153. Dorothy Gray——Dorothy Gray
154. Reinhard Brothers——Reinhart Brothers
155. Oscar Bye——Oscar Bye
156. Ben Coal Co.——Ben Coal Co.
157. C. Lundstrom Mfg. Co.——C. Lundstrom Mfg. Co.
158. J. C. McKesson Drug Co.——J. C. MacKesson Drug Co.
159. Waite Coal Co.——Wait Coal Co.
160. Berry Brothers——Berry Brothers

161. J. Coty Co.——J. Coty Co.
162. F. R. Connell——F. R. Connell
163. Dr. Miles Company——Dr. Mills Company
164. Northam Warrer——Northam Warren
165. Indian Refining Co.——Indian Refining Co.
166. Jack Richard——Jack Richard
167. Kirsch Mfg. Co.——Kircsh Mfg. Co.
168. Jack Wachter——Jack Wachter
169. C. M. Stend——C. M. Stent
170. John Blassingham——John Blassingham

171. W. W. Brock——W. W. Brock
172. L. Waterman Company——L. Watermon Company
173. F. H. Weaver——F. P. Weaver
174. Multistamp Co., Inc.——Multistamp Co., Inc.
175. Sani-flush——Sani-flush
176. Tung Sol Lamp Inc.——Tung Sul Lamp Inc.
177. F. J. Suderman——F. J. Suderman
178. Theo Audel & Co.——Theo Audel Co.
179. Cox Realtors——Cox Realtors
180. Kellogg Company——Kellogg Company

181. Ann Lowe——Anna Lowe
182. A. Cederstrand & Son——A. Cedarstrand & Son
183. Marschke Co.——Marsckhe Co.
184. Collum & Ackerman——Collum & Ackerman
185. Insulite Co.——Insulite Co.
186. General Steel Co.——General Steel Co.
187. Charles Von Buelow——Charles Von Beulow
188. A. D. Beaudette——A. D. Beaudette
189. Firestone Tire Co.——Firestone Tire Co.
190. Foxsworth & Son——Foxsworth & Son

191. A. S. Hinds Co.——A. S. Hinds Co.
192. Charles Beardslee——Charles Beardslee
193. Axton Tobacco Co.——Axeton Tobacco Co.
194. Inso Board Co.——Inso Board Co.
195. Stanley Russell——Stanley Russell
196. Babson Mfg. Co.——Babsen Mfg. Co.
197. Bodee Institute——Bodee Institute
198. Greer College——Greer College
199. Lampland Lbr. Co.——Lamplund Lbr. Co.
200. Bird & Son Inc.——Bird & Sons Inc.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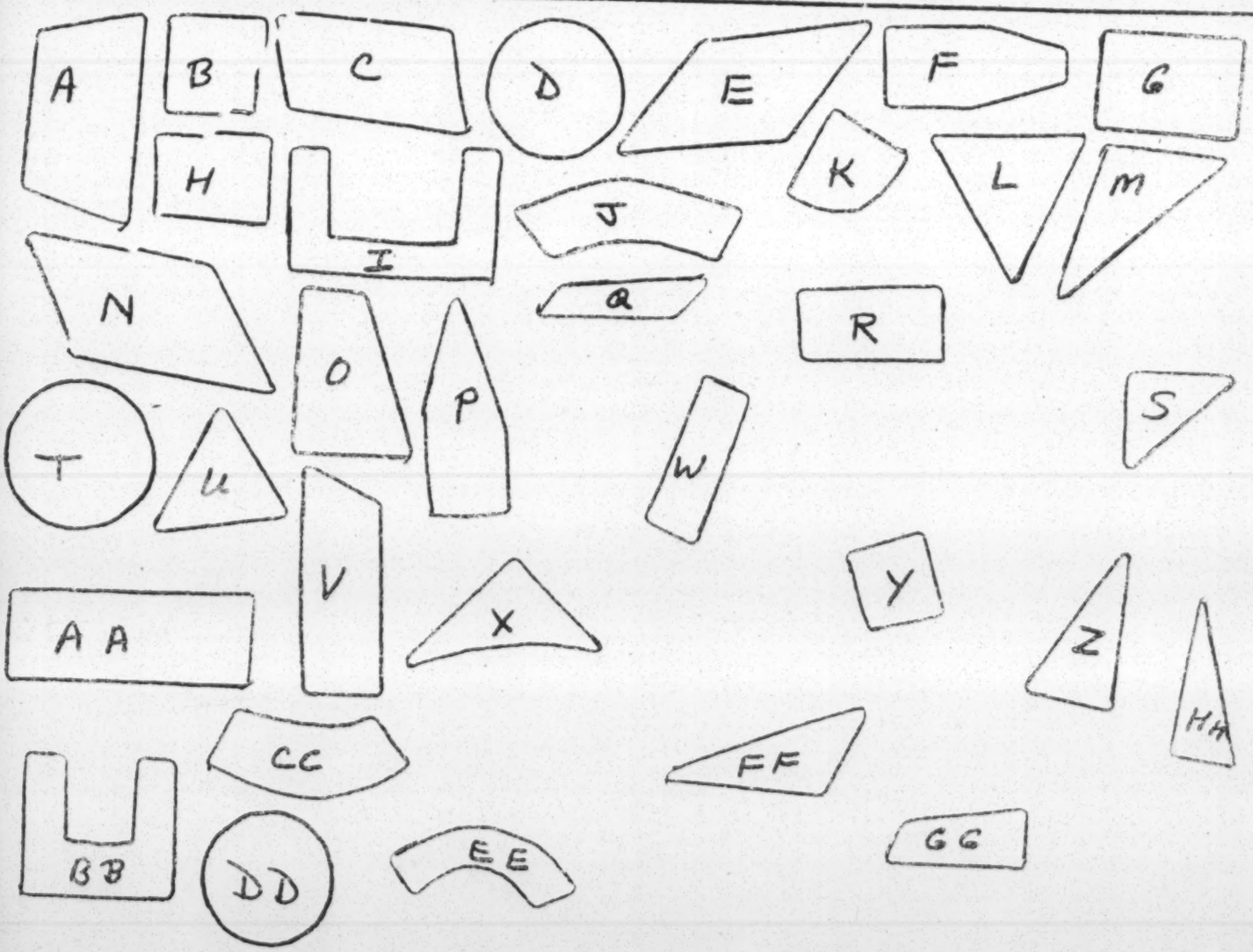
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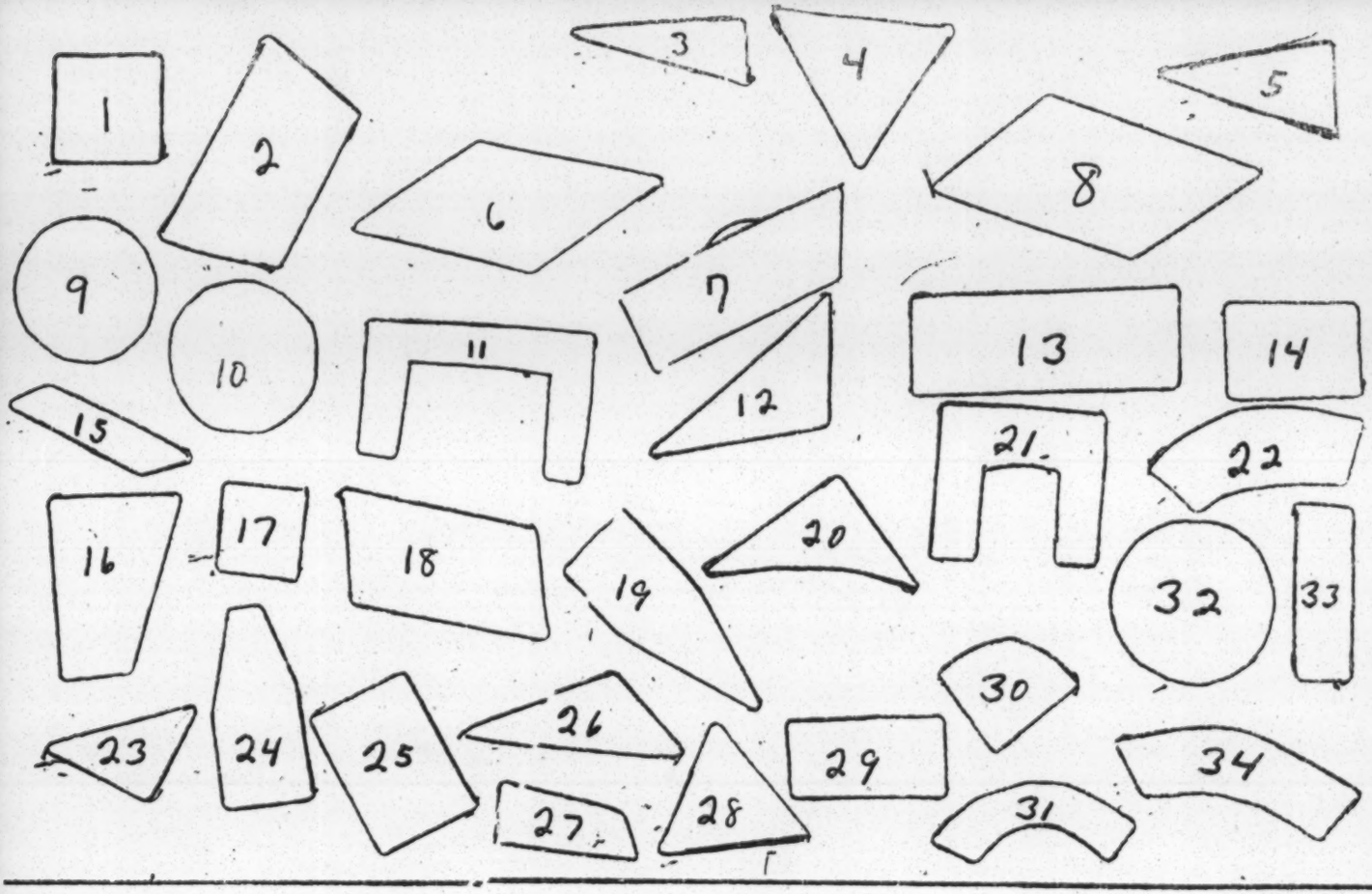
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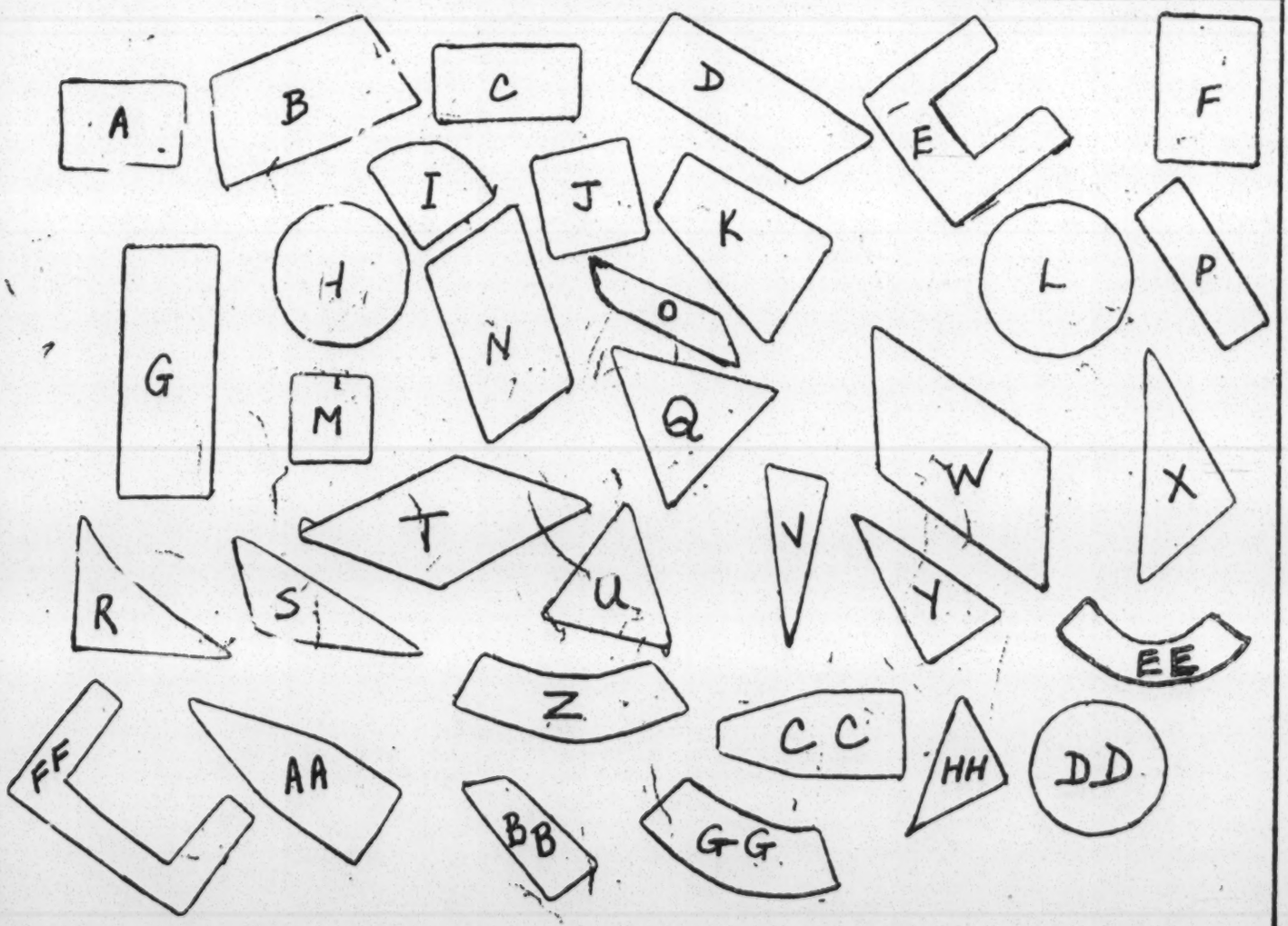
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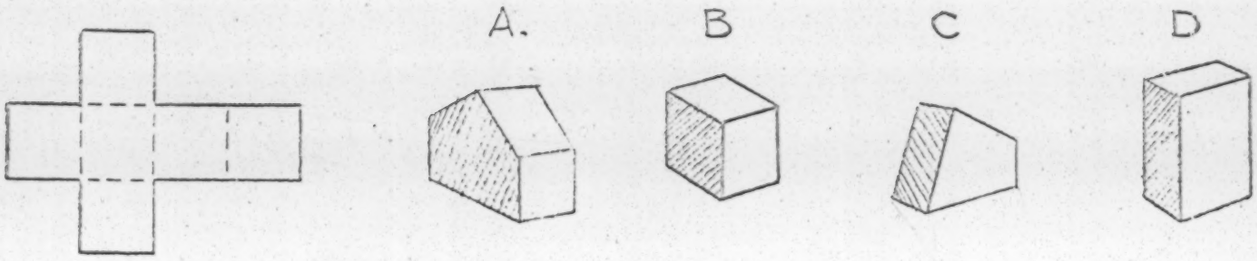
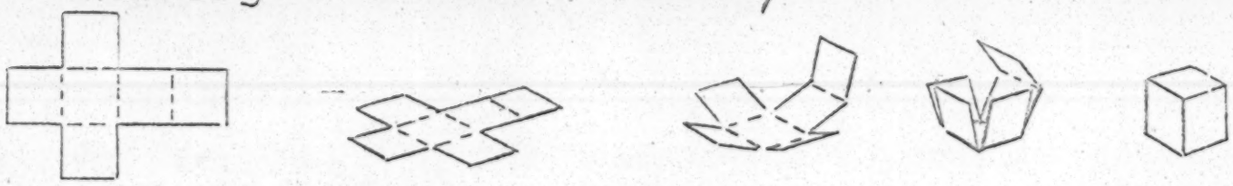
SAMPLE



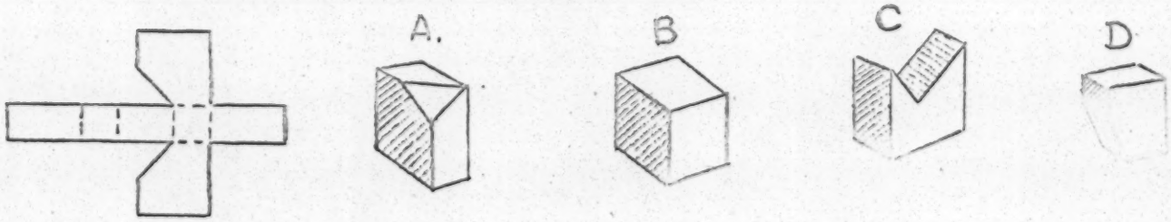
Select one of the drawings of objects (A,B,C,D) That could be made from the flat piece drawn at the left. if this flat piece were folded on the dotted lines shown in the drawing.

Drawing "B" is the correct answer. A good way to get the correct answer quickly is to build the object mentally as it is shown below ↓



Do the following questions. Write answers on the answer sheet only.
<u>Do not mark this sheet</u>

1.



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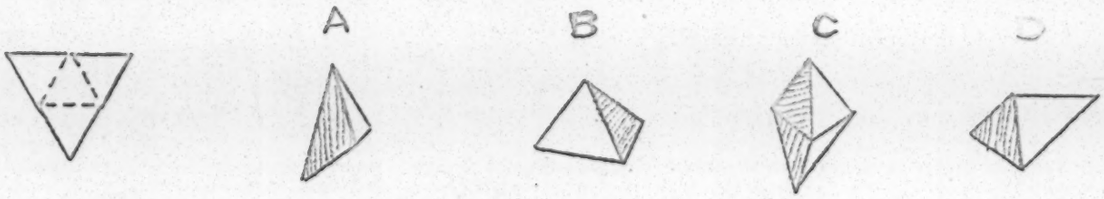

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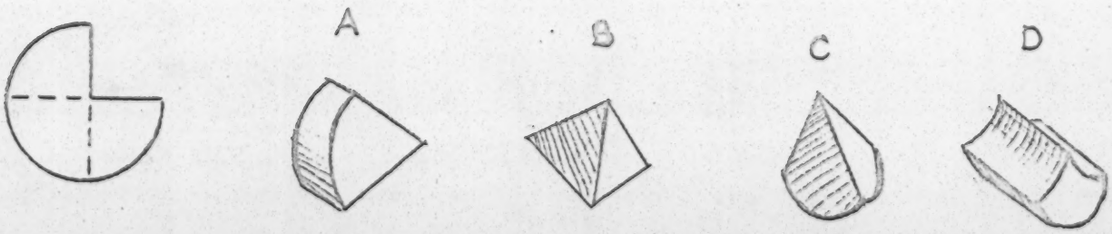
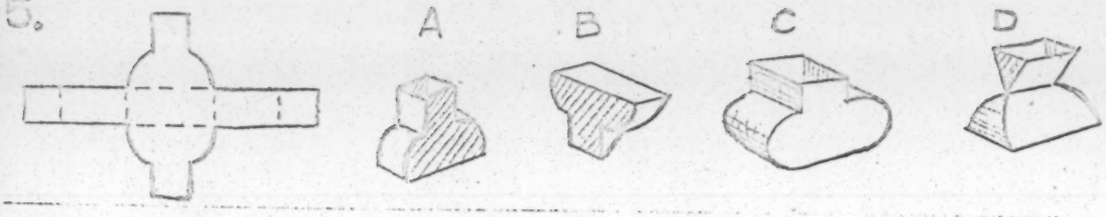


DO NOT WRITE ON THIS SHEET

4.

5.



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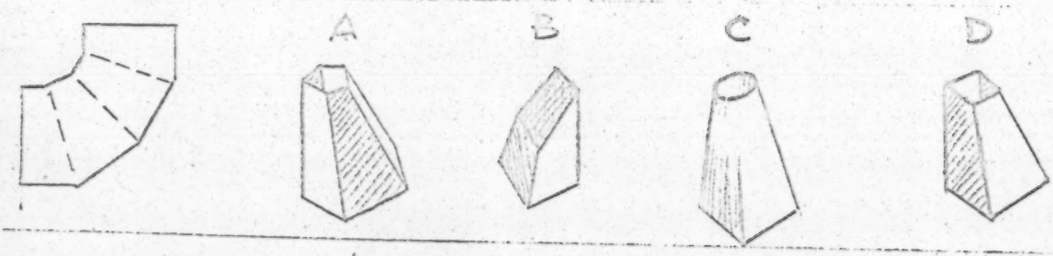

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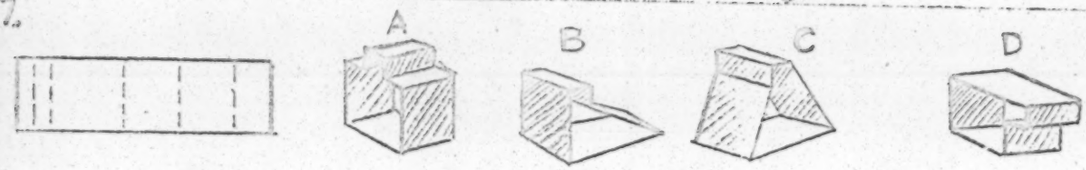

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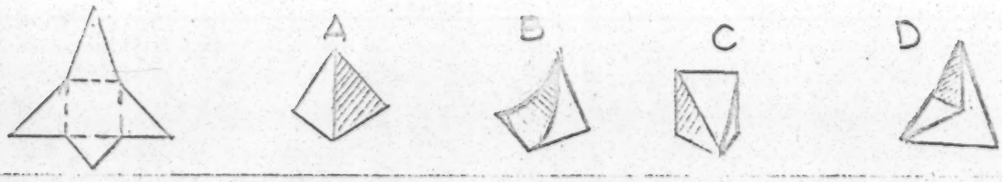
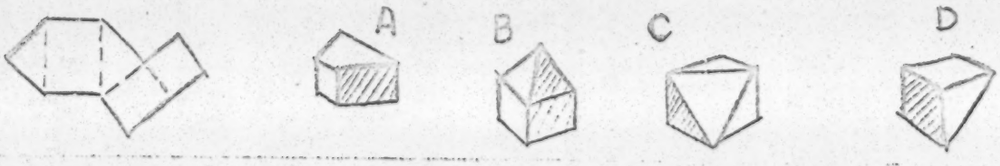


10.

11.



12.

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WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

Apprenticeship Program Application

Trade Desired _____ Date _____

Alternate _____ Age _____
(Date of Birth)

I General Information

_____
Name (Last, First & Middle Initial) Address (Street, City, Zip, Apt.)

_____
Sex Marital Status No. of Dependents Telephone No.

II Education

_____
High School (name) address

Attended from _____ To _____ Course _____

_____
Other Schooling (Name) Address

Attended From _____ To _____ Course _____

III Employment History

Employer _____ Address _____

Type of Business _____ Occupation _____

Duties _____

Length of Service _____ Date Left _____ Reason _____ Pay _____

Employer _____ Address _____

Type of Business _____ Occupation _____

DUTIES _____

Length of Service _____ Date Left _____ Reason _____ Pay _____

MILITARY STATUS _____ Branch _____ # Years _____

IV References (Include at leat 1 school official and no members of immediate family)

Name Address Position

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

V Comments (Test results, Union Contract, Referral Date, etc.)

_____

_____

_____

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Form I - 5/20/61

Multiplication	Division	Addition	Subtraction	Mixed
1. 8x9	1. 56÷4	1. 9+8	9-4	1. 7x8
2. 7x6	2. 16÷2	2. 7+4	13-7	2. 6+7
3. 2x3	3. 28÷7	3. 9+6	14-6	3. 4-1
4. 6x8	4. 32÷4	4. 5+4	9-5	4. 13+9
5. 9x5	5. 48÷6	5. 15+6	7-2	5. 16÷4
6. 12x6	6. 32÷8	6. 8+5	17-8	6. 21÷3
7. 4x5	7/ 49÷7	7. 7+6	18-6	7. 27÷9
8. 9x3	8. 56÷8	8. 8+5	15-9	8. 5x6
9. 12x8	9. 72÷9	9. 9+5	16-8	9. 8x4
10. 10x4	10. 81÷3	10. 8+7	17-9	10. 9+6
11. 11x5	11. 48÷4	11. 12+3	18-9	11. 18-9
12. 3x5	12. 96÷6	12. 6+3	12-8	12. 23-7
13. 14x3	13. 36÷3	13. 9+4	11-7	13. 6x7
14. 6x4	14. 121÷11	14. 5+6	12-9	14. 8x7
15. 7x5	15. 108÷12	15. 2+11	16-7	15. 32÷8
16. 2x9	16. 72÷12	16. 7+1	18-4	16. 17-9
17. 3x8	17. 35÷7	17. 4+8	11-5	17. 16+8
18. 6x8	18. 48÷12	18. 12+10	12-7	18. 9x8
19. 7x4	19. 39÷13	19. 23+8	12-9	19. 12-7
20. 8x3	20. 34÷3	20. 14+8	19-4	20. 5x9
21. 11x8	21. 70÷10	21. 18+2	11-6	21. 8x8
22. 13x3	22. 54÷9	22. 14+6	11-9	22. 132÷11
23. 24x6	23. 63÷7	23. 13+8	13-6	23. 17-9
24. 5x10	24. 56÷8	24. 12+6	15-8	24. 19-8
25. 4x2	25. 24÷3	25. 25+9	15-7	25. 12x7
26. 25x3	26. 8÷8	26. 18+5	18-9	26. 14÷7
27. 17x4	27. 56÷7	27. 24+7	14-9	27. 14-8
28. 9x3	28. 72÷3	28. 31+6	13-4	28. 21÷7
29. 4x9	29. 144÷12	29. 16+8	12-3	29, 96÷12
30. 8x4	30. 80÷8	30. 19+5	15-6	30. 17-9
31. 7x7	31. 18÷6	31. 17+6	16-7	31. 56÷7
32. 8x8	32. 27÷3	32. 14+9	14-7	32. 54÷3
				33. 16-7
				34. 15+8
				35. 14-6

Do all your figuring on the scratch paper.
Do not write on this sheet.

1. Add

3
6

Answers
A 6
B 7
C 8
D 9
E none of these

2. Subtract

8
3

Answers
A 3
B 4
C 5
D 11
E none of these

3. Multiply

2
3

Answers
A 5
B 6
C 7
D 1
E None

4. Subtract

65
42

Answers
A 22
B 23
C 24
D 25
E None

5. Divide

3 ⟌ 24

Answers
A 8
B 9
C 10
D 11
ENone

6. Subtract

18
8

Answers
A 8
B 9
C 10
D 11
E None

7. Divide

4 ⟌ 184

Answers
A 41 3/4
B 42
C 48
D 46
E None

8. Add

2
7
4

Answers
A 11
B 9
C 12
D 13
E None

9. Divide

4 ⟌ 36

Answers
A 7
B 8
C 10
D 11
E None

10. Multiply

13
4

Answers
A 20
B 56
C 52
D 42
E None

11. Add

15
18
20

Answer
A 53
B 60
C 63
D 64
E None

12. Subtract

765
84

Answers
A 601
B 691
C 781
D 681
E N one

13. Divide

6 ⟌ 54

Answers
A 6
B 7
C 8
D 11
E None

14. Subtract

130
54

Ans.
A 96
B 86
C 76
D 56
E None

15. Divide

8 ⟌ 352

Ans.
A 46
B 44
C 33
D 45
E N one

16. Add

788
54

Ans.
A 832
B 842
C 852
D 843
E None

17. Multiply

43
9

Answers
A 377
B 387
C 367
D 476
E None

18. Divide

8 ⟌ 184

Ans.
A 23
B 24
C 34
D 25
E None

19. Subtract

2486
598

Ans.
A 2888
B 1898
C 2898
D 1888
E None

20. Multiply

34
7

Ans.
A 248
B 228
C 238
D 218
E N one

21. Subtract

103
86

Ans.
A 27
B 37
C 17
D 29
E None

22. Multiply

348
6

Ans.
A 2064
B 2084
C 2078
D 2068
E None

23. Subtract

78752
983

Ans.
A 77769
B 78769
C 68769
D 77768
E None

24. Add

785
333
89

Ans.
A 1307
B 1207
C 1297
D 1298
E None

25. Multiply

26
9

Ans.
A 214
B 224
C 244
D 234
E None

26. Add

886
978
645

Ans.
A 2506
B 2507
C 2509
D 2505
E None

27. Divide

11 ⟌ 143

Ans.
A11
B12
C13
D14
Enone

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT
BY TYPE OF GOVERNMENT, AND RACE

ATLANTA SMSA, 1967

	Total	Negro	Percent Negro
Total Employees	47,662	11,232	23.6
Federal [a]	25,139	5,718	22.7
State	6,111	342	5.6
Central City	6,001	1,928	32.1
County	4,653	900	19.3
Large Municipalities	1,235	287	23.2
Small Municipalities	519	90	17.3
Special Districts	4,004	1,967	49.1

Source:

[a]U. S. Civil Service Commission
All remaining data are from "Free All the People . . . By All the People," a report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1969, p.147

M. Jaer

J. Hefner

Blackmon – To be good student

Denis Mulligan – D. Pellman

Wade

Chabbez

Dewey Bellins –

M— Bldg Trades

STATEMENT OF POLICY

ON

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

ADOPTED BY THE

55TH CONVENTION

OF THE

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT (AFL-CIO)

SEPTEMBER 22, 1969

AT

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

Statement of Policy of the Building and Construction Trades Department (AFL-CIO) on Equal Employment Opportunity

In these times of heated and emotional controversy over the issue of Negro employment in the building and construction industry, which is carried on under the barely concealed threat of violence, The Building and Construction Trades Department deems it appropriate to present a factual review of the union side of the controversy. Fair minded people in and out of the labor movement will want to hear both sides before forming any judgments.

The Building and Construction Trades Department and its affiliates have not contented themselves with so-called passive non-discrimination programs. Whether or not legally required, the Department and its affiliates have undertaken affirmative action to increase Negro employment in the building and construction trades. At its 1967 Convention, the Building and Construction Trades Department adopted a resolution stating that it "endorses generally the principle of affirmative action to assist Negroes and other minority group persons in finding suitable employment and improving their economic and social status." In a later communication from the President of the Department to the Secretary of Labor, the Department proposed to implement the resolution, among other things, by fostering "with the cooperation of appropriate management organizations programs of recruitment of qualified applicants for apprenticeship from the Negro population and other minority groups."

The Kerner Commission (The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders) commended the Department for its action in this regard and recommended that this commitment be intensified and implemented (at page 25).

We believe this recommendation has been heeded. The Apprenticeship Outreach Programs

recorded a six month high of 1,537 minority youths accepted as apprentices in the skilled trades from January 1 to June 30, 1969. The total number accepted as apprentices through Outreach since the commencement of the Federally funded program in 1967 is 3,862. Ninety-three percent of the total number were indentured in the building and construction trades although these trades represent 56% of the total registered apprentices in all industries. To get 3,862 apprentices indentured, Apprenticeship Outreach sponsors recruited 27,494 interested candidates.

Citing the six-month achievement, Secretary of Labor Shultz said: "This is but one example of what can be done in attacking a manpower problem, if we study the problem together, devise a workable plan to resolve it, *establish attainable goals*, and stick to timetables."

Apprenticeship Outreach Programs operate with the cooperation or direct sponsorship of local Building and Construction Trades Councils in more than fifty cities. Among these cities are: Atlanta, Dallas, Knoxville, Miami, San Antonio, Jacksonville, Nashville and Tampa. As of April 1969, Federal funds budgeted for the Outreach Programs amounted to $3,885,287.

To gain an understanding of the Apprenticeship Outreach Programs, it is necessary to turn back to 1963 when it was thought that removal of the race bar and the provision of equal competitive conditions would result in a significant increase in Negro and other minority participation in the apprenticeable trades. The Regulations of the Department of Labor on non-discrimination in apprenticeship and training provided, among other things, for the proper dissemination of full information about the availability of apprenticeship opportunities, the posting of such information at the normal place of application for apprenticeship, and dissemination of such information to the local employment service and the local schools. It was found, however, that minority group youngsters were not applying for existing apprenticeship programs for a variety of reasons, including the fact that high school counselors seldom advised youngsters to enter what was generally considered a blue collar field. Apprenticeship Information Centers (now operating in thirty-five cities) were established to provide all available information on apprenticeship opportunities in

the community in which the particular Center operates and give all necessary support and assistance to young people who wish to become apprentices in the skilled trades. Although the Department of Labor claims that nearly 1,600 minority applicants were indentured during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, through the Apprenticeship Information Centers, it appears that many of these persons were also processed through the Apprenticeship Outreach Programs.

Apparently, the provision of information and other assistance through Apprenticeship Information Centers was not sufficient. More intensive effort was required by paid personnel to recruit, train and place minority youth. The pilot Outreach programs in this regard were established by the Workers Defense League—A. Philip Randolph Education Fund in cooperation with the building and construction trades. Most of the WDL apprenticeship candidates came from academic high schools. WDL staff found early that the vocational high schools produced youngsters less able to compete in this job market. They also recognized the need for intensive tutoring before the examination. The tutoring concentrates on mathematics and reading comprehension. Tutorial programs frequently require six to twelve weeks. WDL staff members frequently provide transportation from home to union hall for the applicants checking on why they may have missed a tutoring class and counseling them on personal problems. Practice interviews are held and when birth certificates, high school diplomas, and health records are needed, WDL staff help applicants to secure them. It is apparent that these and other services provided by substantial Federal funds and the cooperative efforts of the Building and Construction Trades Councils together with the Urban League, the Workers Defense League and other organizations constitute affirmative action to satisfy a significant social need.

Some idea of the overall improvement of the racial situation with respect to apprentices is provided by comparing the statistics of 1960 and 1968. The 1960 census statistics show that non-whites made up 2.5% of the total 85,682 apprentices in the United States. In the first half of 1968 of the 26,156 apprentices newly enrolled, approximately 9.4% came from minority groups.

The following statistics show that the construction industry compares favorably with

manufacturing industry insofar as ethnic ratios are concerned:

Apprentices in Federally Serviced Workload as of December 31, 1968

	No. Active	% Minority	% Negro
Construction Industry	91,177	7.2	4.0
Metal Mfg. Industry	39,686	4.3	3.0
Mfg. Non-Metal	10,747	5.3	3.2

The building and construction trades have not limited their efforts to apprenticeship. They have developed plans and procedures for bringing into the industry older minority workers. In July 1968, after an unsuccessful effort to secure an agreement with employer trade associations for the employment of area residents under the Model Cities Program, the General Presidents of the seventeen National and International Unions affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department adopted their own policy statement and guidelines on this subject. The General Presidents' program covered three groups: (a) those fully qualified to be laborers or mechanics; (b) those with appreciable construction work experience but not qualified to be mechanics or laborers; and (c) those with little or no construction work experience.

It was recommended that "the agreement provide for additional instruction and basic education for such residents of the area who may benefit from such instruction under Government or industry financed programs. These programs, for a period of time, may result in the work week for such employees being divided between on-site work and specified classroom instruction."

Four experimental programs for the upgrading of journeymen have been initiated in Oakland, California; Buffalo, New York; Boston, Massachusetts; and St. Louis, Missouri. The goals of these programs in the four cities involve the training of 365 minority workers. The Federal budget for the four programs totals $968,-634. Negotiations are under way for other programs in twelve of the fifty-two cities involved in the Outreach programs. These programs present many complex problems and are obviously in a trial and error stage.

The record of effort and concrete results, including the allocation and expenditure of millions of Federal dollars, does not justify the attempt to cast the building and construction trades unions in the roles of scapegoat or whipping boy for all the current ills on the racial scene. The detractors of the building and construction trades unions—the sneerers and the scoffers—use a statistical device to accomplish their end. They elbow aside substantial overall ratios of Negro employment in the building and construction trades by saying, "Oh, that's the laborers." They elbow aside substantial ratios of Negro employment in highly paid occupations in the building and construction trades by saying, "Oh, that's the trowel trades." They confine public attention to trades such as the mechanical trades where lesser ratios of Negro participation may be attributable to higher educational requirements and other cultural factors not related to employment discrimination. They then seek to use these lesser ratios of Negro participation in particular trades as proof that the industry is "lily white."

Even Government officers have fallen for this tactic. The Assistant Secretary of Labor in charge of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance issued the Philadelphia Revised Plan, establishing a quota system, without consultation or hearing on the basis of a figure of 1.6% minority group membership in seven so-called "critical trades." The Plan was ruled illegal by the Comptroller General of the United States on August 5, 1969. It became the subject of a hearing on August 27, 1969, for the purpose of determining so-called rate ranges. At this hearing representatives of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Philadelphia testified that more than 30% of the members employed on unionized jobs within its jurisdiction are black. It was also testified that the following high paying trades had locals with substantial Negro membership: Boilermakers—20%, Carpenters—20%, Cement Masons—37%, Lathers—20%, Operating Engineers—10%, Painters—10%, and Reinforced Rod Setters—30%.

Even with the deduction of the laborers (who received hourly wages and fringe benefits ranging from $4.25 to $4.65 per hour or from $170 to $186 for a 40-hour workweek) from the calculation, the ratio of black participation among the remaining crafts was 12%. It may be noted that even the accuracy of the figure with respect to the "critical trades" was vigorously disputed by

the Philadelphia Building and Construction Trades Council.

It is interesting to observe the effect of the application of this technique of selecting arithmetic ratios in particular occupational brackets in other industries. At hearings before the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in New York City, January 1968, the executives of a prominent and highly regarded newspaper testified they had three Negro reporters out of a total of 200; and one Negro out of 220 officials and managers. When asked for an explanation about the lack of equitable representation of Negroes among its reporters, the newspaper executive testified as follows:

> "I do not think there is—at the journeymen level, there is not a large number of people to come in and start off as staff members who have the qualifications in large numbers to start therein."

When advised that the Commission was not talking about "very large numbers," the executive testified "we're not very happy with two." These hearings disclosed that the situation described is not confined to this New York newspaper. A National Associated Press survey of 300 daily newspapers, October 24, 1967, revealed that 119 Negro reporters and no Negro editors were employed by those newspapers. The 1967 EEOC research report on communications industry in New York City shows the following:

	% Negro officials and managers	% Negro professionals
Radio-TV	0.9	1.9
Periodical publishing	0.7	1.0
Newspaper publishing	less than 0.1	1.2

The same unwarranted accusation which has been made against the building and construction trades is now being leveled against the United States Government in a major lawsuit against every member of the Cabinet which has been filed by Julius Hobson (who initiated the important landmark school case resulting in the Skelly Wright decision). It is alleged that, although the Negro ratio of Federal employees is 14% on an overall basis (roughly equivalent to the 14% ratio of blacks in the population), the ratio of black employees in Grades 13 and above is only 1.5%. On the basis of this allegation and other recitals in the complaint, the plaintiffs are

asking the Federal court in the District of Columbia to direct the defendants to adopt necessary procedures to achieve "equitable" representation in *every unit* of the Federal departments or agencies containing fifty or more persons in regard to composition by race. The departments or agencies will be allowed to vary from this standard in those areas in which the department or agency can demonstrate that the population percentage of plaintiff's classes is lower than the national average. The "equitable" representation requirement applies to all classification grade and step increase levels.

The statistical pattern of concentration of Negro employment in lower grade jobs and the declining ratio of such participation in higher grade positions is typical of many industries other than communications and Government.

The Building and Construction Trades Department is of the considered view that the failure of the communications industry and the Government to maintain an objective attitude is inflammatory and prejudicial to the sound and proper solution of the racial issue in the building and construction industry and other segments of American life. We support the right of the Negro to justice. But we cannot accept the simplistic idea that the arithmetic of a population ratio shall become the standard for selection and entry into employment in the building and construction industry.

We favor the acceleration and extension of the Apprenticeship Outreach Programs which have proved successful in actual operation.

We make the flat and unqualified recommendation to local unions throughout the United States that for a stated period of time they should invite the application of qualified minority journeymen for membership in their respective local unions and should accept all such qualified minority journeymen provided they meet the ordinary and equally administered requirements for membership.

We also recommend that the local unions and the local council explore and vigorously pursue training programs for the upgrading of minority workers who are not of apprenticeable age. Such programs should be developed in such manner as to prevent undercutting the established apprenticeship programs. The recommendations which have been previously made on Model Cities should furnish an appropriate guideline for

development of these journeymen training programs.

In carrying forward these programs to make effective the rights of Negroes and other minority workers, it must also be recognized that there is a correlative right in the existing members of the organized work force regardless of their color or race. Many of them have fought during their working lives to preserve and advance their unions against the attack of strong anti-labor forces. They have organized in the teeth of the anti-labor provisions of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts. They have endured strikes and the picket line to preserve their wage standards. They have played a large part in creating the favorable labor standards of the present time and deserve to have their status in the industry protected and not to lose their rightful share of employment opportunities.

We are convinced that the goal of increasing Negro and other minority worker participation in the building and construction trades can be accomplished with due regard to the rights of the existing organized work force. We think such an approach is preferable to unthinking actions which tend to pit one part of the population against the other.

We also wish to make it clear that we do not favor acceptance of unreasonable demands. The mere assertion of a proposal by a minority group does not necessarily mean that it is in the interest of the black worker, other workers, or the industry.

For example, a militant group involved in a current dispute with the building and construction trades in Pittsburgh has proposed that "There shall be forty percent (40%) black membership in each of the several craft unions to be gained over the next two years" and "No training program in pursuit of [this objective] will exceed eight (8) months in length, irrespective of the craft."

The extravagance of the percentage is self evident. It should also be obvious that a stroke of the pen will not transform the learning process so as to graduate a qualified, skilled craftsman in 8 months when the existing system of apprenticeship has required 4 years. This proposal and others like it compare with the current efforts to establish special curriculums for minority college students. There have been strong expressions from responsible sources that such

educational proposals cheat the black student because they will fit him for a "sheltered work shop occupation" rather than competition in the open market. It has been our approach through the Apprenticeship Outreach Program and the experimental development of journeymen training programs to raise less qualified applicants to meet industry standards rather than to lower the standards to meet the lack of qualifications. We do not believe that it is in the interest of the nation, the industry, or the black worker to take "the easy way."

We shall also continue to oppose unsound or unlawful Government measures. The Building and Construction Trades Department objected vigorously to the original "Philadelphia Plan" which was abandoned by the Government after the Comptroller General of the United States ruled it illegal. The Department takes equally strong objection to the "Philadelphia Revised Plan" which is a quota system no matter how it may be dressed up in legal verbiage. We are unalterably opposed to the quota system. The Comptroller General, who certainly cannot be accused of partiality to the Building and Construction Trades unions, has ruled that the "Philadelphia Revised Plan" is also illegal. His basic position is that the "Philadelphia Revised Plan" violates the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which provide that nothing in the law shall be authorized to grant preferential treatment to any group because of racial imbalance. He has also stated that: . . . "we believe there is a material difference between the situation in those cases, where enforcement of the rights of the minority individuals to vote or to have unsegregated educational or housing facilities does not deprive any member of a majority group of his rights, and the situation in the employment field, where the hiring of a minority worker, as one of a group whose number is limited by the employer's needs, in preference to one of the majority group precludes the employment of the latter. In other words, in those cases there is present no element of reverse discrimination, but only the correction of the illegal denial of minority rights, leaving the majority in the full exercise and employment of their corresponding rights."

It would have been better, in our judgment, if the hearing on the "Philadelphia Revised Plan" had been held before, rather than after,

the Plan was adopted. We trust that the deliberative and consultative procedures of the Government in similar matters will not be abandoned because of activist pressures or the desire for hasty or untimely action.

blacknewsdigest

NEWS
from the
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Office of Information,
Publications and Reports
Washington, D.C.
20210

WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 21, 1970

EDITOR'S NOTE: The name of the U.S. Department of Labor news service distributed to black news media has been changed to the BLACK NEWS DIGEST.

Only the name of this weekly news service is changed. Through the BLACK NEWS DIGEST, the Labor Department will continue to disseminate news of interest to the black community.

* * *

IN THIS ISSUE:

MINORITIES MAKE UP MORE THAN ONE-FIFTH OF WORKERS EMPLOYED IN PHILADELPHIA PLAN PROJECTS, HODGSON REPORTS

3,000 MINORITY APPRENTICES PLACED THROUGH "OUTREACH"

KANSAS CITY PLAN FOR BOOSTING MINORITY HIRING IN CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY ANNOUNCED BY LABOR DEPARTMENT

SEGREATED HOUSING REPORTEDLY CREATES SUBURBAN LABOR SHORTAGES

JAZZ PIANIST 'FATHA' HINES TO CUT RECORD URGING YOUTH TO STAY IN SCHOOL

FILLERS FROM THE LABOR DEPARTMENT

M - Building Trades

Week of September 21, 1970

SEGREGATED HOUSING REPORTEDLY CREATES
SUBURBAN LABOR SHORTAGES

WASHINGTON -- Severe artificial labor shortages are being created in America's all-white suburbs by housing patterns that confine blacks and other minorities to decaying inner cities, according to the National Committee on Discrimination in Housing, a nonprofit corporation concerned with housing and civil rights.

Suburban housing must be opened to low and moderate income families to bring the jobs and the jobless together, according to an article in the September 1970 MANPOWER magazine.

These minorities want and need the new jobs being created in the suburbs, but cannot overcome the transportation problems involved in getting to them daily, according to the Committee's research director, Ernest Erber. His conclusions, in an article entitled "Jobs Go Where the Poor Can't" are based on a year-long study of housing and employment patterns in New York City and seven surrounding suburban counties.

Unless exclusionary zoning practices of suburban communities are discarded to make low-priced housing available, suburban growth will be arrested by labor shortages, the cities stand in danger of becoming wards of the State, and "angry ghetto dwellers may be provoked to disorders," Erber says.

Another article in the magazine points out that by April 30, 1970 the Work Incentive Program (WIN) had placed 27,000 people in jobs and moved more than 10,000 off welfare. Entitled "WIN Report -- Problems, Progress, Prognosis," the article traces the manpower program's successes and setbacks from the time funding began in mid-July, 1968.

"As of April 1970, about 153,000 persons had been enrolled," according to the article. "More than 72,000 were still being trained. . .and more than 53,000 had dropped out. WIN placed about 26,000 people of the 27,000 at work in regular jobs, primarily in private industry. The rest were in special work projects."

Other articles in Manpower's September issue:

-- "Mine Mechanics Dig Their Prospects," a report on how more than 200 unemployed and underemployed men in Pennsylvania have been retrained as mine maintenance mechanics.

-- "A Dropout Fights Back," a feature on a Mexican American mother of 12 children who worked her way up from a motel maid to a licensed psychiatric technician.

-- "Improving Job Services For the Handicapped," a report on a study that maintains that "the effects of poverty -- and not their physical or mental disabilities -- are the greatest obstacles for many handicapped persons in their search for work."

(MORE)

-- "Technological Change - How Fares the Worker?", which reports on a research study that shows that automation has been beneficial to most workers affected by it.

-- "Building Better Bridges," the story of how skilled craftsmen, the Labor Department and the University of Missouri Dental School are cooperating to train poor people as dental laboratory technicians.

# # #

(Editor's Note: MANPOWER magazine is the official monthly journal of the Department of Labor's Manpower Administration. It is available on subscription at $7.50 a year from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Single copies are 65 cents.)

Week of September 21, 1970

JAZZ PIANIST 'FATHA' HINES TO CUT RECORD
URGING YOUTH TO STAY IN SCHOOL

WASHINGTON -- Earl "Fatha" Hines, who has thrilled audiences throughout the world since the 20's with his jazz piano, is doing his part to encourage young people to get a good education.

He will be asking young people to stay in school on a recording that he is doing for the Stay-in-School Campaign conducted by the Department of Labor in conjunction with the President's Council on Youth Opportunity.

"Young people are the leaders of tomorrow," Mr. Hines said. "Certainly, education is the only step they can take to put them in a position to be able to handle the problems of the future."

Mr. Hines,whose own schooling included study of classical piano, has won many honors as one of the world's foremost jazz pianists. He traveled to Russia in 1967 with his band to do a musical tour for the State Department.

The famous musician visted the Department of Labor recently while performing in the Nation's Capital and met with Secretary of Labor J.D. Hodgson.

"I have followed your music for years," Secretary Hodgson said, extending a warm welcome to Mr. Hines, who agreed to pitch in and help cut the Nation's school dropout rate.

The goal of the Stay-in-School campaign is to encourage young people to remain in school and get all the education they can.

"Fatha" Hines joins a long list of popular performers who have done recordings for the Stay-in-School Program. They include James Brown, Tony Bennett, Pearl Bailey, Greg Morris, Roger Williams, Dionne Warwick, Johnny Mathis, O.C. Smith and Tom Jones.

# # #

Week of September 21, 1970

FILLERS FROM THE LABOR DEPARTMENT

Nearly 2 out of every 5 American workers are women. Most of these women are married, and half are over 39 years of age.

# # #

Nearly 64,000 on-the-job training (OJT) opportunities were made available during fiscal year 1970 for the Nation's jobless and underemployed.

# # #

This year's Neighborhood Youth Corps Summer program was the biggest ever with $181 million provided for 414,000 slots in all states and areas.

# # #

The Philadelphia Plan requires all bidders on Federally-involved construction projects exceeding $500,000 to submit affirmative action plans setting goals and timetables for utilizing minorities. The plan covers six high-paying construction crafts in the Philadelphia area.

# # #

NEWS

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF INFORMATION, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20210

Southeastern Regional Office
Bureau of Labor Statistics

Atlanta, Georgia
404-526-5418

M - B16, Trade

FOR RELEASE: Sunday Editions, November 22, 1970, or thereafter

SOUTHEASTERN BUILDING TRADES WAGE SCALES ADVANCE IN THIRD QUARTER OF 1970 TO $5.09 AN HOUR

Union hourly wage scales for building trades workers in the Southeast 1/ averaged $5.09 an hour on October 1, 1970, according to Brunswick A. Bagdon, Southeastern Regional Director of the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics. Nationally, these trades averaged $6.27 an hour.

The all-trades average in the Southeast rose by 14.5 cents during the third quarter of 1970--an increase of 2.9 percent. Among individual trades, increases in the Southeast ranged from 8.0 cents for carpenters to 38.8 cents for plumbers and averaged 8.3 cents for building laborers, 10.4 cents for painters, 15.1 cents for plasterers, 23.7 cents for electricians, and 24.1 cents for bricklayers.

The level of hourly wage scales in the region on October 1, 1970 was 50.5 cents above the previous year, an increase of 11.0 percent. The year-to-year advance varied from 39.0 cents for building laborers to 83.1 cents for plumbers.

Among the six journeymen crafts, plumbers had the highest average scale as of October 1, 1970--$6.50 an hour. The basic scale for plumbers varied from $5.25 an hour in Columbia, South Carolina and Charlotte and Raleigh, North Carolina to $7.40 in Jacksonville, Florida. For the other journeymen trades, regional average hourly scales were painters $4.98, plasterers $5.20, carpenters $5.30, bricklayers $5.66, and electricians $6.15.

1/ Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

Building laborers' scales averaged $3.32 an hour, ranging from $2.20 in Montgomery, Alabama to $5.30 in Miami, Florida.

Changes in union scales over the quarter and year and the rate levels on October 1, 1970 are shown below. In computing the changes in rates, the increases in each trade were averaged among all workers in the trade, whether or not they received raises. Data for the separate crafts, by city, are shown in the accompanying table.

Trade	Change in Average to October 1, 1970 from --				Average Rate	
	July 1, 1970		October 1, 1969		October 1, 1970	
	Percent	Cents	Percent	Cents	Average	Range
Bricklayers.....	4.4	24.1	7.6	39.9	$ 5.66	$4.65 - 6.89
Carpenters.....	1.5	8.0	9.8	47.2	5.30	4.05 - 6.70
Electricians.....	4.0	23.7	12.6	68.6	6.15	4.75 - 8.08
Painters.....	2.1	10.4	9.9	44.9	4.98	4.00 - 6.40
Plasterers.....	3.0	15.1	9.6	45.5	5.20	4.25 - 6.85
Plumbers.....	6.3	38.8	14.7	83.1	6.50	5.25 - 7.40
Building Laborers....	2.6	8.3	13.3	39.0	3.32	2.20 - 5.30
All Trades.....	2.9	14.5	11.0	50.5	5.09	- -

Data not comparable with Southeastern averages published prior to July 1, 1969 due to a change in regional definition.

Union scales are the minimum wage rates (excluding holiday and vacation payments made directly to the worker each pay period) agreed upon through collective bargaining and reported to the Bureau by local respondents. The scales do not reflect rates for apprentices or for premium work. Overtime beyond established maximum daily and weekly hours is excluded.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Suite 540 - 1371 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Union Hourly Wage Scales 1/ for Selected Building Trades
in 18 Southeastern Cities, October 1, 1970

City	Bricklayers	Carpenters	Electricians	Painters	Plasterers	Plumbers	Building Laborers
Atlanta, Ga.....	$ 5.950*	$ 6.200	$ 7.150*	$ 6.400*	$ 5.670*	$ 6.850	$ 3.700*
Birmingham, Ala.....	5.300	5.000	6.200	5.200	4.820	6.500*	3.600*
Charleston, S.C.....	4.650	4.050	5.050	4.000	4.350	5.550*	2/
Charlotte, N.C.....	4.900	4.450	5.000	4.000	4.250	5.250	2.800
Chattanooga, Tenn.....	5.600	5.080	5.850	4.950	5.250	6.500	3.600
Columbia, S.C.....	2/	4.300#	4.850#	4.000	2/	5.250	2/
Jackson, Miss.....	5.400*	4.850*	6.000	4.250#	5.000#	6.000	2.700
Jacksonville, Fla.....	4.950	4.640	5.550	4.950	5.610*	7.400*	2.750
Knoxville, Tenn.....	6.070*	5.250*	5.700	4.750	5.200#	6.000	3.600#
Louisville, Ky.....	6.885*	6.350	8.080*	4.890	5.770	6.980*	4.850
Memphis, Tenn.....	6.150	5.150	6.180*	5.150	5.500	6.440	2.775
Miami, Fla.....	6.850*	6.700*	7.100*	6.000*	6.850*	7.075	5.300*
Mobile, Ala.....	6.500	5.980	7.150*	6.130*	6.340	7.050*	3.870
Montgomery, Ala.....	5.300*	4.550	4.750*	4.500*	4.400	6.250#	2.200*
Nashville, Tenn.....	5.750	5.300*	5.470	4.700	5.050	5.850	3.400*
Raleigh, N.C.....	5.000	4.400	5.000	4.050	4.250	5.250	2.800
Savannah, Ga.....	5.550	5.000	5.550	4.250	4.250	5.470	2.750
Tampa, Fla.....	5.650*	5.430*	5.800	4.550*	5.550*	5.450	3.575

1/ These scales represent the minimum wage rates (excluding holiday and vacation payments regularly made or credited to the worker each pay period) agreed upon through collective bargaining between employers and trade unions.
2/ No union scale in effect on survey date.
* Represents an increase between July 1, 1970 and October 1, 1970.
\# Data for previous quarter have been corrected.

A Slow Start

The Philadelphia Plan To Integrate Unions Called Failure by Some

Hiring Goals Still Not Met; Blacks Shifted Among Jobs To Fool U.S. Inspectors

M-Bld Trades

But Backers See Potential

12/3/70

By ELLIOT CARLSON
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PHILADELPHIA—One of the few blacks to make it in the building trades, Clarence W. doesn't much care where he works.

So when he was recently yanked off one job and placed on another, it was okay with him. But the switch mattered a great deal to his boss. Indeed, it helped the Philadelphia builder comply with the controversial Philadelphia Plan, the Nixon Administration's prototype effort to increase minority employment in the skilled building trades.

Critics, mainly in the civil rights movement, charge such tactics are subverting the plan, which requires builders to seek given numbers of minority craftsmen for Federally aided jobs. In many cases, say the critics, builders comply by following the example of Clarence's boss. They allegedly take Negroes already at work on privately financed projects—which aren't covered by the Philadelphia Plan—and transfer them to Federal ones—which are.

Also, some builders are said to move blacks from one Federally aided project to another by motorcyle to fool Federal inspectors. "Sure, contractors are complying," says Carleton Smith, a community organizer for the Philadelphia Urban League. "But it's mostly a form of 'motorcycle compliance.'" Mr. Smith charges that contractors are actually recruiting or training few new blacks.

Boding Ill for Nixon Plan

This is just one reason the Philadelphia Plan isn't working now—and perhaps won't for some time. There are other reasons: The plan got off to a slow start this year after being mired in litigation; it continues to face resistance from craft unions and builders; and Government officials have been accused of laxity in both enforcing the plan and setting up what were to be special training programs.

The plan hasn't met its early hiring goals, and even some Administration officials are unhappy with its progress. "The parties involved haven't been putting out a 100% effort to make it work," says Arthur Fletcher, Assistant Secretary of Labor.

The Philadelphia Plan's woes bode ill for the Administration's drive to integrate building-trades unions nationally. Originally, the plan was conceived as a device that could be imposed in other cities where contractors and unions couldn't voluntarily agree on integration plans. But with the Philadelphia Plan floundering, critics say, its value as a threat is fast receding and progress thus has slowed elsewhere. Of 102 target areas cited by the Labor Department, only 13 have fashioned voluntary plans.

Mixed Results Elsewhere

Even in these 13 areas, the results have been mixed. Pittsburgh and St. Louis integration plans have been plagued by numerous delays. In Chicago, whose plan called for the immediate entry of 1,000 blacks into craft unions, only 75 were admitted after eight months, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission recently reported.

Worried that cities may use the voluntary approach to stall, the Labor Department's Mr. Fletcher insists that extension of the compulsory Philadelphia Plan to other cities hasn't been ruled out. Although admitting this isn't contemplated any time soon, he argues the plan may yet prove to be the most effective means of integrating the building trades.

The plan was imposed on Philadelphia-area contractors after hearings disclosed that blacks constituted only 1.6% of the membership of six high-paying crafts here. Under the plan, contractors are required to make "good faith" efforts to hire specified percentages of Negroes for Federally financed projects costing $500,000 or more.

From a work force calculated to be 30% black, builders must pledge to try to hire in the six trades work crews at least 4% black this year, 9% next year, 14% the following year and 19% thereafter. The plan empowers the Government to withdraw contracts from companies that flagrantly defy its requirements.

"Figures Have Little Meaning"

Smarting from criticisms that the plan isn't working, Federal agencies have issued orders against 31 Philadelphia-area contractors and subcontractors asking them to "show cause" why their contracts shouldn't be voided. Ten later complied with the plan's requirements, and 20 still have time to do so. But one, Edgely Air Products Inc. of Levittown, Pa., is accused of failing to comply. Edgely has denied any wrongdoing and is contesting the Government's proposed action in court. The case is pending.

The Labor Department asserts such pressure tactics are paying off. In September, the department reported that of 180 persons actually at work in five crafts on 25 Federally aided projects in the Philadelphia area, at least 41, or 23%, were minority group members—an amount well above the required 4%. (The sixth craft was omitted because it hasn't yet been employed on a project covered by the plan.)

Yet critics remain unimpressed. "These figures have little meaning," charges Howard Mitchell, director of the Human Resources Center at the University of Pennsylvania. "They certainly don't mean the labor pool builders draw on has been increased by 41 blacks." He adds: "There's no telling how many of them were already in the work force."

For one thing, he says, the number of craft workers now employed is so small that it's easy for builders to comply by shuffling around the few blacks already on jobs. Just how easy is suggested by the tactics of Clarence W.'s boss, a mechanical contractor. When he received a Federal contract to install pipes in a downtown building, he put four of his regulars on the job. One was Clarence, who had been working on another site. Result: The builder was 25% in compliance.

At another construction site, one black

Please Turn to Page 25, Column 1

12-3-70

A Slow Start: The Philadelphia Plan To Integrate Unions Called Failure

Continued From First Page

turned up among four electricians. Again, the black, a young apprentice, hadn't been recruited for this job from outside union ranks. He was placed on the Federally aided project after working a few months on a privately financed church.

It's clear the Philadelphia Plan is nowhere near meeting its original hiring goals. In 1969 the Labor Department predicted the plan would help nearly 500 blacks gain craft-union membership after two years and 2,000 after four years. Yet checks at locals of five of the six affected crafts turn up black membership figures little higher than those disclosed in 1969, when unions testified to having about 100 black members.

A case in point is Iron Workers Local 401; only seven of its 905 members are black, and none has been signed on as a result of the Philadelphia Plan, says Michael Trobich, the local's business agent. He disputes the Government's theory that contractors, in order to meet the hiring goals, would tap a labor pool of about 1,200 experienced blacks who, for one reason or another, had never acquired union membership.

"There just aren't enough blacks around interested in this kind of work," Mr. Trobich says. "The contractors have referred us a few, but they don't turn out to be steady workers. They last a few days and then leave."

Nonetheless, builders employing iron workers have legally satisfied their hiring requirements. In its September survey, the most recent available, the Labor Department reported that of 70 iron workers employed on Federally aided projects here, 21, or 30%, were black—well above the required 4%. Critics concede the figures indicate that contractors are, at least to some extent, seeking workers outside the established work force.

"Motorcycle Compliance"

Even if the Government figures are accurate, critics nonetheless assert that high proportions of black workers have often been the product of "motorcycle compliance." "The builders knew in advance that inspectors were coming", claims Mrs. Joyce Rush, a consultant who was paid by the Government to interpret the Philadelphia Plan to the black community. "So you can draw your own conclusions on how they handled the matter."

Adds the Urban League's Mr. Smith, who has been making independent checks at construction sites: "Whenever the firms know I'm coming, there always seem to be more blacks at work than when I drop in by surprise."

The Labor Department concedes that compliance efforts haven't always been foolproof. Last summer, Assistant Secretary Fletcher assailed Congress for not giving the department more money to beef up its Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

At the same time, Mr. Fletcher charged that the compliance officers of many Government agencies, such as the Departments of Defense, Interior and Health, Education and Welfare, weren't tough enough in enforcing job integration requirements on Federal contractors. "It's no secret they have not been working at it," Mr. Fletcher said.

A Failure? "Not Yet"

Despite such troubles, the Labor Department argues it's premature to call the Philadelphia Plan a failure. Since there are already so few blacks in the labor force, "there's a limit how far builders can go practicing (motorcycle compliance)," reasons John Wilks, director of the OFCC. He figures that next year, when the black hiring goals will roughly double, builders will have to try harder to find new sources of black manpower.

But this, according to critics, won't necessarily help black workers obtain journeyman positions inside unions, which favor their own in distributing work assignments. The trouble with the Philadelphia Plan, they say, is that while it spurs builders to hire Negroes for specific jobs, it does little to get them union membership. As a result, "many jobs generated for blacks may well be temporary," since nonunion members are the last to be chosen for construction work, explains Donald Laiman, director of the AFL-CIO's department of civil rights.

For blacks to get journeymen's cards, unions prefer to have them work their way up; that usually means spending three to five years in an apprenticeship program, passing a Federally approved journeyman's test and plunking down a lump sum that may range from $1,000 to $2,000. To get applicants started on this road, union officials favor reliance on the AFL-CIO-sponsored Outreach program, which readies promising minority youths for entrance into apprenticeship training.

But the Labor Department's Mr. Fletcher complains such training programs aren't enough, since, nationally, they have a substantial dropout rate. "Reliance on the Outreach program is a way to keep blacks out of the crafts," he charges. He advocates special Federal programs to upgrade the skills of blacks already possessing some construction experience and thus enable them to avoid the lengthy apprenticeship programs.

So far, however, no Government program has been started. One high Administration official blames the Labor Department's manpower administration; he contends it has failed to move because it is reluctant to go against the wishes of big labor.

"Representatives of Philadelphia's blacks have made 18 visits to Washington seeking funds for a training program," says the official. "Yet their proposals are always found somehow faulty."

Asserting such proposals have indeed been full of holes, a spokesman for the manpower administration retorts it is pointless to launch training efforts that unions don't actively support. But without such a program, integration advocates believe there's little chance the black labor pool in Philadelphia can be enlarged.

Labor Department officials concede the Philadelphia Plan is weakened by another shortcoming: It fails to require contractors to integrate jobs financed privately. For this reason, Labor Secretary James Hodgson prefers voluntary plans for integrating both private and Federal construction projects.

Also, the Labor Department is pushing its Washington Plan, which is the only compulsory job integration effort besides the Philadelphia Plan. Unlike the Philadelphia Plan, it covers private as well as Federal work. If it works, say officials, builders would find it futile to switch blacks from private site to Federal site as in Philadelphia.

A few contractors defend such tactics on the ground that the Philadelphia Plan is unfair, since it applies only to their hiring and not to union membership practices. "It's not our fault the unions refuse to train more blacks," grumbles a mechanical contractor here.

To block the plan, the Contractors Association of Eastern Pennsylvania this year sued in Federal District Court here charging that the plan violates the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which, among other things, prohibits racial quotas in hiring. The court, however, upheld the Labor Department, which contends the plan's goals constitute "ranges," not "quotas." An appeal is pending.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, Thursday, December 3, 1970

would be "longer than that."

Minority Hiring Plan In the Building Trades Widened in Philadelphia

Change to Cover Private Work of Federal Contractors in Area, As in Similar Washington Plan

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — The Labor Department said the Philadelphia Plan, the Nixon administration's effort to increase minority employment in the skilled building trades, has been expanded to cover the private work of federal contractors in the Philadelphia area.

The change, which becomes effective next Monday, represents a significant broadening of the controversial program. Imposed on Philadelphia-area contractors late in 1969, the plan originally required builders only to seek given numbers of minority craftsmen for federally aided jobs.

But under the new plan, a contractor with federal contracts will be required to commit himself to make the same "good faith" effort while working on private contracts, Arthur A. Fletcher, Assistant Secretary of Labor, told a news conference in Philadelphia Friday.

Covers Five Counties

The plan covers six higher-paying construction trades in five Philadelphia-area counties.

Discussing the extension, Mr. Fletcher said: "It is a much-needed part of the Philadelphia Plan. It will result in a more equitable role for minority workers throughout the Philadelphia area." He noted that the Washington Plan, the only other plan to be imposed on any community besides the Philadelphia Plan, also requires builders to meet minority employment goals on both federal and private projects.

In the past, the Philadelphia Plan has been attacked by critics in the civil rights movement for covering only federally aided work. According to critics, this limitation enables contractors to switch black workmen from private sites to federal sites and thus come into compliance with the plan. Some observers believe the government's expansion of the Philadelphia Plan should make such practices difficult, if not impossible.

No Change of Emphasis

Mr. Fletcher cautioned that the Philadelphia Plan's extension didn't mean the Labor Department was reducing its emphasis on the "home-town-solution" approach to increase minority employment in the building trades. Under this approach, members of the minority community, unions and contractors voluntarily negotiate the entry of more blacks into the skilled trades.

"This remains the very best method of assuring equal employment opportunity for minority craftsmen," Mr. Fletcher said, adding that 20 "home-town" plans are in effect.

In a related development, the Labor Department said that it has awarded two one-year contracts totaling $648,000 to the Philadelphia Urban Coalition, a nonprofit community action group, to recruit, train and place 180 minority trainees in five construction trades.

ZP — Atl. Bldg Trades

PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO THE OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND
DEVELOPMENT, MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Submitted by:	The University of Texas Department of Economics
Address:	Austin, Texas 78712
Project Title:	Nonapprentice Entry to Selected Construction Trades
Research Director:	F. Ray Marshall, Chairman Department of Economics The University of Texas Austin, Texas 78712 Area Code 512, 471-3211
Transmitted by:	PETER FLAWN [redacted] ~~Executive Director~~ Office of Sponsored Projects The University of Texas Austin, Texas 78712 Area Code 512, 471-5338
Date:	December 21, 1970

1. Can we get atlanta BT cooperation?
2. How?
3. Would national unions help?
4.

PROBLEM

Nonapprentice Entry to Selected Construction Trades

The supply of skilled manpower is important for social as well as economic reasons. Considerable controversy surrounds efforts by Negroes and other minorities to enter this industry. Moreover, public officials and economists have criticized unions for restricting entry into the skilled trades, thereby creating labor shortages which are alleged to exert considerable inflationary pressure as public policies attempt to reduce unemployment while maintaining stable prices and free institutions. In spite of this controversy, however, surprisingly little is known about the nonapprentice processes whereby workers acquire journeyman status, although it is clear from the studies of Foster[1] and others that a majority of workers in the construction industry have attained journeyman status without serving apprenticeships.

In view of the importance of this question and the limited information about it, it is imperative that comprehensive research be done to analyze the routes through which workers gain access to construction jobs. Such research would illuminate the effects of many institutional forces acting on the supply of labor (and therefore on racial equality, wages, labor costs, and prices) in this vital industry. We propose to make a study of the various processes which unions use to (1) admit members to their organization and (2) confer journeyman status upon them. Also considered will be the standards or criteria used to judge workers for journeyman status and the procedures by which workers outside a local's jurisdiction are permitted to work in that jurisdiction.

---

[1]See Howard G. Foster, "Nonapprentice Sources of Training in Construction," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 23 (February, 1970), pp. 21-26.

We have noticed in particular that in the various negotiated plans for promoting minority group entry into construction (the Chicago Plan, the Pittsburgh Plan, the Denver Plan, the New Orleans Plan, etc.), the process and the standards agreed upon show considerable variation by craft and by place. Since minority groups are underrepresented in union apprenticeship programs and since there is a considerable time lag between entry into apprenticeship and the attainment of journeyman status in most crafts, the nonapprenticeship routes to journeyman status take on an added significance as means through which minorities can gain more rapid access to employment in the construction industry.

We therefore propose to study the process and standards for a selected cross section of crafts in the building trades -- sheet metal workers, plumbers and pipefitters, electricians, iron workers, bricklayers, and carpenters -- in the following cities:

(1) Chicago

(2) Pittsburgh

(3) New York City

(4) San Francisco-Oakland or Los Angeles

(5) Houston

(6) Atlanta

(7) A smaller city in the South -- e.g., Jackson, Mississippi; Little Rock, Arkansas; or Charlotte, North Carolina

Specifically, we plan to raise such questions as the following:

(1) How do the standards and selection committees of the union operate? What is their composition, and how are the members of the committees selected?

(2) How formalized are the arrangements for entrance into unions? Do the standards for admission change over time and in response to changing conditions within the labor market? How have these standards evolved historically, and when were the present standards adopted?

(3) When a test is required for journeyman certification, what type of test is given? Who designs it? Who grades it? How is it graded? What exceptions to testing requirements are made, and for what reasons? Is the same test required of apprentices who want to qualify for journeyman status? Have the tests been validated with respect to job performance?

(4) What are the concerns of union leaders and union members with regard to the standards and qualifications issue? With regard to the union entry and journeyman certification process?

(5) What role do the international unions play in determining the process and journeyman standards?

(6) How common is the practice of allowing nonunion members, or union members from other jurisdictions, to work on permit? What are the functions and implications of this arrangement?

(7) What classifications of journeyman certification exist, and what is the degree of transferability among these types of certifications? What sort of work is available to workers in each classification?

This study will build on the other studies we have made on the construction industry, particularly those of the Negro and apprenticeship and our study of black contractors.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study are:

(1) to examine the process by which nonapprentice workmen become journeymen and the standards used to judge them to be qualified as journeymen;

(2) to describe, step by step, the process by which workers gain entry into building trades unions and achieve journeyman status;

(3) to describe variations in this process and these standards by city, craft, and union;

(4) to explain the reasons for the variation; and

(5) to offer suggestions which will help to establish a process in which the legitimate interests of all parties -- unions, the public, minorities, and employers -- are considered.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The study will encompass two phases. In Phase I (January 1, 1971, to September 30, 1971), we plan to carry out a pilot study in two cities -- one in the South and one in the North (probably Atlanta and Chicago) -- to determine the feasibility of the overall project and to perfect our research procedures for use in the five remaining cities. Phase II (September 30, 1971, to September 30, 1972) will be devoted to the study of the five cities outside the pilot project and to the preparation of the final report.

In gathering our information, we intend to conduct interviews with employers, union leaders, union members, civil rights leaders, educators, and other knowledgeable persons. In each city, we plan to interview the presidents and business agents of local unions to obtain information regarding the form of the admission and certification process, their concerns regarding this process, a history of the procedures currently in use, and the role of the international in determining the procedures. We intend to talk with the members of the selection or admissions committee in each union to obtain data concerning the operations and administrative practices of the committee. We also intend to interview scientifically selected samples of journeymen and workers on permits for each craft in each city in order to learn how they gained admission to the union and became journeymen.

In addition, we intend to talk with administrators of private vocational schools and public vocational education programs in order to learn what experiences their graduates have had with unions. We plan to interview civil rights leaders to learn what the experiences of minority applicants have been in encounters with unions.

Finally, we propose to talk with members of local building trades councils, local contractors' associations, and other knowledgeable individuals to reveal such matters as the shared concerns of persons in the industry regarding the admission process and changes in the process occasioned by market fluctuations. We plan to obtain as much information as possible from existing sources and to coordinate with others studying construction manpower, particularly Professors John Dunlop and Quinn Mills, who are examining the effects of cyclical variations on employment and employment practices in construction.

In all phases of the study, the research director will play a major role, particularly in the initial phases of the project in which he will make the contacts with the leaders of the international unions and other concerned parties whose cooperation is indispensable if the study is to be a success. As the study progresses, he will continually oversee the interviewing processes and sampling techniques to be used and will coordinate the efforts of all of the research participants in order to provide the continuity and exchange of information necessary to the smooth operation of the project.

BUDGET FOR PHASE I

(January 1, 1971 -- September 30, 1971)

Personnel

Research Director (one month -- summer, 1971; 1/10 time -- January-May)	$ 5,235
Research Assistant (one at $835 per month -- nine months)	7,515
Secretary (one at $500 per month -- nine months)	4,500
Social Security	885
Travel (University of Texas regulations regarding travel rates will be strictly adhered to)	5,000
Supplies and Telephone	1,500
Consultants and Interviews	2,000
Overhead (43.5 percent of direct wages and salaries)	7,402
TOTAL	$34,037

Salaries and Wages

Salaries paid from grant funds at The University of Texas at Austin conform to the rates approved by the Board of Regents for salaries paid from regular university funds.

Fringe Benefits

Federal Social Security (5.2 percent of first $7,800 of each salary)

Workmen's Compensation Insurance (.5 percent of applicable salaries)

Coverage, as may be required by University regulations, under the University's self-insuring plan. Under University accounting procedures, these items are direct costs.

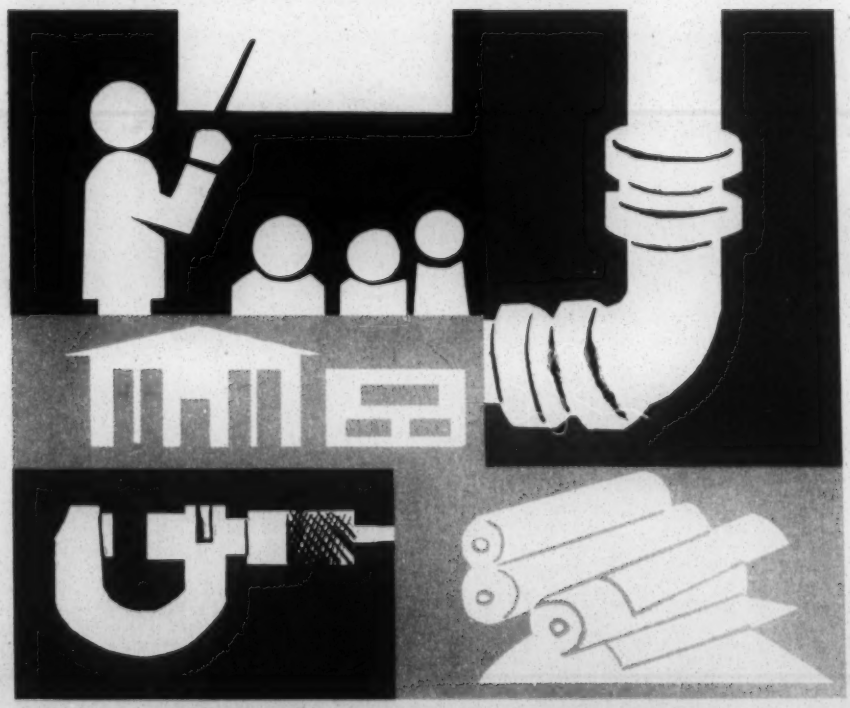
MANPOWER RESEARCH MONOGRAPH NO. 20

Toward the Ideal Journeyman

M — Bld Trades

DEC 77 REC'D

Volume 1. AN OPTIMUM TRAINING SYSTEM IN APPRENTICEABLE OCCUPATIONS



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR Manpower Administration

January 25, 1971

Board of Alderman
City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

This is regarding the atlanta coliseum, this Local Union recognizes the valuable asset to the city of Atlanta which will be realized by the construction of the coliseum as approved by the Board of Aldermen of the City of Atlatna and Commissioners of Fulton County. In order to bring about the expidious construction of the coliseum, this Local Union agrees as follows:

1. As called upon by the contractor or sub-contractors, three to five black apprentices or journeymen, when made available, will be referred for employment, provided only that a sufficient number of qualifiable black men are available and present themselves for entry into our apprenticeship program.

2. Qualified black applicants for entry into the apprenticeship program of this Local Union will be admitted without descrimination.

3. This Local Union will aid and cooperate to the fullest degree in connection with the above, but is understood that qualifiable men must be made available through the Atlanta Urban League for the Apprenticeship Program, and that the Local Union assumes no responsibility to find qualifiable men.

Yours very truly,

_____

Coliseum Wins In Racial Test

Pub-Aldermen, Sam

Black Aldermen's Job Demand Nearly Snags Project Here

By MAURICE FLIESS

Atl Journal 1-27-71

In a highly unexpected, three-act drama, played before a shocked audience of developers, contractors and public officials, Atlanta aldermen came within a whisper of shooting down the city's proposed $16,650,000 indoor arena.

Twice, an ordinance setting forth final approval of the coliseum contracts was defeated Tuesday by a hastily arranged coalition of five black and three white aldermen.

Two-thirds of those voting are required to place an ordinance on second and final reading, and the coalition left the Board of Aldermen split at 8-8.

Only after some hasty lobbying by a visibly shaken Mayor Sam Massell, his staff, officials of Cousins Properties, Inc., and other persons involved in the coliseum project did the five black aldermen agree to change their votes and thus allow the ordinance to pass by a vote of 13-3.

The black aldermen were angry because the prime contractor, the Ira H. Hardin Co., had guaranteed earlier that it would secure from five craft unions promises on union letterhead stationery that three to five qualified black apprentices from each union would be employed on the project.

THE BLACKS contended that this pledge had not been lived up to in full, that two of the unions' pledges had been made on ordinary stationery.

At this juncture Finance Committee Chairman Wade T.

Turn to Page 12A, Column 1

Coliseum Survives Racial Job Clash

Mitchell asked for and got a 10-minute recess.

An 11th-hour meeting was held in an adjacent committee room during which the black aldermen, knowing they held the balance of power, spelled out their demands in detail.

Alderman Marvin Arrington, who moments before had cast a highly unusual dissenting vote which prohibited the mayor from addressing the aldermanic board, accused the Hardin Co. and the Downtown Development Corp. (the Cousins subsidiary in charge of the arena project) of "pussyfooting" over the past two weeks.

An angry Arrington reminded the arena proponents that two weeks ago the black aldermen had set forth a list of demands which they said must be met before their final votes on the coliseum would be favorable.

AMONG THOSE demands was the one requiring the five unions to make their pledges to hire blacks on union letterhead stationery.

According to the developers, only in the tense moments leading up to Tuesday afternoon's showdown meeting were they able to bring two of the local unions into the fold—the Sheet Metal Workers Local 85 and the Glaziers Local 1940.

Because these were last-minute agreements, the developers explained, the pledges from these two unions were on plain bond paper.

Continued from Page 1-A

Alderman Ira Jackson charged that if the developers and contractor initially had taken the black demands seriously, they would have obtained these pledges in the proper form long before Tuesday.

Only after 20 minutes of fist pounding, shouting and bickering back and forth were the black aldermen appeased. They were assured that the pledges, although not on letterhead paper, had been properly witnessed, notarized and thus are legally binding.

THEY ALSO were told that identical pledges on letterhead stationery would be arranged for them Wednesday.

Thus, shortly before 6:30 p.m., the aldermen voted to reconsider their previous actions, and they subsequently approved the contracts in final form.

As they have throughout the history of the proposed arena, Aldermen Richard Freeman, Gregory Griggs and John Flanigen voted against it.

At the time of the final vote, black Alderman Joel Stokes rose and said that as a result of the unions' concessions, Tuesday will be remembered as a milestone for Atlanta in terms of minority employment.

The day started off auspiciously enough for proponents of the 16,500-seat arena to be located in the downtown sector on the Techwood viaduct.

BIDS on the revenue bonds to be issued by the Atlanta-Fulton County Recreation Authority were opened at noon. All four were under a 5.2 per cent interest rate, and the best bid of a fraction above 5.03 per cent was accepted.

Following that, the Fulton County Board of Commissioners voted 2-0 in favor of the final documents.

But, meanwhile, at City Hall, the black aldermen caucused and decided to block the arena at least temporarily until the developers and prime contractor showed genuine concern for the need for nondiscriminatory employment practices on the massive construction job that the arena would entail.

Word of this caucus leaked out, triggering an afternoon full of scurrying back and forth, involving the aldermen, officials of the Downtown Development Corp. and of the Hardin Co., and members of the mayor's staff.

AWARE of what the black aldermen might do, Finance Committee Chairman Mitchell delayed consideration of the coliseum as long as possible. But finally, about 5 p.m., he brought the matter up for the first time. The ensuing 8-8 vote sent reverberations through the corridors of City Hall.

After the 8-8 stalemate became a 13-3 vote in favor of the arena, Lloyd Whitaker, president of the Downtown Development Corp., announced that the ground-breaking could be held as soon as next week if Cousins Properties, Inc., decides to arrange interim financing until March, when money from the sale of the bonds will be available.

Black Aldermen Held Coliseum 'Life' In Hands

The Atlanta Inquirer
1/30/71

Atlanta's proposed new coliseum went over the hump toward reality this week, but only after all five black aldermen who, along with three white aldermen hitting other issues holding the balance of voting power, were assured blacks would be hired in all phases of development.

The black aldermen charged that five labor unions had not bound themselves to hire blacks and were peeved at pledges of fair hiring that were signed, but not on official stationery.

"Why do we have to insist on our rights all the time?" heatedly demanded sophomore alderman Marvin Arrington, the only alderman not given a committee chairmanship or vice-chairmanship by Mayor Sam Massell in his appointments earlier this month.

Arrington also voted at Tuesday's hearing on the coliseum not to permit Massell to speak before the full board. It was only the second time in ten years that an Atlanta mayor was refused the podium.

Two votes on the issue were taken and eight only eight votes could be mustered. During a ten-minute recess, aftr an earlier 30-minute recess request was denied, officials were summoned to City Hall to verify the signature on the black-hiring agreements.

Aldermen Richard Freeman, Gregory Griggs and John Flanigen voted nay with the black aldermen. The white aldermen voting nay are wary of pronouncements

See COLISEUM, Page 2

Coliseum

1/30/71

continued from page 1

that the coliseum "won't cost the city a dime" and cited possible moneys that must be spent to develop the Techwood Drive viaduct area where the coliseum is to be built.

Atlanta Inquirer

Following assurances in verified signed pledges that blacks would be hired in all phases of coliseum development and operation, black aldermen voted yes, pushing the issue to fruition. The three white aldermen still registered their nay votes.

The coliseum, to be built by Cousins Properties, will house the Atlanta Hawks basketball team and a yet-to-be acquire d hockey team.

Groundbreaking may begin in two weeks on the $17 million facility that will be equal in height to a 12-story building and primed as the best in the country.

It was reported that, if favorable action on the coliseum had not come Tuesday, the structure was "going down the drain."

Did our black aldermen act wisely ?

Atlanta Voice 2/6/71

Power is relative in every insurance, and its exercise needs experience to go along with talent and common, sense, a combination which our leaders just could not have as yet, having been excluded most of their lives from "chess playing" circles where hard education was meted out.

And the statement is made because we wonder, now that the white press has built up this black power flexing of muscles, if they haven't seen the same Achilles heel that we have observed, and are still outplaying, outmaneuvering the black man for the umpteenth time.

The big vote came, of course on the vote for a coliseum, and our five black aldermen showed something we can all be proud of, a togetherness in holding off their approval of the measure as a body, which is supposed to have frightened Mayor Massell and the boys in power down at City Hall.

They held off until they were assured that blacks would be hired in all phases of the construction, which is good as far as it goes.

It just doesn't go far enough.

White Atlanta has just about gotten use to upgrading blacks.. . .This is a battle that has almost been won. It wasn't as much a concession as it seemed at first.

If a deal was to be made, try these on for size:

1. Returning black representation to the Finance, Zoning and Legislation Committees.

2. Voting for the money-making project in return for a guarantee that Mr. Massell and the white aldermen would give up their plans to annex more "white areas" which will shift the balance of power away from us.

The aldermen need to check with their voters. There is a fear, and it is highly justified, throughout black residential areas, that exclusion from these important committees and the progress of the annexation measures will really mean another repression against blacks, once again taking away the power that we have obtained so hard, through, blood, sweat and tears.

We did not lash our black aldermen. They are young, but they've got to learn the chess game like the whites.

They could have forced a much bigger swap, and handed us on a platter, a guarantee that we would get our areas uncrowded; that we would suddenly get in on the planning for the future in which the money yet to be asked for is spent for whites and their comfort.

But if you don't go along with this consider that this new structure will become the perfect buffer zone, that willkeep blacks from advancing from a crowded Westside. . . Consider that the erection will cost the black taxpayer, without immediate benefit, with the city financing something for 30 years.

And if we have this thing right, there will be five craft unions involved, with about five blacks per union, giving us only 25 blacks hired in return fr our agreement.

Clearly we have given too much for too little, and the annexation plan still lives, which may one day each black alderman his chance for reelection.

FEBRUARY 6, 1971 15 CENTS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
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ATLANTA

'Black Aldermen Deserve City's Praise'-Vice-Mayor

The Atlanta Inquirer

Not Obstructionist, Sen. Johnson Says

2/6/71

By D. L. STANLEY

While Atlanta's black aldermen have been the object of recent criticism from some quarters, Vice-Mayor Maynard Jackson and Senator Leroy Johnson have both praised them for the way they handled themselves on the question of approving or rejecting a coliseum for the city, and Alderman Marvin Arrington has answered the criticism with "We're not trying to destroy the city!"

"On the coliseum question, the black aldermen 'took care of business,' " Jackson stated. "As a group, the black municipal officeholders exercised a higher degree of political sophistication and maturity in the legislative process than at any other time in the memory of our city.

"It is often said that nothing succeeds like success," the vice-mayor continued, "and the fact that those of us on the Board of Aldermen directly involved in these (coliseum) negotiations were able to deliver the goods is a testimony to the dedication and the intelligent representation these men(aldermen) are giving to all of Atlanta. The breakthrough in

VICE-MAYOR JACKSON

employment of blacks by major building and construction trade unions in positions of apprentices and qualified journeymen was spectacular and will benefit every Atlantan, black and white, union member and non-union member.

"We have now taken important steps," Jackson added, "toward settling a potentially disruptive issue."

The vice-Mayor also pointed out that the executive director and staff of the Atlanta Urban League "served Atlanta well by being of inestimable value to the black city officials in the development of the coliseum employment plan. They did a great job," he said.

"All in all," he said, "I would say that we had a banner day in behalf of all Atlantans and that we should not listen to the voices of negativism that have complained about us doing our job."

Senator Leroy Johnson, following the aldermanic decision to approve construction of the proposed coliseum, issued a statement in which he criticized "certain newspapers" which presented black alderman in a bad light.

"I find it necessary to speak out against the obvious attempts on the part of certain newspaper writers to reflect an image of irresponsibleness of black elected alderman," said Sen. Johnson.

See ALDERMEN, Page 12

Aldermen Deserve Atlanta's Praise

continued from page 1

Referring to a newspaper headline which stated "Coliseum Survives Racial Job Clash," Sen. Johnson said the headlines tend to suggest that the Black aldermen were obstructionist. "One job of a newspaper," he said, "is to create an atmosphere of fairness and justice in a society. This to my knowledge can better be done by positive headlines, reflecting the news.

"The truth of the matter," he continued, "is that the black aldermen acted in the best spirit of Democracy. They used the political process to bring about a desired social end--that of equal job opportunities for all people. The black aldermen were 'architects of progress' not obstructionists. Instead of headlines, such as 'Coliseum Wins in Racial Test,' it could have well have been "Justice and Fair Play Triumph over Mortar and Bricks.

"I endorse the action of the Black aldermen," said the Senator. "Their actions reflect their skills and astuteness which brought about job opportunities in areas formerly closed to black people (jobs in Electrical, Sheet Metal, Plumber and Glazier Unions).

"Thus black elected officials must now serve notice on Atlantans that in all future action where the future of this city is involved, black people intend to share in the decision making, the employment, the operation and all the benefits that flow therefrom.

The coliseum is good for this city," he said, "only if it serves from its inception to its completion all of the people."

A later newspaper story, which stated that the black aldermen "held up approval of the sports coliseum until they were satisfied their demands for commitments from unions on hiring blacks during construction would be met," said the five black aldermen "showed their white colleagues, Mayor Sam Massell, and the entire city what black power really is last week."

The article quoted Sen. Johnson as saying "the boys (black aldermen) really flexed their muscle over there yesterday, didn't they?" and suggested that as long as blacks stick together, they could hold the balance of power on most matters.

"The black aldermen obviously know this," the article stated, "and white Atlanta had better recognize it. For right or wrong, the power has shifted considerably and the blacks will be considered or things just won't be done."

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M - Bldg Trades

Week of February 8, 1971

LABOR SECRETARY ISSUES
NEW APPRENTICESHIP REGULATIONS

WASHINGTON -- Secretary of Labor J. D. Hodgson has proposed major changes in the Federal regulations affecting equal opportunity and nondiscrimination in the selection of apprentices in the skilled trades and crafts.

"The new regulation," the Secretary said, "constitute yet another step forward in our quest for equal employment opportunity through affirmative action. For the first time we are adopting specific measures in the U.S. apprenticeship system to ensure that minorities will be afforded full and equal opportunity in all registered apprenticeship programs."

Central to the proposed regulation is the "affirmative action" principle which, more than passive nondiscrimination, requires employers to take positive steps to ensure full utilization of minority group persons in their apprenticeship programs, including an aggressive outreach-recruitment effort by program sponsors. The affirmative action concept has proven its effectiveness in a wide range of Federal programs.

Under the new regulations program sponsors with deficiencies in the utilization of minority apprentices must adopt an approved selection method or establish appropriate percentage goals and timetables as part of their affirmative action program.

The Secretary said that "the new apprenticeship regulations represent the substance of action sought by President Nixon last March when he said 'there can be no social justice until there is economic justice' and directed the Labor Department to recommend ways and means for improving and expanding the apprenticeship system. The President said then that 'apprenticeship is one of the best systems for training craftsmen.'"

(MORE)

The Secretary added, "In recognition of the Nation's need for skilled craftsmen we have given emphasis to apprenticeship training and plan to promote its expansion in the years to come."

The apprenticeship regulations on equal employment opportunity were first issued December 13, 1963. The revisions were published January 29, 1970 in the Federal Register. Interested parties will have 30 days to submit written views to the Secretary. After considering these views the Secretary will make modifications, if appropriate, and will adopt the new regulations.

In announcing the revised Title 29, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 30, entitled, "Equal Employment Opportunity in Apprenticeship and Training," the Secretary said that "approximately seven years of experience have shown some significant equal opportunity progress in apprenticeship programs.

"However," he observed, "there continues to be underutilization of minorities in apprenticeship in some circumstances indicating the need for revision of the regulations so that the Nation can make further progress in minority employment.

"By revising and strengthening our existing regulations, we ensure a more uniform level of effort and a broader commitment to provide equal opportunity for all Americans."

The new regulations apply to all apprenticeship programs registered with the Manpower Administration's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT) and with State apprenticeship agencies recognized by the Bureau. The affirmative action requirements apply to all programs having five or more apprentices. An estimated 10,000 apprenticeship programs registered

(MORE)

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(MORE)

either by State apprenticeship agencies or by the Federal bureau will be subject to the affirmative action requirements. An estimated 75 percent of all registered apprentices are in training in programs covered by the affirmative action obligations.

Program sponsors will be guided by labor-area census data furnished by the Labor Department in determining minority deficiencies in their programs using a number of factors, including:

-- The number of minority persons in the apprenticeship program;

-- The minority population in an area;

-- The minority labor force in an area; and

-- The availability of minorities with a present or potential capacity for apprenticeship.

Goals, appropriate to the selection method used, would be those which would bring about full utilization in the program as might reasonably be expected through a vigorous, determined, good faith effort. Performance by program sponsors would be subject to periodic review by the Department to ensure progress in meeting goals.

Where a sponsor with deficiencies submits inadequate goals or no goals, the Department will set goals and timetables for the sponsor.

Program sponsors have the option of choosing one of four methods of selecting apprentices:

-- Selection on basis of validated rank order from a pool of eligible applicants;

-- Random selection from a pool of eligible applicants by an impartial person or persons not associated with the program;

-- Selection from a pool of current employees on a nondiscriminatory basis; or

-- Any selection method meeting Labor Department standards if accompanied by acceptable goals and timetables for the selection of minority apprentices where the sponsor has minority employment deficiencies.

Covered program sponsors registered directly with the Labor Department will be required to develop and adopt affirmative action programs including, if required, approved goals, timetables and selection methods, within nine months of the regulations' effective date.

The 32 State apprenticeship agencies recognized by the Department of Labor are given six months to adopt plans conforming to the new requirements after the effective date. Programs registered with them must be in compliance witin one year after the effective date.

While State agencies would have primary responsibility for bringing State-registered programs into compliance, the Labor Department will retain the authority, under the new regulations, to conduct compliance reviews and be empowered to withdraw recognition, if need be.

Programs which already are operating under acceptable equal employment opportunity plans approved under Executive Order 11246 or Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will not be required bo submit affirmative action programs or selection methods under the regulations.

To ensure compliance, the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the Labor Department will conduct regular audits consisting of analyses and evaluations of each program, including on-site investigations.

(MORE)

Continuing evidence of noncompliance will constitute a basis for deregistration proceedings of referral of the matter to the Attorney General for suit under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

# # #

M — Blk Trades — Outreach

WEEK OF FEBRUARY 22, 1971

11 AREAS GET U.S. CONTRACTS TO PREPARE MINORITY YOUTH FOR APPRENTICESHIP

WASHINGTON -- Apprenticeship Outreach projects have been approved for 11 areas in six States to prepare 910 minority youths for apprenticeship entrance examinations in the building and construction trades.

Manpower Administrator Paul J. Fasser, Jr., announced recently that the youths will be trained in Albuquerque, Chattanooga, Cincinnati, Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, Oakland, Sacramento, Salt Lake City, San Francisco and Santa Ana.

The Department will invest $1,111,000 in the 11 renewed contracts, all of which run one year.

In the previous contracts, the 11 sponsors placed 1,574 apprentices in 18 building and construction trades.

The Outreach Program calls for up to 10 weeks of training, using "tutor and cram" techniques to help youths pass written and oral examinations given by joint apprenticeship committees representing management and labor.

Apprenticeship Outreach sponsors also counsel and assist the youth until their apprenticeships are completed.

Skilled craftsmen and other specialists develop materials and coach the prospective apprentices. A project director maintains liaison with employers, unions, joint apprenticeship committees, and the Labor Department.

Candidates are recruited through local State Employment Service offices, Apprenticeship Information Centers, and community agencies.

(MORE)

The newly approved contracts are:

-- The Albuquerque-based New Mexico Building and Construction Trades Council, to prepare 45 minority apprentices with $48,048 in Federal funds. In two previous contracts, the Council placed 88.

-- The Chattanooga Building and Construction Trades Council, to prepare 30 apprentices, with $51,927. Previously, with a goal of 30, it placed 34.

-- The Cincinnati-based Preparation Recruitment Employment Program, to prepare 50 apprentices, with $83,989. In two previous contracts, it placed 79.

-- The Dallas Building and Construction Trades Council, to prepare 60 youths, with $48,703. In two previous contracts, it placed 230.

-- The Fort Worth Building and Construction Trades Council, to prepare 50 apprentices, with $48,979. Previously, the Council placed 48 minority apprentices and provided skill upgrading for 21 journeymen.

-- The Houston Gulf Coast Building and Construction Trades Council, to prepare 60 minority apprentices with $50,225. In two previous contracts, the Council placed 151.

-- The Oakland-based Bay Area Construction Opportunity Program (BACOP) to prepare 230 apprentices, with $285,622. Under prior contracts, with a combined goal of 400, BACOP placed a total of 546 apprentices, 498

(MORE)

of them minority youths. Under the new contract, councils in San Benito, Santa Cruz, and Monterey counties will participate.

-- The Sacramento-based Valley Area Construction Opportunity Program, operating in Sacramento, Stockton, Marysville-Yuba City, Modesto, Fresno, and Bakersfield, to prepare 100 apprentices, with $136,573. In a prior contract, the program exceeded its goal of 70 by placing 81 and upgrading the skills of one journeyman.

-- The Salt Lake City-based Utah Building and Construction Trades Council to prepare 30 apprentices with $52,062. Previously, the Council placed 79 apprentices, 19 over its two-year goal of 60.

-- The San Francisco Apprenticeship Opportunities Foundation, supported by the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades council, to prepare 125 apprentices with $135,669. Previously, the Council had placed 140.

-- The Santa Ana-headquartered Southern California Area Construction Program, serving Orange County, Riverside, San Bernardino and Long Beach, to prepare 130 apprentice candidates with $169,200. In its previous contract, with a goal of 100, the project placed 98 minority youths and upgraded the skills of five journeymen.

The Apprenticeship Outreach Program is administered by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in the Labor Department's Manpower Administration. The program has prepared 8,500 minority youths for apprenticeship since January 1968.

(MORE)

M- Bldg Trade

Week of February 22, 1971

PHILADELPHIA PLAN BOOSTED BY
JOURNEYMAN TRAINING PROJECT FOR 180

WASHINGTON -- The Philadelphia Plan has been given added impetus with the award of two one-year contracts totaling $648,400 to the Philadelphia Urban Coalition, a nonprofit community-action organization, to recruit, train, and place 180 trainees in five construction trades, Secretary of Labor J.D. Hodgson announced recently.

The Philadelphia Plan requires all contractors on Federal building projects to meet minority employment goals.

Under one of its two contracts, funded for $188,400, the Philadelphia Urban Coalition will recruit, evaluate, counsel and provide additional follow-up services for 180 selected candidates with full or partial journeyman construction trade experience and place 40 each as sheet metal workers, plumbers, steamfitters and electricians and 20 as elevator constructors.

To provide the needed training vehicles, building and construction trades contractors are being encouraged to sponsor manpower training programs.

The workers will be credited for their previous building and construction trade experience and placed in manpower training programs operating in the Philadelphia area to acquire the additional training and experience they will require to gain full journeyman recognition in the construction trades.

The completion of recruitment and counseling by the Coalition is expected to coincide with the activation of such construction skills training programs.

Should this not transpire, the Coalition, under its second contract totaling about $460,000 in Federal funds, will itself sponsor the manpower programs needed to provide training in each of the five trades for the 180 advanced construction trainees.

(MORE)

The training schedule is planned to include eight weeks of institutional training and from 18 to 36 weeks of on-the-job training.

The training will begin as soon as 20 trainees in any of the five trades have been recruited. If a contract is signed with any other contractor to provide the necessary trade training for the Coalition-recruited journeymen trainees, the Coalition's training contract responsibilities will be correspondingly reduced.

Some of the recruitment, evaluation, counseling and follow-up services authorized will be subcontracted to the Philadelphia Negro Trade Union Leadership Council.

The two contracts were approved at this time to enable the Urban Coalition to have its project well under way before the construction season begins with the advent of milder weather.

Secretary Hodgson said, "The combination of the Philadelphia Plan goal requirements and the Philadelphia Urban Coalition recruitment and training program will sharply improve the employment picture for minorities in the city's construction industry."

# # #

M-Poly Trade

Week of March 1, 1971

EXTENSION OF PHILADELPHIA PLAN TO
COVER PRIVATE CONSTRUCTION ANNOUNCED

WASHINGTON -- The Philadelphia Plan has been extended to private construction of Federal contractors in the area beginning March 1, Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur A. Fletcher announced.

Mr. Fletcher told a news conference that, under the new plan, a contractor with Federal contracts will be required to commit himself to make the same "good faith" effort while working on private contracts.

John L. Wilks, director of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, noted that previous to this announcement, the Philadelphia Plan required only that Federal contractors meet minority employment goals on the basis of the "good faith" effort on their Federal work.

The plan covers six higher-paying construction trades in five Philadelphia-area counties. Commenting on the extension, Mr. Fletcher said, "It is a much-needed part of the Philadelphia Plan. It will result in a more equitable role for minority workers throughout the Philadelphia area." The Washington Plan, he said, also contains this requirement for contractors in the Washington, D.C. area.

"Further, the firm policy of this Department remains that of a 'home-town' solution, negotiated among members of the minority community, the unions and the constractors. It remains the very best method of assuring equal employment opportunity for minority

(MORE)

craftsmen," Mr. Fletcher said, adding that 20 'home-town' plans are in effect.

On February 12, 1971, Mr. Fletcher noted, the Philadelphia Plan was given added impetus with the award of two one-year contracts totalling $648,400 to the Philadelphia Urban Coalition, a non-profit community-action organization, to recruit, train and place 180 trainees in five contruction trades.

Under one of its two contracts, funded for $188,400, the Philadelphia Urban Coalition will recruit, evaluate, counsel and provide additional follow-up services for 180 selected candidates with full or partial journeymen construction-trade experience. It will place 40 each as sheet metal workers, plumbers, steamfitters and electricians, and 20 as elevator constructors.

To provide the needed training, building and construction trades contractors are being encouraged to sponsor manpower training programs. Should this not transpire, the Coalition, under its second contract totalling about $460,000 in Federal funds, will itself sponsor the manpower programs needed to provide training in each of the five trades for the 180 advanced construction trainees.

The six higher-paying trades affected by the Philadelphia Plan are: iron work, plumbing and pipefitting and steamfitting, sheet-metal work, electrical work and elevator construction work.

The five Philadelphia-area counties affected are: Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Montgomery and Philadelphia.

# # #

CD - Att. Bldg Trades

HUD newsletter

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
Washington, D. C. 20410 (202) 755-5280

March 8, 1971 Vol. 2 No. 6

President Suspends Davis-Bacon

On February 23 . . . President Nixon issued a Proclamation suspending the Davis-Bacon Act. The Act . . . passed in 1931 . . . requires that prevailing union wage scales be paid on all Federal and federally-assisted construction. In taking the action, the President said: "Wage rates on Federal projects have been artificially set by the law rather than by customary market forces . . . . This means that many of the most inflationary local wage settlements in the construction industry have automatically been sanctioned and spread through Government contracts."

Citing wage settlements and high unemployment rates in the construction industry as the reason for the "emergency" action . . . along with the urgent need to control inflation in the industry . . . the President chose this course of action rather than several other alternatives open to him . . . and which had been discussed for some time. One alternative action . . . which the President rejected at this time was wage-price control . . . which can still be invoked if the Davis-Bacon suspension does not slow down the cost spiral.

Some action by the President has been expected for some time . . . as a result of the continued higher rate of construction labor wages compared to general wage rates. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has issued figures for the 6-year period of 1965-70 . . . showing comparative average hourly wage figures:

Year	Manufacturing	Construction
1965	$2.61	$3.70
1966	2.72	3.89
1967	2.83	4.11
1968	3.01	4.41
1969	3.19	4.78
1970	3.36	5.22

In 1970 . . . construction wage contracts called for increases of 18.3 percent . . . compared to 8.1 percent in general manufacturing. At the same time unemployment in construction trades reached over 11 percent at the end of 1970.

All HUD Regional Directors, Area Directors, and FHA Insuring Office Directors have been informed of the steps to be taken to implement the President's Proclamation.

Current Trends

Most analysts believe the worst is over and that the mortgage money scarcity will soon be a thing of the past. This opinion is bolstered by many reports from various sources . . . plus the continuing drop in prime money rates and the reduction to 7 percent in the FHA-VA mortgage interest rate. Another straw-in-the wind: $531 million of tax-exempt local housing notes were sold at an average interest rate of 2.25 percent . . . down from last month's 3.083 percent . . . the lowest rate since April 1967.

The Home Loan Bank Board has expanded the territory in which savings and loan associations may make loans. They may now make loans within 100 miles of each branch office . . . and anywhere within the State in which the association's home office is located.

Lease and Grievance Procedures Issued

The Department has announced new policies designed to give greater protection to the rights of tenants living in public housing . . . and strengthen tenant-management relations.

The new policies, which govern lease and grievance procedures, will apply to the entire low-rent housing program, except leased housing . . . and affect more than 2.8 million persons living in 857,000 public housing units administered by some 1,900 local housing authorities throughout the Nation.

All local housing authorities, for the first time since the low-rent program was started in 1937, will be required to adopt lease and grievance procedures that meet minimum standards.

In signing the new policies, Norman V. Watson, HUD Acting Assistant Secretary for Renewal and Housing Management, said:

"Historically, the balance in landlord-tenant law has strongly favored the landlord, both in private and public housing. The time has come to make a fresh start to improve tenant-management relations through the development of credible and open communication processes. These new policies offer real hope of ushering in a new era in the management of housing for low-income families."

The policies are the result of more than a year of intensive discussions and negotiations on the part of a HUD-appointed Task Force, consisting of representatives of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials (NAHRO) and the National Tenants Organization. Mr. Watson said both organizations have officially endorsed the policies.

☆

Upcoming Conferences

The 37th Annual National Planning Conference of the American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO) . . . will be held at the Hotel Jung, New Orleans, March 27 to April 1. Among the participants will be HUD Assistant Secretary Samuel C. Jackson. 3,000 professional planners, public officials, civic leaders, educators, students and others will examine alternative ways of influencing future growth patterns of human settlements . . . and to consider the goals and mechanics of the intergovernmental relations of national urban growth policies.

Details and registration: ASPO, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, Ill. 60637.

The National Urban Coalition Lower Income Housing Development and Management Seminars are scheduled for:

March 22-24	**Albuquerque, New Mexico**
April 5-7	**Birmingham, Alabama**
April 19-21	**Kansas City, Missouri**
May 17-19	**New York, New York**
June 14-16	**Chicago, Illinois**
July 12-14	**Portland, Oregon**

Each Seminar covers 1½ days of activity. Costs are $60 for the Development Section and $60 for the Management Section . . . with a $110 rate for the combination.

For Further Information: John O. Butler, Conference Director, Nonprofit Housing Center, Inc., 1717 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 - Phone: (202) 265-2224.

More on the Census

The Census. . . the Nation's decennial head count. . . reveals many fascinating facts beyond the number of people in each State and how many Congressmen each State shall have. Some interesting revelations. . . while the cities and suburbs are growing at a tremendous rate. . . the country is still mostly vacant land. A recent article in *Business Week* says: "Since the official closing of the frontier in 1890, the population of the U.S. has increased four-fold. Yet the country never really 'filled up.' As anyone who has traveled from coast to coast can testify, the emptiness in places is almost frightening. Even domesticated New England has more unused land today than it had at the turn of the century. As a matter of fact, the high point for lived-on land in the Nation as a whole was 1920. The trend has been the other way ever since. Increasingly, the population has been concentrated on a fraction. . . perhaps one-tenth. . . of the Nation's land area, huddling along the coasts, the Great Lakes, and the Gulf of Mexico. **In 1960, about two-thirds of the U.S. population was urbanized; in 1970 the proportion is pushing three-quarters."**

How can the paradox of greater concentration of population and decreased use of land be explained? The high rate of migration from rural to urban areas is the answer. About one-half of the Nation's counties lost population in the decade. . . farm population decreased one-third from 15.6 million in 1960 to 10.3 million in the 1960-1970 period.

The number of farms. . . according to a Department of Agriculture estimate . . . dropped over a million. . . from 3.962 to 2.924 million in the same period. This resulted in an abandonment of farm land. . . reducing the total acreage of land used for crops, pasture, grazing, and other agricultural uses from 1.177 billion in 1960 to 1.121 billion in 1970. **So. . . while subdivisions and other types of development are gobbling up land in the urban and suburban areas. . . total overall land use is going down.**

☆

Turnkey III

The HUD-developed Turnkey III program . . . first tested in Gulfport, Mississippi in a project **sponsored by the National Council of Negro Women . . . has attracted considerable attention throughout the country.** Built by private builders under contract with the local housing authority . . . 200 homes were sold under lease-purchase agreements . . . which gave the families financial incentives for maintenance and repair work they did. The Council has been advising housing authorities in other localities . . . 36 communities in 10 States . . . on undertaking similar projects. **A Ford Foundation grant of $315,000 has been given to the NCNW to make possible the continuation and expansion of its advisory services . . .** to explore new techniques of self-help housing programs . . . and develop training programs for home-buyer associations which will take over the management and maintenance of future projects.

☆

Census Bureau Surveying Minority Businesses

A mail survey . . . designed to determine the extent of business ownership by minority businessmen is underway. The Bureau of the Census has sent forms for the survey . . . seeking information about the number and kind of businesses, employment, receipts, legal form of ownership, and geographic location of businesses owned by Black, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican-American, Cuban-American, and other minority people. Results will be available in July, 1971.

Basic aim of the survey is to fill the existing gap in economic data about minority participation in business. **The information gathered will be used as source material for measuring the impact and efficiency of Federal programs designed to stimulate minority participation in the national economy.**

Notes From Here and There

Anthropologist Margaret Mead . . . speaking to the American Association for the Advancement of Science . . . called the suburban housing boom of the past 25 years "one of the greatest disasters in American history." **"The suburbs are an outrage . . ,all the problems that people moved to the suburbs to avoid . . . crime, defective schools, and now drug addiction . . . have followed them from the cities into the suburbs."** Dr. Mead's prescription: Attract people back to the city . . . make the city streets safe to walk . . . provide mass transportation . . . improve the schools . . . make it possible for the elderly to continue to live in their homes . . . and end this apartheid society.

The cost of collecting roadside litter in the 50 States has increased from $19.7 million in 1963 to $34.4 million last year . . . a 70 percent escalation, according to *Keep America Beautiful, Inc.*

Successful urban renewal projects are reported from many cities. **In Seattle, the South Seattle Project has produced a 1,300 percent increase in jobs in the area. Annual tax revenues have gone up 322 percent . . . from $55,000 to $245,000 . . . and private investment in the redevelopment came to $9 for every $1 of city expenditure.** Formerly a badly blighted marginal area . . . described as "plagued with summer dust and winter floods" . . . it is now an attractive industrial park. **More than 2,000 employees work in the 78-acre area where only 140 were employed** . . . even though nine acres are still undeveloped.

Grants have been approved in the amount of $141 million in HUD's five-year old Neighborhood Facilities Program for one-stop neighborhood centers in some 463 low-income areas to provide coordinated community service programs. **The multipurpose centers are in 46 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.**

The volume of rehabilitation activity . . . financed with Section 312 loans . . . in urban renewal and code enforcement areas passed $100 million since the program began. $41 million was accomplished in 1970.

☆

Women Consider Domestic Issues Paramount

The crisis in environment, public education, the economy, and concern over the responsiveness of government to citizen and social needs. . . have emerged as the dominant concerns of the 170,000-member American Association of University Women.

The four topics. . . selected for study and action. . . were drawn from over 3,000 emerging issues submitted by AAUW branches throughout the country:

This Beleaguered Earth. So universal was the environmental concern. . . that for the first time a current Association topic was extended for two more years;

A Dollar's Worth. This topic considers the price tags carried by constructive social goals;

We the People. The responsiveness of government to the needs and wishes of the people. . . and the frustrations of private citizens in trying to influence governmental policies and actions; and

The Crisis in Public Education.

HUD newsletter
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
Washington, D. C. 20410

March 8, 1971
HUD-245-1-SP

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345 East 46th Street / New York, New York 10017 / (212) 687-8300

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

for Social Policy and Development, INC.

formerly the National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.

March 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM

TO: Concerned Organizations and Individuals

FROM: C. F. McNeil

Enclosed is a copy of The National Assembly's Position Statement on Racial Discrimination in the Construction Industry recently approved by our Executive Committee.

You will also be interested in the attached editorial which appeared in The New York Times on February 12, 1971. We believe that this editorial and news accounts of recent events in this field underscore the timeliness and importance of our statement.

In adopting this Statement, the Executive Committee urged the widest possible distribution to concerned organizations and individuals and asked that all persons receiving the Statement give leadership in implementing its recommendations.

Single copies of The New York Times editorial and The National Assembly's Position Statement are available without charge. The Position Statement on Racial Discrimination in the Construction Industry may be reproduced provided credit is given to The National Assembly for Social Policy and Development.

In keeping with our agreement with The New York Times Company, the editorial, if reproduced by you, must be an exact copy as attached.

jsp
Enclosure

345 East 46th Street / New York, New York 10017 / (212) 687-8300

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

for Social Policy and Development, INC.

formerly the National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.

POSITION STATEMENT ON RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

The achievement of full and equal employment is one of the most urgent and justifiable demands of racial minorities. In recent years, the construction trade unions have become a major target of much of the effort to end discrimination and create equitable employment opportunities. While both management and labor share reponsibility for discrimination, yet the focus on the construction trade union is a logical one. Both highly visible and pivotal to the life of the nation, they offer workers opportunities for rewarding employment at excellent rates of pay, and the backlog of unmet housing and construction needs holds out the promise of a growing demand for construction labor; if the current economic logjam is broken, the present supply of skilled labor will be inadequate.

Moreover, the seasonal, mobile nature of the industry, which fostered union emphasis on controlling a restricted labor supply to compensate for the lack of secure, year-round employment, created a de facto pattern of racial exclusion in many construction trades. The labor-management job referral system that developed-of hiring halls, union membership limited largely to relatives and friends, "umbrella agreements" between unions and all contractors in a local market - may have sought initially to protect and benefit one group rather than to penalize others, but as the system developed the effect was to exclude racial minorities. When these minortiy groups mounted campaigns to equalize job opportunities, the construction trade unions were a natural target.

To some extent, the construction unions and their management counterparts have acted to remedy past inequities. To cite one important statistic, labor-management apprenticeship programs enrolled 11% minority group apprentices in 1969, compared to 2.5% in 1960 - the effect in great part of apprentice "outreach" programs sponsored by the AFL-CIO and other interested organizations. Since the increasing technological demands of the construction trades indicate that future entry into these trades will be primarily by way of apprenticeship (rather than the "blanketing in" that formerly accorded journeyman status to those without such training) this is a particularly significant development. The fact that it took place during a period culminating in a federal cutback in public construction and fiscal restraints on private construction, which have created high unemployment rates in the building trades, makes it doubly significant.

Top-level statements stressing the responsibility of the unions (such as that issued by the AFL-CIO Construction Trades Department in September 1969) and local affirmative action plans sensitive to the interests of all concerned (such as that under way in Chicago) testify that some progress is being made. Nevertheless, the efforts to date are simply not enough in view of the dimensions of the problem and the emotions generated by past exclusion of minority groups, emotions that have led to open conflict in many cities.

To meet this challenge, The National Assembly for Social Policy and Development calls upon the AFL-CIO and the international headquarters of the construction trade unions to take the lead in promoting and negotiating a nationwide series of local "affirmative action," area-wide, multiple-party agreements. These should include local goals and target dates based on appraisals of current local job markets and estimates of future expansion. It recommends that government agencies and private civic groups help to create and support these agreements while recognizing the primary role of minority groups, construction unions and construction employers.

Certain basic principles should apply to all such agreements:

1. Locally developed "affirmative action" programs must include provision for opening full union membership to all qualified journeymen, special training and placement for partially qualified workers who may be beyond apprentice age, and vigorous recruitment and placement of sharply increased numbers of minority youths in apprenticeship programs. Flexibility is vital. For instance, a young man who has received limited training in an electrical or metal skill in the armed forces should be slotted into the appropriate stage of apprenticeship instead of being required to start from the bottom. An energetic, imaginative approach to pre-apprenticeship preparation is also vital to overcome the handicaps of inferior education and stunted motivation for many minority youths.

2. Programs should be area-wide in coverage - essential because of the fragmented nature of construction employment - and should include both the unions and the contractors, as well as representatives of government, minority groups and appropriate civic organizations.

3. Such programs should contain specific goals and target dates and should provide for objective evaluation, review and public accountability. The group charged with monitoring each program should be widely representative and should include persons with established expertise in the field. Where the programs fall seriously short of their goals, litigation should be undertaken to enforce compliance with provisions of the Equal Employment Opportunities Act.

4. The rights of existing union workforce members should be protected by building workforce changes on a combination of growth and normal attrition, an approach which has proved workable elsewhere. Since high unemployment rates in the construction industry must inevitably inhibit attempts to expand the construction labor supply, a truly broad-based attack on the problem

should include political efforts to loosen government restraints on construction.

5. All of the foregoing principles should lead to journeyman status and union membership as the most normal means to permanent jobs or reasonable assurance of future employment in this industry. This is clearly to the interest of both unions and minority workers. It assures unions that their standards will not be undercut by non-union labor and it assures minority workers that they will not be used as a temporary, cut-rate work force.

The National Assembly urges this course in furtherance of its Policy Statement of Racial Discrimination, which identified racial inequity as "the major and most pressing social problem of our times" and committed itself to work actively for its elimination in public policy and private behavior. Employment opportunity and advancement was the first of the areas of change cited in the statement.

The National Assembly feels strongly that the time has come to press for substantial, measurable results in the building trades as part of the continuing effort to establish equitable employment opportunities in all sectors of the economy. Widely publicized, such results will do more than any other measure to dissipate the tensions and civic disturbances generated by past controversies. More important, they will constitute a basic step toward the elimination of racial discrimination from the American scene.

December 10, 1970
Approved by:
Executive Committee
National Assembly for
Social Policy and Development

345 East 46th Street / New York, New York 10017 / (212) 687-8300

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

for Social Policy and Development, INC.

formerly the National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.

EDITORIAL APPEARING IN THE NEW YORK TIMES FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1971

Breaking Down Job Walls

The love affair between the Nixon Administration and the hardhats in the construction unions seems to have foundered on the age-old rock of freer entry for blacks into skilled building jobs. The unions have announced their determination to fight new apprenticeship rules proposed by the Labor Department, even though two years of top-level negotiation preceded their issuance last month. They have also spurned the President's plea for joint action with the contractors to curb the runaway wage-price spiral in their industry.

Progress toward increased job opportunity for minority workers, slow in every field, has been made slower still by the construction slump. But the recent report of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on the standstill of black membership in crafts with ironclad job monopolies makes it plain that the much-touted programs devised by the unions and the construction industry will never really open up this industry without a vigorous governmental push.

The holdback is much less pronounced in the international unions than in the locals, where effective control over admissions resides. It was the resistance of many locals to the no-discrimination guarantees incorporated in the A.F.L.-C.I.O. constitution that prompted George Meany to press for inclusion of fair-employment requirements in the omnibus Civil Rights Act of 1964.

But even that prod has proved insufficient, as is indicated by the virtually imperceptible effect of such admirable programs as the one initiated a year ago by the Plumbers Union to bring 500 black plumbers into the field. The need for "affirmative action" plans of the kind envisaged in the new apprenticeship regulations and in the Government's "Philadelphia Plan" is underscored by the investigation just concluded by the independent National Assembly for Social Policy and Development.

It dismisses all the self-help programs as "simply not enough" and calls for specific goals and target dates to promote realistic breakthroughs in the battle to eliminate racial barriers to good jobs.

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Nat Bldg Trades Project

March 19, 1971

Mr. Ray Marshall, Chairman
Department of Economics
University of Texas
Austin, Texas 78712

Dear Ray:

I don't know if you have seen the enclosed memorandum on OFCC hearings related to the construction trades in Atlanta. I am sending a copy to Hefner and Glover. Should we consider the possibility of Hefner making a statement, if he is interested. I thought that the hearings might be of some side interest to Glover for his current project.

I am still uncertain as to whether April 25 will be a good day for our employment discrimination strategy seminar. Would you do two things for me: (1) Send me dates, preferably for two days together, one you could make in May. (2) I would welcome suggestions from you for others who should attend the seminar. Certainly some of the people who have worked on your projects should attend. Just remember that we are attempting to

keep the size of the group small. We would like to try to have mainly southerners and racial balance is crucial.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Attachments

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF HUMAN RESOURCES
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78712

Garrison Hall 300
512—471-7891

March 26,1971

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I just received your letter of March 19. Thank you for the notice of the upcoming OFCC hearings, March 31-April 2.

I will not be able to attend the hearings; but I would like to keep in touch with what happens during them and with the results.

I am currently finishing my work in Houston and expect to come to Atlanta in the latter part of April. I will contact you then.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert W. Glover ?

File

c.p.—
Or Atlanta Bldg Trades

reinstatement in the study. The first, and most important, of these is the size of the company. When the company is very large, there may be more chance for the discriminatee to be lost in the whole operation; when it is very small, the employees and the manager may deal with each other on a more personal basis. In any case, in very large or very small companies the chances of successful reinstatement are considerably better.

The second factor which seems to lead to successful reinstatement is a change in the management. Management here can mean only one person, anyone from the foreman on up. At times the anti-union sentiment in a company can be traced to one man. If he leaves the company, there is an excellent chance that reinstatement will be successful.

The third factor in successful reinstatement is a fast growth of the company. The discriminatees who go back are those with higher seniority and more experience. A large increase in business and the addition of new employees suddenly puts a premium on such people.

These were what the study found to be the most important factors affecting reinstatement. They are factors which the NLRB can neither anticipate nor control. In the study of these factors, two appraisals of the cases were made by using different definitions. Under an optimistic appraisal, the act was effectuated in a little more than 30 percent of cases; under a more pessimistic one, the figure was about 10 percent.

It is hard to escape the overall conclusion that reinstatement under section 8(a)(3) needs many changes before it is a success. □

———*FOOTNOTES*———

[1] Section 8(a)(3) reads in part: "(a) It shall be an unfair labor practice for an employer . . . (3) by discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organizations. . . ."

[2] The sample for the study contained 71 8(a)(3) cases settled between July 1, 1962, and July 1, 1964, by the NLRB's First Region Office (New England). These cases supplied the all-important empirical data. Of the 71 companies involved, 36 were in manufacturing, 21 in services, and 14 in sales. Sixty-two of the cases arose from union organization drives, and most cases (50 out of 71) were settled informally. The 71 cases involved 194 discriminatees.

To the extent that the First Region is typical and that these 2 years are typical, the information in this study should have general validity. No significance tests were applied to the numerical results of the study, largely because the conclusions were drawn not only from the numbers but also from discussion with the people involved. The numbers give structure to the conclusions, but the other sources are just as important in their formulation.

(1) PM – Strategy 1971
(2) CP – Atlantic Bldg Trade

NLRB'S REGULATION OF UNION JOB CONTROL

MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW
March, 1971, Vol 94 No. 3

PHILIP ROSS

THE PURPOSE of section 8(a)(3) and 8(b)(2) of the Labor Management Relations Act is clear, although it may be variously phrased.[1] After its enactment, Senator Robert A. Taft said that it was aimed at prohibiting the closed shop "because the Congress felt that it destroyed the freedom of American youth to choose their own occupation in life, and particularly to select that occupation which they considered best suited to their abilities." More broadly, Justice Stanley Reed, speaking for the Supreme Court, noted: "The policy of the act is to insulate employees' jobs from their organization rights. Thus section 8(a)(3) and 8(b)(2) were designed to allow employees to freely exercise their right to join unions, be good, bad or indifferent members, or abstain from joining any union without imperiling their livelihood," subject only to a modified union shop.[2]

Since 1947 the National Labor Relations Board has received and investigated tens of thousands of charges alleging a violation of section 8(b)(2), and the Board and the courts have issued hundreds of decisions. For all of this, what can be said about the impact of this part of the law? Is it working? How and to what extent has it affected union behavior?

Conventional wisdom, which can be defined as the consensus of everybody with an opinion, has a firm answer: section 8(b)(2) does not work.

This extraordinary agreement about the ineffectiveness of section 8(b)(2) must be carefully scrutinized. To say that a statute which has been in effect for nearly a quarter of a century does not work is a serious matter. It raises questions about the effectiveness of the law as an instrument of

Philip Ross is professor of industrial relations, School of Management, State University of New York at Buffalo.

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social policy and casts doubts about the meaningfulness of the NLRB.

Violations in fiscal 1968

I have examined all cases closed by 15 regional offices during fiscal 1968 involving alleged violations of 8(b)(2) in that year. The 15 regions represent about 40 percent of the agency's total case load and are scattered throughout the country. The overwhelming majority of charges are dismissed or withdrawn as without merit, which is characteristic of unfair labor practices generally. Of the meritorious cases, a very small number are closed after a Board or a court order. Most violations of section 8(b)(2) are settled informally, and it is to this hitherto unexplored category that we must turn to gain the broadest perspectives on the operation of the statute.

There were 112 cases closed prior to litigation in which the regional office found a violation of section 8(b)(2). Most of these cases were closed after compliance with a written settlement agreement, but a significant number were withdrawn after the respondent union agreed to remedy its unlawful practices.

These cases can be grouped in three categories according to the context in which the disputes arose: First, the violations which originated in the enforcement or attempts to enforce union security agreements; second, unlawful union disciplinary action; third, cases in which the hiring hall is the tool of unlawful discrimination. While these categories are not mutually exclusive, the few classification difficulties which arose are unimportant. The number of violations was: 36 cases developed out of union security, 34 in union discipline, and 42 in hiring-hall situations.

UNION SECURITY. The law on union security is straightforward. A proviso to section 8(a)(3) authorizes a union representing an uncoerced majority of the employees within an appropriate unit to cause an employer to discharge a nonmember pursuant to a union security agreement, if the employee has declined to tender dues and initiation fees uniformly established after 30 days of employment. Innumerable Board cases have laid down specific safeguards interpreting employees' financial obligations towards the collective bargaining representative, the lawfulness and scope of the contract, the timeliness of the request, the good faith of the union, and the like.

Nearly all these cases fall into three subgroups with roughly equal frequency: dues checkoff violations, unlawful demands for dues and assessments, and the existence or enforcement of an otherwise lawful union security clause in a contract at a time when the union was not the majority representative. About half of the cases did not involve discharges, particularly in checkoff cases where the most common violations were the collection of dues without written authorization or when the authorization was purposely revoked.

Discharges commonly accompanied violations in the other categories where dues were required during the statutory grace period, where former members were obligated to pay past dues, or where the payment of fines and assessments was made a condition of employment. On a few occasions, unlawful behavior resulted from a union security arrangement which was not validated by a contract or was invalidated by a State right-to-work law. The charging parties were frequently other unions in situations where the respondent union did not represent a majority of employees.

The stock remedies for section 8(b)(2) violations were applied in these informally settled cases, which meant that monetary reimbursement of dues and assessments was made, reinstatement was offered and in nearly all cases accepted, and unlawful contracts including recognition agreements were abrogated.

UNION DISCIPLINE. Although the ability of unions to discipline members is nominally protected by the proviso to section 8(b)(1)(a), section 8(b)(2), read together with section 8(a)(3), insulates the employment relationship from all forms of union discipline. In all the regions, the most prominent reasons for unlawful discipline were violations of union working rules, the engaging in dual union activity, opposition to incumbent officers or to union policies and procedures, and the filing of charges against the union or of representation petitions to oust the union.

In most of these cases fines were either levied or the employee was expelled, and in many cases the member was discharged. The unlawfulness of the union action and the remedy applied depended, of

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CP AH — Bldg Trades

For release on delivery
Friday, April 2, 1971
4:00 P.M.

Black Employment in Atlanta: Special Implication For Federally-Involved Construction

Statement of

James A. Hefner

Chairman, Department of Business and Economics
Clark College

before the

Office of Federal Contract Compliance
United Stated Department of Labor

April 2, 1971

Black Employment in Atlanta:
Special Implications For Federally-Involved Construction

by

James A. Hefner

I greatly appreciate the opportunity to share with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, United States Department of Labor, my views on black employment in federally-involved construction in the Atlanta area. Because I believe that employment opportunities afforded blacks in the construction industry are interdependent of employment opportunities in other areas of the economy, it seems to me that I might make a modest contribution to these hearings by viewing in brief the employment patterns of black Atlantans, some factors responsible for the patterns, and ways of dealing with the patterns. I shall speak as an economist and only rarely will I speak of noneconomic matters (such as the "psychological impoverishment" wrought by lack of employment opportunities available to black Atlantans).

On the basis of my analysis of the employment data available to me, I have concluded that very few blacks have any "meaningful" employment opportunities available to them in the Atlanta area. This is true not only for the blacks who reside in the ghettos that form an arc around the Central Business District, but is also true for the black youngsters who graduate from the all-black institutions in the Atlanta University Center. The types of jobs that these blacks get is worthy of discussion.

Private and Public Employment

Table I gives black employment in Atlanta's 15 leading industries and Tables II, III, and IV give a summary of black employment in government jobs. Although the data in the tables are for the years 1966 and 1967, subsequent data* that have been made available to me, that cover the year 1969, show no real significant changes from those of 1966. Therefore, the information contained in the tables is worthy of our attention.

According to our data, it is clear that white-collar jobs were overwhelmingly "white", and lower paying blue-collar jobs, in most instances, were largely "black" in metropolitan Atlanta's top fifteen industries. Although there was a slight improvement in the occupational position of black females (in clerical, professional and technical jobs) between 1950 and 1960, they still occupied very low occupational positions in 1966. Their employment representation was lowest in the Motor Freight Industry and highest in the Food and Kindred Products Industry. As for black males, there was no discernible improvement in their occupational position between either 1950 and 1960 or 1960 and 1966. Yet, black males generally were better represented than were black females along every step of the occupational ladder. Although they occupied better jobs than did black females, black males were still holders of the traditional "colored jobs", i.e., services and laborers. Their employment representation was lowest in the Communications Industry and highest in the Food and Kindred Products Industry. For blacks as a whole, employment representation was the lowest in the Insurance Industry and the highest in the Food and Kindred Products Industry.

* Supplied by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Of the 86,914 blue-collar jobs in Atlanta's top fifteen industries in 1966, almost 34 percent, excluding craftsmen, were held by blacks. Yet blacks constituted only 15.2 percent of total employment of 221,021 employees in these industries. On the white-collar level, blacks accounted for 2.3 percent of the total 106,859 jobs; however, 83 percent of those jobs were in the lower-paying sales and clerical areas. To a large degree, blacks on the managerial and professional occupational levels in 1966 were employed in the black community, where they managed black-owned banks and insurance companies.

Employment opportunities for blacks were generally better in the public than in the private sector. Black employment was better in city, county, and federal governments than in Atlanta's top fifteen industries. Of the governmental units, black employment was lowest in state government. Here the majority of black employees were in white-collar positions, as they were in county government. Yet, as a percent of total employment, black employment opportunities were best in the federal government, followed by the City of Atlanta.

Of those blacks employed by the federal government, almost half were in the Atlanta Post Office. Yet, on both the Postal Field Service (PFS) and General Schedule (GS) levels, there was little about which to be enthusiastic; blacks were under-represented in the PFS - 9 and above occupations, and were heavily concentrated in the lower paying jobs--GS - 1 through 4 and PFS - 1 through 4.

Until after 1968, no blacks headed any departments in Atlanta's city government, nor did they appear to be assistants to department heads. Then (as now) most black Atlantans who worked for the city were in the lower-paying blue collar positions, laborers and services. And, as in all governmental units, blacks seem to have been most heavily employed either in traditional dirty, menial, or otherwise undersirable jobs, or in jobs which serve black clients.

In categories other than these, black employment rarely exceeded takenism.

Unions as Determinants of Black Employment

Although Atlanta's black employment patterns are relatively clear, the determinants of these patterns are not as clear, especially if we look for detailed and specific causal factors. In a general sense, of course, we know that institutional discrimination is a root cause of the blacks' disadvantage, but it is necessary to look more specifically at the ways in which discrimination manifests itself in the labor market. One such manifestation is the behavior of unions. Other manifestations, which will not be discussed, are (1) poor educational facilities provided blacks; (2) recruitment, selection, and promotion practices of firms; (3) the location of firms; (4) the scope of public transportation facilities; and (5) objectives of manpower programs.

Behavior of Unions

The role that unions play in the overall employment status of blacks is well documented in the works of Northrup[1] and Marshall[2]. In a rough sense, these scholars dichotomize unions into two groupings: those that are egalitarian and those that discriminate. Marshall, in discussing the race problem in the South, notes that:

> Indeed, it can probably be demonstrated that a forthright egalitarian racial position will cause the unions to gain more than they lose.[3]

On the other hand

> One of the ironies of employment in Atlanta and other cities in the South is the fact that local affiliates of some labor unions--well known on the national level for nondiscriminatory policies--contribute directly to discrimination against Negroes on the local scene.[4]

In addition,

> Consider several cases in point. The union hall of an automobile workers union is segregated and until a year ago Negro members were required to hold their meetings on separate dates. At a large steel plant, Negro union members stated that they are not allowed to bid for jobs held by whites. Only two unions in the city employ Negroes in their own offices--a packing house local and a garment workers local. Negroes are barred altogether from at least two trade unions--sheet metal workers and plumbers. In the electrician union, Negroes hold membership in the industrial section, but not in the craft section, and the musicians union has one local for Negroes and one for whites.[5]

Reason for the Behavior

Now let me briefly discuss some of the reasons for this behavior. It appears from the above that we are dealing with the same old sing-song, "embodied" racial discrimination--that is, discrimination embodied in the nonblack decision-making process. And we are. On the other hand, the nonblack union decision process seems always to attract accomplices, however unwittingly. For instance, the behavior of the Atlanta Labor Education Advancement Program (LEAP) contributes greatly to the racially discriminatory decision process of the local union. Let me briefly describe the workings of LEAP.

In June, 1968, the Atlanta LEAP, a project under the sponsorship of the National Urban League with the objective of increasing substantially the number of minority youths in apprenticeship programs of the building trades and construction crafts, began its operation from an office within an Economic Opportunity Atlanta (EOA) target area. Yet, in 1969, the Atlanta LEAP indentured fewer black apprentices than the unions themselves.

In order to place Atlanta LEAP efforts in their proper perspective, it is necessary to compare its retention rate with the rates of three other southeastern cities which had LEAP programs in December, 1969. The Jacksonville, Florida program had a retention rate of 55 percent; the Miami LEAP project had a 73 percent retention rate; while the New Orleans, Louisiana figure was 81 percent. The Atlanta figure, which I estimated to be 27 percent, was therefore, half that of the lowest of the other three cities.

The point that I am making is this: unless projects such as LEAP are not used to augment the number of black apprentices in the building and trades unions, there will continue to be the paucity of black apprentices in these unions. The apprenticeship outreach programs of the building and trades unions are only delay actions. What seems clear to me is that the better the job pays, the shorter are the arms of the unions in reaching out. But this is not say that unions should not be given any responsibility to find qualifiable blacks. They should.

Concluding Remarks

Policy Recommendation

Because institutional discrimination in the labor market accounts for the general pattern of black employment in Atlanta, no one agency or institution can cast a stone at the other. In terms of their decision-making process which excludes the interests of black people, all are responsible for the lack of employment opportunities available to blacks at the present time. This applies to the building and trades unions, as well as to the city government, state government, county government, state employment agencies, school boards, etc. Yet, the building and trades unions have the opportunity of coming forward, of taking affirmative steps in a direction so badly needed to augment the life styles of the Atlanta black community.

In all candor, I must insist that almost all of the problems facing black people in the construction unions are initiated in the decision-making process of these unions. Here is where the decision to accept or reject black applicants along with the specified conditions are made. Not only must blacks be involved in the decision-making process, but also mechanisms for enforcing decisions must be rendered more effective than any of those now in effect.

Where does all this lead us with respect to policy? I would think along with the National Assembly that the following principles might be pursued.

1. Locally developed "affirmative action" programs must include provision for opening full union membership to all qualified journeyman, special training and placement for partially qualified workers who may be beyond apprentice age, and vigorous recruitment and placement of sharply increased numbers of minority youths in apprenticeship programs.
2. Programs should be area-wide in coverage and should include both the unions and the contractors, as well as representatives of government, minority groups and appropriate civic organizations.

3. Such programs should contain specific goals and target dates and should provide for objective evaluation, review and public accountability. Where the programs fall seriously short of their goals, litigation should be undertaken to enforce compliance with provisions of the Equal Employment Opportunities Act.

Obviously, the above principles should lead to greater employment of black workers in the construction industry. And should make Atlanta, which is now the transportation, distributional, financial, and government center in the South; the hub of six interstate highways; the third busiest airport in the nation with respect to passengers handled; the land made famous by Henry Grady, Sidney Lanier, Joel Chandler Harris, Ralph McGill, Coca Cola, Gone With the Wind, and General Sherman; the home of numerous regional offices of the federal government, as well as offices or plants of over 400 of the Fortune 500 top firms; the largest black business community in the South; the home of the most influential black leaders in the nation; and the home of the Atlanta University Center, the only black consortium in the nation--indeed these principles will move Atlanta along the realization of its name as a "city too busy to hate."

FOOTNOTES

1. Herbert R. Northup, Organized Labor and the Negro (New York: Harper & Row, 1944).
2. Ray Marshall, The Negro and Organized Labor (New York: 1965), and Labor in the South (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1967).
3. Ray Marshall, "The Development of Organized Labor", Monthly Labor Review, March 1968, p. 70.
4. Southern Regional Council, "The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South: Atlanta , a Report based on a survey by the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations and the Atlanta Council for Cooperative Action, 1961, p.7
5. Ibid.

TABLE I

EMPLOYMENT IN FIFTEEN (15) LARGEST INDUSTRIES, ATLANTA SMSA, BY RACE AND SEX, 1966

Industry	Male					Female				
	Total employment	Percent black	Percent black white-collar	Percent black crafts-men	Percent black blue-collar	Total employment	Percent black	Percent black white-collar	Percent black crafts-men	Percent black blue-collar
Atlanta SMSA	145,011	16.5	1.9	5.9	33.9	76,010	12.7	2.8	13.4	33.7
Retail-general merchandise	8,024	18.9	3.4	6.7	61.9	14,896	9.6	3.8	43.8	37.1
Communication	8,270	2.1	0.3	0.7	63.6	9,690	4.1	3.4	0.0	94.0
Wholesale trade	13,076	11.4	1.5	13.2	38.4	3,490	2.2	0.7	0.0	19.9
Transportation equipment	13,992	13.5	1.4	6.1	16.7	372	2.2	1.2	0.0	10.8
Food and kindred products	8,170	25.3	4.0	17.4	45.9	3,247	23.5	2.3	12.3	36.1
Railroad transportation	8,978	21.4	0.9	2.8	50.1	844	5.6	0.9	0.0	88.9
Air travel	7,377	5.0	0.5	0.0	21.0	1,940	2.1	0.4	0.0	12.1
Insurance carriers	4,390	2.1	2.1	0.0	69.7	4,718	2.0	1.7	0.0	100.0
Textile mill products . .	4,664	14.4	0.9	2.6	21.5	3,584	10.9	3.2	0.0	13.4
Trucking and warehousing	6,833	14.0	0.7	3.9	18.1	327	0.6	0.0	0.0	100.0
Educational services . . .	3,391	20.8	3.5	1.4	75.9	3,651	20.7	4.5	0.0	54.5
Food retailing	4,674	15.4	0.0	4.7	20.2	1,561	3.1	2.2	0.0	3.1
Paper and like products .	4,371	19.5	1.8	11.0	35.1	1,495	1.7	0.7	8.6	2.1
Apparel and finished products	993	18.2	3.7	10.3	28.7	4,835	14.6	4.9	9.1	17.3
Banking	2,264	8.5	2.8	0.0	62.5	2,969	4.7	1.7	0.0	75.4

DATA SOURCE: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEO-1 Reports.

TABLE II

BLACKS AS A PERCENTAGE OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT, ATLANTA SMSA, 1967

	State	County	City
Total Employees	(5.60)	(19.01)	(41.73)
Officials and Mgrs.	3.73	4.23	0.00
Professional and Tech.	3.88	26.26	5.50
Office and Clerical	3.88	2.22	3.32
Craftsmen and operatives	9.86	4.42	16.69
Laborers	7.89	36.54	87.01
Service workers	50.00	93.33	41.56

Source: U. S. Civil Rights Commission

TABLE III

BLACKS AS A PERCENT OF FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT, 1965 AND 1967

	1965	1967
Total All Pay Plans	15.2	22.7
General Schedule	4.4	8.1
Wage Board	37.8	45.0
Postal Field Service	28.7	49.7
Other	13.3	8.4

Source: U. S. Civil Service Commission

Washington Trip

to screen out minorities. In setting minimum education or skill requirements, "The touchstone is business necessity," the court said. (See MIS, March 24, 1971, pages 316 and 330, for a review of the case.)

In another recent court decision, this one by the United States District Court in Minnesota, the all-white Minneapolis Fire Department was ordered to develop an affirmative action plan and to give absolute preference to 20 black, Spanish-speaking, or American Indian applicants qualified for fire fighter positions to raise minority representation on the force. This decision was handed down on March 9, the day after the Supreme Court's Griggs decision.

Among other things, the District Court rejected non-job-related requirements pertaining to applicants' police records. The court said that unless the unlawful behavior were found by a written Civil Service Commission report to interfere with the duties of a fire fighter, no applicant convicted of a felony, misdemeanor, or other crime should be turned down by the Fire Department.

Test Validation

Because of the lack of further administrative or court rulings on selection procedures, participants in the National Civil Service League (NCSL) conference voiced contrasting views on the meaning of the court decisions. The issue of validating tests to assure they are job-related was one subject on which different interpretations were evident.

William Enneis, staff psychologist at the Office of Research, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), discussed validating tests to determine what relationship there is between the predictor (test or other selection technique) and the person's actual job performance. A NCSL survey shows that barely half of all state and local jurisdictions validate any of their tests. Enneis urged employers to take steps quickly in this direction on their own, since failure to do so may spell court action that could take their prerogatives away from them. He cautioned employers, however, against assuming that tests can be validated by quick and easy methods. For example, he said, a test cannot be made more valid simply by eliminating the individual items that good performers tend to answer incorrectly. Nor can personnel administrators expect to validate their tests merely by getting supervisors' opinions on whether an employee is performing as well as his test scores would lead one to expect.

Eliminating Tests

Lawyer Craig Sawyer, of the EEOC's Office of General Counsel, observed that merely validating the content of selection tests may not be enough to assure compliance, however, if the employer's work force still does not represent the local population. The Griggs case showed that racially neutral policies that operate against minorities are discriminatory, Sawyer pointed out.

Noting that he had seen few cases of test validation that were truly effective, Sawyer suggested that testing itself may be the problem. An alternative might be to eliminate all tests for certain jobs, hiring instead on a first-come basis followed by a probationary period. "I think it's quite possible you could eliminate tests completely without its making any difference in the results," he said.

Taking issue with Sawyer was Anthony Mondello, General Counsel of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. The Supreme Court does not outlaw setting qualifications for jobs, he argued. It only tells employers to remove arbitrary requirements that are "invidiously" discriminatory.

Robert Galloway, director of personnel in Phoenix, enumerated some probable effects of the court ruling on public service personnel systems to the 250 representatives of state and local civil service systems in attendance. He foresees a rise in so-called preferential hiring of minorities, as ordered in the District Court case of Carter and Minneapolis Commission on Human Relations *v.* Hugh Gallagher, et al. There is no law prohibiting this practice, he said, since "preferences can only be possible when there's equality to begin with." Other trends will be to drop high school diploma requirements, increase job analysis to fit jobs to people, redefine "merit" hiring, and expand hire now, train later employment.

"Public employers talk piously but are among the most biased employers," asserted Robert McCulley, special assistant to the Commissioner of Personnel in Connecticut. Present merit system testing procedures disenfranchise a large percentage of the citizens the public agencies are supposed to serve, he said. One step Connecticut is taking to make merit hiring more equitable is to replace its "rule of three" selection pro-

MANPOWER INFORMATIONS SERVICE
The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc.
Volume 2, No. 16 April 2, 1971

APPRENTICE TRAINING STUDIED IN LIGHT OF NEW FEDERAL GUIDES

A breakthrough is needed, says Assistant Secretary of Labor Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., to resolve the conflicting demands of apprentice training—the need for skilled workers in a technological society, and the inability of the educational system to come to grips with training people to be skilled workers. Speaking to the National Apprenticeship and Training Directors Conference conducted April 12 and 13 in conjunction with Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT), Lovell called on the business and union leaders to "take a look at apprenticeship programs . . . to set goals and timetables for development of affirmative action plans."

The conference's lengthly discussion of the recently modified apprenticeship regulations in Title 29, Code of Federal Regulations, part 30 (29 CFR 30), was aimed at providing those attending with a better under-

standing of 29 CFR 30, and to answer questions on how the federal government wants those regulations implemented. (For excerpts from the federal regulation, see MIS, February 10, 1971, page 261.) "We wanted to make this a first overview for those people in executive positions with apprenticeship and training programs," said a BAT spokesman, "and to resolve their fears as to what this meant for their practicular programs." What, in effect, 29 CFR 30 means is that any apprenticeship program involving more than five workers *must* comply with the provisions concerning selection of minority groups in apprentice training. The four selection methods from which a company may choose are (a) selection by rank from a pool of eligible applicants; (b) selection at random from a pool of eligibles; (c) selection from a pool of currently employed persons wishing to enter apprentice training; or (d) an alternative selection method developed by the company and approved by a BAT field representative. The Secretary of Labor and a department level review board approve or disapprove exceptions to these guides.

Other action on the part of the company called for are:

- Outreach and recruitment efforts in bringing minorities into apprentice programs in numbers commensurate with their proportion in the local population.
- Cooperation with high schools and vocational education systems in facilitating access to the program through job oriented education.
- Development of "good faith" plans aimed at concrete results, rather than empty promises, in providing apprentice training to minorities.
- Careful scrutiny of testing and selection procedures in apprentice training, with an eye to the recent Supreme Court ruling that tests must be job-related. (See MIS, March 24, 1971, Pages 316 and 330.)

"In substance," says Lovell, "what 29 CFR 30 means is that an employer must take positive steps to ensure full utilization of minority apprentice applicants." Many companies are already doing this. Wayne E. Grimm, director of the Chrysler Institute, addressed the conference on the strides Chrysler's apprentice program has made in the past five years. However, those who do not make an honest effort to comply must begin to do so or face withdrawal of recognition for their program by Labor, as well as place themselves in jeopardy of prosecution under other laws, such as Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, or Executive Order 11246. Punitive action of this sort is not wanted by anyone. "Cooperation," says Lovell, "is the key to what's needed in apprentice training."

MOUNTING BUSINESS CONCERN CITED IN NEW INDUSTRY DRUG ABUSE SURVEY

The growing concern about drug abuse within industry's employee ranks (see MIS, December 2, 1970, page 129) has been confirmed by a recent survey of drug use in businesses throughout the United States. Conducted by the Conference Board of New York City, the survey indicates that while most companies have had only limited experience with drug abuse, they believe the problem to be mushrooming.

The Conference Board canvassed 222 firms, representing a geographical cross section and a wide range of industrial categories, to develop further data on industrial drug abuse. Of the 222 participants, 131 were manufacturing concerns and 91 were nonmanufacturing companies ranging in size from 250 employees to 250,000.

Survey Content and Results

In conducting its survey, the Conference Board sought to identify the nature and extent of the drug problem in business as perceived by management; company experience with employees using or abusing drugs; implications for corporate policy and practice with regard to drug abuse; company involvement in community drug addiction education, treatment, and rehabilitation programs; and company posture on drug abuse and law enforcement.

An analysis of the survey response reveals:

- More than half the companies are planning in-company programs to counteract drug abuse.
- Companies in large urban centers report a higher incidence of employee drug abuse, or at least they are more aware of it, but neither geographical location nor size of company makes a difference.
- Despite the same rate of incidence, nonmanufacturers are more apt to fire an employee for drug abuse while manufacturers are a little more likely to call the police.
- The use of "soft" drugs such as amphetamines is more prevalent than hard drugs such as heroin. But a majority of the companies do not seem to care if their employees use marijuana, unless it affects productivity.

While nearly 40 per cent of the surveyed firms state there is no drug problem in their organization —at least not yet—and 9 percent do not know about drugs, 117 firms (53 percent) are aware they have a company drug problem. However, most companies in the "aware" group classify their drug problems as "minor instances," which range from the isolated heroin user to widespread employee use of marijuana. The report quotes the vice president of an office equipment company as saying, "I'm aware of the smell of marijuana in the men's room quite often and occasionally on the shop floor. But that really doesn't bother me since I haven't actually observed joints being passed around, and I'm not aware of any effects 'grass' smoking has on productivity unless someone is stoned all the time."

Management Problems and Solutions

The most commonly cited management problems stemming from employee drug consumption are listed

BLACK NEWS DIGEST
Week of April 12, 1971

Wash Trib

Week of April 12, 1971

420 MINORITY YOUTHS IN 3 AREAS GET CHANCE FOR APPRENTICESHIP

WASHINGTON -- Some 420 minority youths will be prepared for apprenticeship entrance test in the construction trades through Federal funding of Apprenticeship Outreach projects in New Jersey, Southern Illinois, and the District of Columbia, Manpower Administrator Paul J. Fasser, Jr., recently announced.

Total Federal investment in the three projects is $254,628.

-- The State of New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry will prepare 350 minority youths in Camden, Jersey City, New Brunswick, and Paterson, under a one-year $170,241 contract with the Labor Department.

-- The Business Representatives Council of Southern Illinois, based in Collinsville, will prepare 40 minority youths in East St. Louis and in Southern Illinois counties, under a one-year $43,095 contract. Under two previous contracts the council helped 86 become building trades apprentices.

-- The Christ Child Settlement House, Washington, D.C., will prepare 30 minority youths to take carpenter-apprentice tests, with a 10-month $41,292 contract. Under two previous contracts, the sponsor placed 56 minority youths as carpenter apprentices.

Objective of the Apprenticeship Outreach program is to prepare minority youths to take and pass written and oral apprenticeship entrance tests through a concentrated tutoring program of up to 10 weeks per trainee, tailored to each individual's learning needs.

Over the three-year period since this Manpower Administration program became fully organized, more than 8,700 minority youths have become apprentices.

# # #

Week Trip

Week of April 12, 1971

OKLAHOMA UNIONS ACCEPT 143 MINORITY APPRENTICES, GET 4TH CONTRACT

WASHINGTON -- Some 40 minority youths will be prepared to pass construction trades entrance tests and become apprentices by the Southwestern Oklahoma Building and Construction Trades Council under its fourth contract awarded by the Department of Labor.

Manpower Administrator Paul J. Fasser, Jr., announced that the new one-year contract will run until March 1972, supported with $48,818 in Apprenticeship Outreach program funds.

Under its three previous contracts, the Oklahoma City-based council placed 143 apprentices. Of all apprentices placed by the council, 9 were bricklayers, 17 carpenters, 5 cement masons, 5 electricians, 4 ironworkers, 17 painters, 5 plasterers, 6 plumbers and pipefitters, 66 roofers, and 9 sheet metal workers. The council represents 55 Southwestern Oklahoma counties.

The Manpower Administration's Apprenticeship Outreach program prepares minority youths to pass tests and become apprentices, mostly in 17 building and construction trades, using a concentrated tutoring technique programed to each individual's needs.

Since it was fully organized in January 1968, through December 1970, 8,700 minority youths became apprentices through the Apprenticeship Outreach program. They include blacks, Spanish-surnamed, Indians, and Orientals.

# # #

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
April 13, 1971
AH Bldg Trades

Building Industry Here Could Dodge U.S. Rule

By CHARLES LAMBETH

Atlanta's construction industry still has a chance to dodge a federal integration plan, a senior Labor department official said here Monday.

But, he added, a federal order setting percentages for minorities in Atlanta's work forces and construction unions, is being written "right now," in case it is needed.

Arthur Fletcher, an assistant secretary of labor, said he would not make public a date by which Atlanta must write its own plan. "But we have one in mind," he cautioned.

Fletcher said he would not reveal the deadline because it has been his experience that minority groups, hoping for strict federal action, walk out of local discussions when the government sets a deadline.

The Black Coalition and Metro Atlanta construction and union officials started talks to develop a "home town" industry integration plan over a year ago. The talks broke down before Christmas and the Labor department held hearings here two weeks ago.

Staff Photo—Hugh Stovall
DEADLINE IN MIND
Arthur Fletcher

The hearings showed that construction trades discrimination in Atlanta is "worse" than in other cities "in certain crafts," Fletcher said Monday.

He said he favors federal intervention in such cases.

Fletcher said the Labor department policy for two years has been to support "home town" plans, written in the cities in which they are imposed. Experience has shown this to be "idealistic," he said.

Federal plans are "showing more results in paychecks" for minorities, he explained. "I am pushing for a change in policy," the assistant secretary said, "but I haven't won yet.

He said he would "go along" with an Atlanta "home town" plan if it would truly get blacks and other minorities "sharing those jobs."

The federal investigators said after the Atlanta hearings that they had heard testimony showing discrimination in the highest-paid of Atlanta's trade unions and failure of many federal contractors here to employ more than a token number of blacks.

Fletcher said the result "might well be" discrimination suits against local unions and action to bar discrimination suits against local unions and action to bar dicriminating contractors from federal contracts. He said such action depends on his legal staff's evaluation of the testimony gathered in Atlanta.

Fletcher dismissed a proposal by the Atlanta NAACP that all federal funds be cut off for local projects until the unions and contractors toe the line.

"At law, you can't do it," he said, "without due process."

"Due process, he said, would require the government to go into court against each affected union and contractor. Washington, he said, "does not have that many lawyers."

AFL-CIO

Transmittal Slip

DATE: April 14, 1971

TO: Emory Via

FROM: E. T. Kehrer

☐ Note and File	☐ Prepare Reply For My Signature
☐ Note and Return To Me	☐ Take Appropriate Action
☐ Return With More Details	☐ Per Your Request
☐ Note and See Me About This	☐ Signature
☐ Please Answer	☐ Advice Please
☐ For Your Approval	☐ Attach Complete File and Return

COMMENTS:

APR 15 1971

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APR 12 1971

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release:
Immediately
April 8, 1971

For further information, contact:
Rustin Column

ANTI-UNION AND ANTI-BLACK

by Bayard Rustin

An alliance is now taking shape which, despite the professed intentions of some of its members, will set back the black struggle for economic advancement. It is an alliance between liberals who think they are helping blacks by hurting unions, and conservatives who want to appear to be helping blacks precisely in order to hurt unions. The basis of agreement is to smash unions by using the open shop and other anti-union measures. The effect will be to irreparably harm blacks who depend upon unions for their economic security, all the "liberal" cant to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Nixon Administration, with its sophisticated brand of conservatism, provides the ideal setting for such an alliance to take shape. The Administration's policies, which have hurt both unions and blacks, have been vigorously denounced by the trade union and civil rights leadership. In order not to lose votes as a result of its policy failures, the Administration has unleashed Agnew to win over "the worker," and it is trying to appeal to Negroes by attacking unions in the name of fighting union discrimination in the construction industry.

The most forthright expression of this "pro-black", anti-union posture was given by Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur A. Fletcher in a speech delivered last month before a meeting of open shop contractors. Mr. Fletcher had nothing but praise for "a President and an Attorney General who support a specific anti-discrimination program in this field." There was no attempt to analyze why the President and the Attorney General--Attorney General Mitchell, that great friend of the Negro!--

might be taking this course. Mr. Fletcher was interested only in proclaiming, with great exuberance, that the Administration had finally "whipped" the unions.

Mr. Fletcher, let us remember, was speaking to open shop contractors, people who don't care about the color of a worker's skin, as long as he's not in a union and does not have to be paid union wages. The open shop contractors applauded his speech not because they like Negroes and are interested in their welfare, but because they don't like unions. They would hardly have applauded if Mr. Fletcher had called for full and equal participation of black workers in the building trades at union wage scales.

Mr. Fletcher warned the open shop contractors that they should not take advantage of the assault on unions by exploiting a new source of cheap black labor. "Too often in history," he said, "black people have been used as strike breakers, only to be put aside by management, and discriminated against by employers, when they had served the purpose of breaking the union." But the contractors applauded just the same because they've been around too long. They know full well that breaking unions and getting cheap labor go hand in hand, and that the appeals to higher motives are only icing on the cake. "It is your responsibility," Mr. Fletcher said, "to see that the civil rights movement is not perverted into an anti-labor, anti-worker movement." It is shocking that Mr. Fletcher could seriously make this appeal to open shop contractors who have never made any effort to hide their hostility to unions. They know what he doesn't know--that business is business, and that the objective of the businessman is not to fight for racial justice but to make money, and if that means cutting wages, then so be it. It is for this very reason that unions were formed in the first place.

What Mr. Fletcher did not tell the non-union contractors is that Negroes depend on unions even more than whites. According to a study just released by the U.S. Department of Commerce, "For Negro men working year-round full-time in blue-

collar occupations, union members earned about 50 percent more than their nonunion counterparts." The ratio of union to nonunion wages for whites was a good deal lower.

It is one thing to call for full and equal opportunities for minority groups workers in the building trades. It is an entirely different matter to call for union busting, yet this is what Mr. Fletcher has done. I am sure he will not welcome the terrible consequences this will have for Negro workers, yet he (and the conservative Administration he represents) is following this course anyway. One thing is clear: that when Mr. Fletcher spoke before the meeting of open shop contractors, his audience understood what he was saying better than he did himself. He said, "The fight is for racial justice," but they heard, "The fight is against unions." What they knew, and what Mr. Fletcher seems incapable of grasping, is that the fight against unions is ultimately a fight against blacks as well.

# # #

Atl. Bldg Trades Proj

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF HUMAN RESOURCES
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78712

Garrison Hall 300
512—471-7891

April 15, 1971

APR 19 1971

Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Via:

Dr. Marshall has requested that I send the enclosed papers to you.

One is a description of our project to compare apprentice and nonapprentice entry into selected construction trades; the second is the questionnaire which we plan to use, at least at this stage.

If you have any questions, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Susie Turner

(Mrs.) Susie Turner
Administrative Secretary
to Ray Marshall

st

Enclosures

PROBLEM

A Comparison of Journeymen

Who Have and Have Not Completed Apprenticeships

The supply of skilled manpower is important for social as well as economic reasons. Considerable controversy surrounds efforts by Negroes and other minorities to enter this industry. Moreover, public officials and economists have criticized unions for restricting entry into the skilled trades, thereby creating labor shortages which are alleged to exert considerable inflationary pressure as public policies attempt to reduce unemployment while maintaining stable prices and free institutions. In spite of this controversy, however, surprisingly little is known about the nonapprentice processes whereby workers acquire journeyman status, although it is clear from the studies of Foster[1] and others that a majority of workers in the construction industry have attained journeyman status without serving apprenticeships.

In view of the importance of this question and the limited information about it, it is imperative that comprehensive research be done to analyze the routes through which workers gain access to construction jobs. The major objective should be to study the work experiences and stability of income and employment of journeymen who have and have not served apprenticeships. Such research would illuminate the effects of many institutional forces acting on the supply of labor (and therefore on racial equality, wages, labor costs, and prices) in this vital industry. We propose to make a study of the various processes which unions use to (1) admit members to their organization and (2) confer journeyman status upon them. Also considered will be the standards or criteria used to judge workers for journeyman status and the procedures by which workers outside a local's jurisdiction are permitted to work in that jurisdiction.

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[1] See Howard G. Foster, "Nonapprentice Sources of Training in Construction," Monthly Labor Review, Volume 23 (February, 1970), pages 21-26.

We have noticed in particular that in the various negotiated plans for promoting minority group entry into construction (the Chicago Plan, the Pittsburgh Plan, the Denver Plan, the New Orleans Plan, etc.), the process and the standards agreed upon show considerable variation by craft and by place. Since minority groups are underrepresented in union apprenticeship programs and since there is a considerable time lag between entry into apprenticeship and the attainment of journeyman status in most crafts, the nonapprenticeship routes to journeyman status take on an added significance as means through which minorities can gain more rapid access to employment in the construction industry.

We therefore propose to study the process and standards for a selected cross section of crafts in the building trades -- sheet metal workers, plumbers and pipefitters, electricians, iron workers, bricklayers, and carpenters -- in the following cities:

(1) Chicago

(2) Pittsburgh

(3) New York City

(4) San Francisco-Oakland or Los Angeles

(5) Houston

(6) Atlanta

(7) A smaller city in the South -- e.g., Jackson, Mississippi; Little Rock, Arkansas; or Charlotte, North Carolina

Specifically, we plan to raise such questions as the following:

(1) How do the standards and selection committees of the union operate? What is their composition, and how are the members of the committees selected?

(2) How formalized are the arrangements for entrance into unions? Do the standards for admission change over time and in response to changing conditions within the labor market? How have these standards evolved historically, and when were the present standards adopted?

(3) When a test is required for journeyman certification, what type of test is given? Who designs it? Who grades it? How is it graded? What exceptions to testing requirements are made, and for what reasons? Is the same test required of apprentices who want to qualify for journeyman status? Have the tests been validated with respect to job performance?

(4) What are the concerns of union leaders and union members with regard to the standards and qualifications issue? With regard to the union entry and journeyman certification process?

(5) What role do the international unions play in determining the process and journeyman standards?

(6) How common is the practice of allowing nonunion members, or union members from other jurisdictions, to work on permit? What are the functions and implications of this arrangement?

(7) What classifications of journeyman certification exist, and what is the degree of transferability among these types of certifications? What sort of work is available to workers in each classification?

This study will build on the other studies we have made on the construction industry, particularly those of the Negro and apprenticeship and our study of black contractors.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study are:

(1) to examine the process by which nonapprentice workmen become journeymen and the standards used to judge them to be qualified as journeymen;

(2) to describe, step by step, the process by which workers gain entry into building trades unions and achieve journeyman status;

(3) to describe variations in this process and these standards by city, craft, and union;

(4) to explain the reasons for the variation; and

(5) to offer suggestions which will help to establish a process in which the legitimate interests of all parties -- unions, the public, minorities, and employers -- are considered.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The study will encompass two phases. In Phase I (January 1, 1971, to September 30, 1971), we plan to carry out a pilot study in two cities -- one in the South and one in the North (probably Atlanta and Chicago) -- to determine the feasibility of the overall project and to perfect our research procedures for use in the five remaining cities. Phase II (September 30, 1971, to September 30, 1972) will be devoted to the study of the five cities outside the pilot project and to the preparation of the final report.

In gathering our information, we intend to conduct interviews with employers, union leaders, union members, civil rights leaders, educators, and other knowledgeable persons. In each city, we plan to interview the presidents and business agents of local unions to obtain information regarding the form of the admission and certification process, their concerns regarding this process, a history of the procedures currently in use, and the role of the international in determining the procedures. We intend to talk with the members of the selection or admissions committee in each union to obtain data concerning the operations and administrative practices of the committee. We also intend to interview scientifically selected samples of journeymen and workers on permits for each craft in each city in order to learn how they gained admission to the union and became journeymen.

In addition, we intend to talk with administrators of private vocational schools and public vocational education programs in order to learn what experiences their graduates have had with unions. We plan to interview civil rights leaders to learn what the experiences of minority applicants have been in encounters with unions.

Finally, we propose to talk with members of local building trades councils, local contractors' associations, and other knowledgeable individuals to reveal such matters as the shared concerns of persons in the industry regarding the admission process and changes in the process occasioned by market fluctuations. We plan to obtain as much information as possible from existing sources and to coordinate with others studying construction manpower, particularly Professors John Dunlop and Quinn Mills, who are examining the effects of cyclical variations on employment and employment practices in construction.

In all phases of the study, the research director will play a major role, particularly in the initial phases of the project in which he will make the contacts with the leaders of the international unions and other concerned parties whose cooperation is indispensable if the study is to be a success. As the study progresses, he will continually oversee the interviewing processes and sampling techniques to be used and will coordinate the efforts of all of the research participants in order to provide the continuity and exchange of information necessary to the smooth operation of the project.

File > Atlanta Bldg Trades Project

Look over for comment
Some oral interviews

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION I. To be completed only by members who hold journeyman cards in Local Number _____. Workers on permit should complete only Section II.

1. What is your age? _____ Race? _____White
_____Negro
_____Spanish Surnamed American
_____American Indian
_____Oriental
_____Other (specify) _____

Marital status? _____single
_____married
_____widowed
_____divorced

2. In what year were you admitted to journeyman status? _____

3. Did you graduate from an apprenticeship program sponsored by any local of this union or by a joint apprenticeship committee composed partially of representatives from any local of this union? _____Yes _____No

If you answered "yes" to Question 3, complete Part A below.
If you answered "no" to Question 3, skip Part A, and complete Part B below.

Part A

1. Was your apprenticeship program sponsored by the local in whose jurisdiction you now work? _____Yes _____No

2. From what source or sources did you become interested in apprenticeship in this union? (Check as many as apply to you.)

_____father was a union member
_____encouraged by other relatives in the union
_____had friends in the union
_____trained for the trade in school
_____trained for the trade in the military
_____worked at the trade at nonunion jobs
_____trained for the trade in other industry (e.g., manufacturing)
_____other (specify) _____
_____

3. How long was your apprenticeship program? _____years

4. In your apprenticeship, were you given credit for

vocational training _____ yes _____ no
_____ years

prior experience in the trade _____ yes _____ no
_____ years

5. In high school, did you pursue a general academic, business, vocational, or college preparatory program? (Underline the best choice)

6. Did you receive a high school diploma? _____ yes _____ no
If not, did you receive a General Equivalency Diploma? _____ yes _____ no

7. Did you ever attend college? _____ yes _____ no
If so, for how long? _____ years

8. At the end of your apprenticeship, were you required to
(a) pass a written test over your knowledge of the trade? _____ yes _____ no
(b) pass a practical test (working with the tools)? _____ yes _____ no
(c) submit to an interview by members of the JAC or a selections committee? _____ yes _____ no
(d) pay an initiation fee? _____ yes _____ no
If yes, what was the amount? $_____

9. Give a brief description of the kind of work you do. Do you do a wide variety of work, or do you specialize in only one or a few tasks? Do you work primarily in residential, commercial, or industrial construction?

10. If your union issues different kinds of journeyman cards, what class of card do you hold? _____

11. Can you do other types of work within the jurisdiction of this local besides the kind of work you do now? _____ yes _____ no

12. Can journeymen working at other tasks also do your type of work? _____ yes
_____ no

13. Is there any classification of work at which only journeymen holding a particular type of card can be employed? _____ yes _____ no
If yes, what classification is it? _____

14. Can you advance to a higher or more skilled type of work by undergoing advanced journeyman training conducted by this union? _____yes _____no

15. Have you ever been advanced in the above manner? _____yes _____no

16. Approximately how many weeks did you work last year under the jurisdiction of this local?
_____45-50 weeks
_____40-45 weeks
_____35-40 weeks
_____less than 35 weeks

Part B

To be completed only by journeymen who did not graduate from a union apprenticeship program.

1. In what year were you admitted to journeyman status? _____

2. Did you complete any portion of a union apprentice program? _____yes _____no
If yes, was it your present local? _____yes _____no
How many years did you complete? _____less than one year
_____one to two years
_____more than two years

3. Were you admitted to journeyman status by this local? _____yes _____no

4. How old were you when you became a journeyman? _____years

5. Were you employed in construction at the time you were admitted to the union, or did the union refer you to a job? _____was already employed in construction
_____union referred me to a job

6. In which of the following ways did you gain the experience and training which qualified you as a journeyman? (Check as many as apply to you.)
_____trained for the trade in school
_____trained for the trade in the military
_____worked at the trade on nonunion jobs
_____picked up the trade by working as a helper
_____trained for the trade in another industry (e.g., manufacturing)
_____learned in government training programs
_____other (specify) _____

7. In high school, did you pursue a general academic, business, vocational, or college preparatory program? (underline the best choice)

8. Did you receive a high school diploma? _____yes _____no
If not, did you receive a General Equivalency Diploma? _____yes _____no

9. Did you ever attend college? _____yes _____no
If so, for how long? _____years

10. Were you admitted to the union as a journeyman after working on permit?
_____yes _____no

11. In order to become a journeyman, were you required to
(a) pass a written test over your knowledge of the trade? _____yes _____no
(b) pass a practical test (working with the tools)? _____yes _____no
(c) submit to an interview by members of the JAC or a selections committee? _____yes _____no
(d) pay an initiation fee? _____yes _____no
If yes, what was the amount? $_____

12. Give a brief description of the kind of work you do. Do you do a wide variety of work, or do you specialize in only one or a few tasks? Do you work primarily in residential, commercial, or industrial construction?

13. If your union issues different kinds of journeyman cards, what class of card do you hold? _____

14. Can you do other kinds of work within the jurisdiction of this local besides the kind of work you do now? _____yes _____no

15. Can journeymen working at other jobs also work at your job? _____yes _____no

16. Is there any classification of work at which only journeymen holding a particular type of card can be employed? _____yes _____no
If yes, what classification is it? _____

17. Can you advance to a higher or more skilled type of work by undergoing advanced journeyman training conducted by this union? _____yes _____no

18. Have you ever been advanced in the above manner? _____yes _____no

19. Approximately how many weeks did you work last year under the jurisdiction of this local?
_____45-50 weeks
_____40-45 weeks
_____35-40 weeks
_____less than 35 weeks

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION II. To be completed only by workers on permits.

1. What is your age? _____ Race? _____White
_____Negro
_____Spanish Surnamed American
_____American Indian
_____Oriental
_____Other (specify) _____

Marital status? _____single
_____married
_____widowed
_____divorced

2. How long have you worked on permits issued by this local? _____

3. Do you hold a journeyman card in another local of this union? _____yes _____no
If so, which local? Number _____

4. If you are not a union member, what were the most significant sources of your training? (Check as many as apply to you.)
_____picked up the trade while working as a helper
_____worked at the trade on nonunion jobs
_____trained for the trade in another industry (e.g., manufacturing)
_____trained for the job in school
_____trained for the trade in the military
_____learned the trade through government training programs
_____trained by relatives or friends
_____other (specify) _____

5. Do you pay one fee or weekly or monthly fees for your permit? _____
Are your fees the equivalent of union dues? _____yes
_____fees are higher than dues
_____fees are lower than dues

6. Give a brief description of the kind of work you do. Do you do a wide variety of work, or do you specialize in only one or a few tasks? Do you work primarily in residential, commercial, or industrial construction?

7. Are there any types of work which are not available to you? _____yes _____no
If so, what are they? _____

8. Do you receive the full journeyman rate of pay? _____yes _____no

9. In high school, did you follow a general academic, business, vocational, or college preparatory program? (underline the best choice)

10. Did you receive a high school diploma? _____yes _____no
If not, did you receive a General Equivalency Diploma? _____yes _____no

11. Did you ever attend college? _____yes _____no
If so, for how long? _____years

12. Why are you working on permit?
_____hope to become a full union member
_____am on probation for membership status
_____am working only temporarily in this area
_____don't want to become a union member because _____
_____
_____
_____other (specify) _____
_____

13. Approximately how many weeks did you work last year under the jurisdiction of this local?
_____45-50 weeks
_____40-45 weeks
_____35-40 weeks
_____less than 35 weeks

Washington Trip

Firing Demanded

Edward J. Carlough, president of the AFL-CIO Sheet Metal Workers, demands that President Nixon fire Assistant Labor Secretary Arthur Fletcher on grounds that Fletcher hinted that White House action to curb wage increases was really designed to weaken unions.

In a letter to President Nixon, Carlough says that he was "shocked and angry" to learn that according to Fletcher President Nixon's suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act was not to control inflation but rather to weaken and even destroy the construction unions.

Carlough quoted Fletcher as having told a group of non-union contractors in a speech March 12 that "the era of arrogance and discrimination by some trade unions has ended. The union grip on the processes of government has weakened."

Fletcher says he was trying to get across his idea that some groups, including labor unions, have in the past used governmental processes to get the best-paying jobs for their own members and freeze out other groups, often blacks and other minorities.

Houston Task Force

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Houston Task Force continues its attack on job discrimination against blacks, Chicanos, and women, according to a progress report announced by EEOC Chairman William Brown. The Task Force was established in June 1970 after hearings in Houston revealed widespread employment discrimination by the area's major employers and unions.

Brown gives the following status report on the Task Force's 68 cases:

- Action has been instituted in federal district court by charging parties in four cases.
- One case is being readied for court action.
- Five cases are undergoing settlement efforts.
- Investigations have been completed in 54 cases.
- Three investigations are near completion.
- One investigation is administratively closed for lack of jurisdiction.

Some Houston firms have been cooperative, Brown says, but for the most part, those charged with discrimination have not voluntarily complied with the law.

Ohio Laws Superseded

In another court test involving questions of conflict between state and federal laws, the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Ohio rules that certain sections of the Ohio State law governing employment of women are in conflict with and superseded by Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The court says that specified sections are invalid because they conflict with and frustrate the policy and purpose of the Civil Rights Act produced by Congress. The litigation focused on those provisions in the Ohio law limiting the occupations women may hold, limiting weight lifting, and limiting the hours they may work. The court's view is that the provisions specified in Ohio state laws on employment of women do not establish "bona fide occupational qualifications" within the meaning of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. (Redinger v. General Motors Corp.—USDC SOhio)

Pre-Hearing Probe

A massive interrogation of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company and its subsidiaries in 30 cities is being conducted by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commis-

sion in preparation for its coming hearing before the Federal Communications Commission, where the EEOC and six civil rights organizations have been given the right to intervene in the consideration of long distance rate increases. They charge AT&T with racial discrimination.

Questionnaires have been sent to the companies in the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas that contain the largest aggregations of blacks and Spanish-surnamed Americans.

The FCC hearing examiner postponed the hearing originally set for March 29 to allow time for the company to answer EEOC's request for records and answers to its questions regarding employment practices of the operating companies.

EEOC has been assured by the telephone company that it can expect the "bulk" of the voluminous information it is requesting by July 1.

Whitney Young Memorial

The federal government will establish the "Whitney M. Young, Jr., Skills Center" at Shelbyville, Ky., where Young spent his early life, as a memorial to the late civil rights leader. The plan for the memorial, originally suggested by Kentucky Governor Louie B. Nunn, was announced by Labor Secretary J. D. Hodgson and Whitney M. Young, Sr., after conferring with President Nixon.

The project, scheduled to cost $1,875,000 a year, will be financed by the Labor Department and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare under the Manpower Development and Training Act. The Louisville, Ky., city schools have agreed to act as sponsor.

Plans for the center call for the accommodation of 300 youths in training, 125 commuting daily. Initially the school will provide only non-residential training, but future plans include residential trainees. Shelbyville is located near suburban Louisville and transportation for the first non-resident enrollees will be provided by the Louisville school system.

Training will be available in welding, automobile mechanics, secretarial skills, cooking, data processing, and sales. Additionally, basic and job related training, counseling, job development, and placement will be available.

EEO Workshop

A target goal of 500,000 minority jobs a year on government contracts has been set by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, and it hopes that by the end of the 70's, minority workers will make up 17 percent of the construction industry workforce, Assistant Labor Secretary Fletcher tells an equal employment workshop sponsored by the Washington Personnel Association at George Washington University.

Noting that he opposes the proposed transfer of OFCC to EEOC, Fletcher points out that presently OFCC's work is reviewed at regular cabinet meetings, whereas if OFCC were transferred, its work would be discussed only if and when the EEOC chairman were invited to attend.

EEOC Chairman Brown tells the workshop that several hurdles still block the way to equal employment opportunity. These are:

- "Neutral" employment selection procedures are used that disqualify a disproportionate number of minorities.
- Employers are reluctant to allocate money for EEO programs.
- Where a particular company has an EEO program, the EEO officer usually is not directly responsible to the chief executive and usually has myriad other duties that keep him from giving full attention to the EEO program.

JOBS Critique by GAO

The JOBS program's design, operations, and reported results are criticized in a study released by the General Accounting Office. The GAO report is based on an investigation of JOBS programs in five representative cities—Detroit, Portland (Ore.), San Francisco, Oakland, and Seattle—between the inception of JOBS in 1968 and June 30, 1970. Thirty-one federally-funded contracts were studied as well as 70 non-contract employers.

The report notes that the JOBS program is hampered by the fact that it was conceived during a period of high employment and that adequate consideration may not have been given to the effect that an economic contraction would have on the program's operation. In the present economic climate, in order for an employer to participate in the JOBS program, he would have to give preference to disadvantaged persons over persons he would have hired normally in filling job vacancies; this has the effect of shifting the burden of unemployment from disadvantaged persons to others, the report continues. To rectify this situation, GAO recommends that the Labor Department's training efforts focus on skill shortage positions where displacement of other workers can be minimized.

JOBS contracting procedures, by which employers of 25 percent of JOBS trainees are reimbursed for extraordinary training costs, also are criticized. The study argues for the replacement of the present fixed-unit-price contracting procedure with cost-reimbursement contracts in certain cases. It notes that although the fixed-unit-price system involves less record-keeping and "red tape" for the employer, the system has resulted in over-payments in 17 of 31 contracts studied, due primarily to the difficulty of estimating the amount of training the enrollees need or its cost. GAO also says that employers' job pledges frequently are inflated and urges that more care be taken in the award of contracts to ensure that the employer can provide the number of job opportunities he promises. Likewise, it urges a closer watch by the Labor Department on the supportive services pledged by employers, since its study found many instances where promised services were not delivered even though contractors were paid as if they had been.

Finally, the study criticizes the scope of the JOBS program, charging that it serves so broad a spectrum of jobless persons that many of its enrollees are not any different from regular hires. Among non-contract JOBS enrollees, GAO finds so little evidence of enrollees' disadvantaged status that it declares "there is a very limited basis for confidence that employers are hiring only those persons who are disadvantaged." It urges that the Labor Department start making closer checks on information supplied by applicants, such as family income, and carefully screen candidates for non-contract, as well as contract, JOBS vacancies.

The Department of Labor and the National Alliance of Businessmen, who jointly sponsor the JOBS program, in responding to GAO's study, question whether GAO can draw such broad conclusions and recommendations on the basis of a review involving only five cities. Additionally, they acknowledge difficulties in data collection, but warn against complicated reporting or contracting procedures which will deter employers from participating in the JOBS program.

Washington Tiff

WEEK OF APRIL 19, 1971

BLACKS, OTHER MINORITY YOUTH TO BENEFIT FROM GOVERNMENT ACTION TO WIDEN APPRENTICESHIP OPPORTUNITIES

WASHINGTON -- A major new step has been taken by the Nixon Administration to help black and other minority group youth gain skilled jobs through apprenticeship programs.

Secretary of Labor J. D. Hodgson recently announced that revised regulations governing equal opportunity in the selection of apprentices have been put into effect.

"For the first time, the U.S. Apprenticeship system will have specific measures to ensure that minorities will be afforded full and equal opportunity in all registered apprenticeship programs," the Secretary said.

The new regulations, proposed by the Labor Secretary on January 29, require program sponsors to take positive steps to ensure full utilization of minority group persons in their apprenticeship programs, including an aggressive outreach-recruitment effort.

"Program sponsors with deficiencies in the utilization of minority apprentices must adopt an approved selection method or establish appropriate percentage goals and timetables as part of their affirmative action program", Hodgson said.

Although the number of minority group apprentices in registered programs has increased over the past few years, there is little doubt that there exists wide gaps in acceptance of qualified minority apprentices in many skilled trades," the Secretary said.

"For example, in the construction trades, blacks represented 5.2 percent of all apprentices in 1970. This is an improvement over the less-than-two percent participation they had in 1964.

(MORE)

"But, there is clearly room for improvement and these new regulations are necessary not only to close the gaps that exist but to maintain the improvements noted," the Secretary said.

The new regulations modify Title 29, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 30, of 1963 entitled, "Equal Employment Opportunity in Apprenticeship and Training."

Minor changes have been made in the January 29 proposal as the result of comments and suggestions made to the Secretary during the past-proposal period.

The new regulations apply to all apprenticeship programs registered with the Manpower Administration's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT) and with State apprenticeship agencies recognized by the Bureau.

Covered program sponsors registered directly with the Labor Department will be required to develop and adopt affirmative action programs including, if necessary, approved goals, timetables and selection methods, within nine months of the regulations' effective date, April 8, 1971.

The 32 State apprenticeship agencies recognized by the Department of Labor are given six months to adopt plans conforming to the new requirements after the effective date. Programs registered with them must be in compliance within one year after effective date.

The affirmative action requirements apply to all programs having five or more apprentices. An estimated 10,000 apprenticeship programs registered either by the State apprenticeship agencies or by the Federal bureau will be

(MORE)

subject to the affirmative action requirements. An estimated 75 percent of all registered apprentices are in training programs covered by the affirmative action obligations.

# # #

AFL. Bldg Trades Project

Week of April 26, 1971

CARPENTERS' UNION TRAINS OVER 7,800,
GETS NEW CONTRACT TO TRAIN 3,000

WASHINGTON -- After training 7,856 disadvantaged jobless workers in 30 months, the AFL-CIO Carpenters Union will train almost 3,000 more under an on-the-job training contract Manpower Administrator Paul J. Fasser, Jr. reports.

The 18-month contract between the Labor Department and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America will run through May, 1972, in 46 States and the District of Columbia.

More than $2,646,000 in Federal funds has been obligated -- $1,319,796 for on-the-job training costs; $808,612 for supplemental classroom instruction, and $517,592 for trainee allowances.

Fifty percent of the nearly 3,000 trainees will be recruited from among minority groups and persons identified as disadvantaged by local State employment agencies.

Prospective participants will apply either to their nearest State employment service office or the nearest carpenter's local or any community action agency.

Under its previous contract, the carpenters completed training for 7,856 workers, 2,241 over its contract goal.

At the beginning of the year, 2,862 trainees were in active contract programs of preapprenticeship, apprentice-entry, and journeyman skill-upgrading.

Of those who completed training through the end of last year, 1,436 were preapprenticeship trainees, 715 entry apprentices, and 5,705 journeymen.

The training was administered under 973 separate subcontracts in 41 States and the District of Columbia.

(MORE)

The new contract calls for the continuing development and expansion of apprenticeship and training opportunities in carpentry and woodworking occupations.

The union's new training program emphasizes three major training areas:

-- Preapprenticeship (990 trainees). Combines 8 weeks of classroom instruction on tools, material and equipment with 18 weeks of on-the-job paid training at work sites.

-- Apprentice Entry (1,020 trainees). Provides closely supervised training and instruction during the first 6 months of a formal apprenticeship program to minimize the dropout rate in this crucial period of apprentice training.

-- Journeyman Training (975 trainees). Provides skill improvement courses of at least 40 classroom hours over a 7-week period to familarize journeymen in the trade with new techniques, methods and materials.

The contractor will promote and develop subcontracts with joint apprenticeship and training committees, union locals, and district councils.

Local Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS) agencies and State employment agencies will cooperate.

The Carpenters program was contracted under the Manpower Development and Training Act, administered by the Labor Department's Manpower Administration.

A State breakdown of projected training opportunities, costs, and allowances follows:

(MORE)

STATE	TRAINEES	TRAINING COSTS	ALLOWANCES	TOTAL
Alabama	60	$ 44,620	$ 7,048	$ 51,668
Alaska	45	22,883	8,872	31,755
Arkansas	45	31,916	7,048	38,964
California	165	126,837	42,088	168,925
Colorado	90	54,799	17,968	72,767
Connecticut	75	57,322	9,688	67,010
Dist. of Columbia	105	79,376	26,514	105,890
Florida	120	85,887	25,168	111,055
Georgia	60	44,619	7,408	52,027
Hawaii	30	31,087	17,488	48,575
Idaho	45	31,916	8,128	40,044
Illinois	90	51,959	8,608	60,567
Indiana	45	31,916	7,408	39,324
Iowa	75	60,163	17,008	77,171
Kansas	45	31,916	8,488	40,404
Kentucky	90	63,832	14,608	78,440
Louisiana	60	47,460	14,848	62,308
Maryland	45	31,916	6,814	38,730
Massachusetts	60	44,619	8,128	52,747
Michigan	120	80,205	17,008	97,213
Minnesota	60	47,460	16,048	63,508
Mississippi	45	31,916	6,688	38,604
Missouri	60	47,460	16,048	63,508
Montana	45	31,916	7,048	38,964
Nebraska	75	60,163	14,608	74,771
Nevada	45	31,916	8,128	40,044
New Jersey	120	89,239	17,968	107,207
New Mexico	45	31,916	7,408	39,324
New York	75	57,322	8,848	66,170
North Carolina	45	31,916	6,808	38,724
North Dakota	45	31,916	7,888	39,804
Ohio	120	80,205	16,288	96,493
Oklahoma	75	51,129	12,688	63,817
Oregon	60	35,586	7,888	43,474
Pennsylvania	90	60,922	8,488	69,410
Rhode Island	30	16,372		16,372
South Dakota	45	31,916	7,048	38,964
Tennessee	30	19,213	7,128	26,381
* Texas	105	76,536	14,128	90,644
Utah	75	60,163	14,848	75,011
Virginia	15	3,669		3,669
Washington	90	63,832	14,368	78,200
West Virginia	15	3,669		3,669
Wisconsin	45	32,097	8,698	40,795
Wyoming	60	44,619	7,888	52,507
Totals	2,985	$2,128,408 *	$517,592	$2,646,000 *

*Columns may not add due to rounding.

S.C. — 0

WALL STREET JOURNAL May 7, 1971

No Bond, No Job; No Job, No Bond

Black Construction Contractors Find Selves Cut Out of Lucrative Long-Term Contracts

By BURT SCHORR
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The rise of J. B. Caldwell Jr. seems to be what the American system is all about.

As a black youngster in South Carolina, Mr. Caldwell had to quit school to help out on his father's small cotton farm. He left the farm to become a construction laborer, and eventually he rose to foreman. Six years ago, he bought his own dump truck and hired out as a hauler. Mr. Caldwell used his profits to buy a second truck, then a third and a fourth. Today his C&C Hauling Co. here owns 20 dump trucks, and its 1971 hauling fees probably will exceed $300,000.

Yet he feels the system is stacked against him and his fellow Negro dirt-haulers, even in this predominantly black city. For they remain limited to one-shot, hourly-rate hauling jobs. So far, the door to more secure, more lucrative lump-sum contracts has remained closed to them.

"We get the leftovers, and we never know when another hauler will take the job away by offering to do it for a few dollars less," complains Mr. Caldwell.

The issue is far from academic. Downtown Washington currently is torn up by one of the nation's biggest earth-moving operations: construction of a $2.9 billion subway system, backed in part by Uncle Sam, that ultimately will extend from the District of Columbia into Maryland and Virginia suburbs.

Wanted: A Chance

Hoping to get a piece of the action, Mr. Caldwell and other black haulers in this area last fall incorporated themselves as Minority Truckers Inc. They almost landed a $1.2 million earth-hauling subcontract, but when they couldn't obtain a performance bond the prime contractor gave the job to an established white hauling company. A bid on a second hauling job went to another established company that had sewn up a more convenient dump site and thus could figure 25 minutes less in round-trip time for its trucks.

"Minority truckers can do the same thing as any white contractor," insists Mr. Caldwell. "We can dig it, we can load it and we can haul it. The number one thing we need is a chance."

Despite more than three years of government and private discussions of how to help them, the country's estimated 8,000 minority-group construction contractors, most of them black, largely remain trapped with limited opportunities.

The Chicago Economic Development Corp., which has worked with minority contractors since 1967, finds lack of financing, lack of influence with suppliers and lack of contacts with big general contractors as burdensome as ever for Negro and Spanish-speaking operators. Most vexing of all is the black contractor's inability to get bonding.

"The surety company requires experience in the particular kind of job under consideration before issuing a bond," says Garland C. Guice, executive director of the nonprofit Chicago organization. "But the black contractor needs a contract to do that kind of job to get the experience. He cannot acquire the contract without a bond. And so it goes, much like the bad housing, poor education and lack of employment cycle confronting blacks in other areas."

A Partial Solution

A partial solution seems in the offing. Under a new law, the Small Business Administration can guarantee 90% of any losses on construction performance bonds up to $500,000 in face value. The SBA is offering this backing on a pilot basis in Kansas City and Los Angeles, and surety companies have pledged to cooperate. Officials hope to expand the program to other cities by the end of this year.

But at the moment nonwhite firms, which make up less than 1% of the nation's building contractors, remain far outside the mainstream of U.S. construction. Even their total number, puny as it is, is misleading because the term "contractor" frequently exaggerates a company's actual role. Headquartered in an auto trunk or the back of a pickup truck, it may do little of the sophisticated planning usually associated with contracting.

Nonwhite firms, moreover, are heavily concentrated in traditional skills like carpentry, plastering, painting and masonry. They are conspicuously few in more technical fields like plumbing, sheet metal and electrical work. (Union discrimination has been one big reason for this.)

For all its shortcomings, though, the existing cadre of nonwhite building contractors has been regarded by the Johnson and Nixon administrations as an important resource for stimulating business ownership by racial minorities. Indeed, some minority companies have experienced fairly rapid growth in the past few years.

Some Success Stories

New York City's F. W. Eversley Inc., for example, has built churches, banks, community centers and industrial plants since Fred Eversley, a Barbados-born engineer, founded the Harlem company in 1963. Mr. Eversley expects contract volume to reach $50 million this year, about double the 1970 figure.

Trans Bay Engineers & Builders Inc. of Oakland, Calif., evolved only three years ago from a consortium of small black firms helped by Ford Foundation funds and a $3 million line of credit underwritten by Occidental Petroleum Corp. (Occidental gets a 20% share of Trans Bay's profits.) The firm expects to do jobs totaling $8 million this year, a 60% jump from last year, says Joseph Debro, vice president. Trans Bay projects include a school, a health center, a bank branch and housing for Navy personnel.

More typical, perhaps, is the experience of Washington's Charles Colbert, who until last year was mostly repairing junked refrigerators for resale to welfare families and servicing air-conditioning equipment. Then his firm, Colbert Refrigeration Inc., was taken under the wing of Malcolm Garfink, a suburban Maryland builder who awarded it the mechanical and air-conditioning subcontract for a 137-unit apartment-and-townhouse project.

Mr. Colbert says he ended up with a $20,000 loss on his $95,000 bid "because of quite a few mess-ups" on the job, many of them resulting from his own greenness. However, the Garfink concern, Urban Housing Contractors Inc., covered his debts, helped him reorganize and gave him two additional contracts totaling $170,000. Mr. Colbert, who has hired a veteran white plumber and a sheet metal worker to assist him, says the first of the two new jobs promises to show a profit.

$5 Million in Contracts

The government, in its efforts to buoy up minority building contractors, is trying to funnel more of its construction, renovation and repair jobs to them.

Between February 1970, when the SBA awarded its first such contract, and March 31 of this year, minority firms received 128 contracts totaling $5 million. In the year starting July 1, though, work assigned to black or Spanish-speaking contractors will soar to $30 million to $40 million, promises Leonard S. Cole, director of the SBA Office of Business Development.

In an experiment, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has set aside for minority contractors a $21 million project for 1,000 new units of federally assisted low- and middle-income housing in the Los Angeles area. Now assistant HUD secretary Samuel J. Simmons is asking his boss, George Romney, to extend the set-aside concept to all HUD programs, including water and sewage projects.

In many communities, however, mere talk of help for minority contractors could fuel their frustrations.

"White society is playing games with blacks in a very subtle way," storms Eric Powell, a small general contractor who heads the Contractors Association of Boston, representing some 70 black firms. "The multimillion-dollar big white contractors here are negotiating with subcontractors every day, and no black contractor is getting a dollar's worth of work."

Mr. Powell is especially bitter about what he says is the failure of Boston-area educational institutions to include black contractors in their building plans and about the continued inability of his association's members to get the bonding that is mandatory for city, state and federal work.

In defense of surety underwriting companies, Elver Pearson, manager of the American Insurance Association's Washington office, contends that they are "color blind," but he concedes their local agents sometimes aren't. "Let's face it, the agent doesn't move in the leading edge of social change," Mr. Pearson says.

File C P: Atl: Bldg Trades

Jodie Eggers
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THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTIO

Integration Plan Could Slow Builders

By CHARLES LAMBETH

The integration plan imposed on Atlanta's construction industry this week could cause problems for the city's airport and rapid transit plans, a federal official says.

In other cities — Washington and Philadelphia — federal integration orders have been followed by a cutback in federal investments, according to Jodie Eggers, director of the local Labor Department contract compliance office.

Eggers would be in charge of monitoring compliance with such an order here.

The Labor department said Wednesday it will enforce an Atlanta integration formula but gave no starting date. Federal plans, written in Washington by Labor Department attorneys, have been imposed in Philadelphia and in the nation's capital.

RACIAL RATIONS

Based on the experience of those two cities, Eggers said, this is what happens when a federal order is applied setting racial rations on federally-supported construction projects:

The federal order first specifies what percentage of black workers must be employed in each trade on each federally aided job in the city. (For Atlanta, that would mean every U.S.-backed project in Fulton, DeKalb, Gwinnett, Cobb and Clayton counties.)

Contractors who bid on these post offices, federal office buildings, hospitals, and even FHA-financed homes and apartments would have to promise to employ those percentages of black workers on each and every job.

NOT COMPLYING

The first few projects are started and the Labor Department checks compliance. Most of the contractors are not complying. They are not employing as many blacks as the law requires.

The contractors report they cannot get enough qualified black workmen. The Labor department reports this to the other branches of government.

And, government agencies start "pulling back" in that city.

Thus, the post office promised for a suburb is not built. There are suddenly no funds available for a new hospital wing. The federal court decides to stay in its old building a few more years. Model Cities money starts drying up.

ATLANTA

In Atlanta, Eggers warned, such a pull-back could take these forms:

1. The Department of Transportation finds itself unable to come up with the right amount of money at the right time to help Atlanta build a rapid transit system.

2. Roadblocks appear in the path of new airport construction. The Civil Aeronautics Board balks, and so does transportation. Every time there is federal money or federally guaranteed loans involved, there seems to be endless delays.

The federal pull-back is already evident in Philadelphia and Washington, Eggers said, and Atlanta would be no exception.

IT HURTS

It hurts the contractors, Eggers said—there are fewer federal projects.

It hurts the unions, he noted —there are fewer jobs for their men, black and white.

It hurts the monorities, he said—unions with veterans sitting on the union hall bench waiting for work are reluctant to train new men of any race.

This is why, Eggers said, he had hoped Atlanta's builders, unions and black leaders could come up with an "Atlanta" integration plan.

The federal hearings on Atlanta's construction industry, held here in early April, brought home the problem, Eggers said.

It has been over a month since the hearings ended with a threat of a federally imposed plan.

Yet, Eggers said, the people who could write such a plan are not even talking to one another.

Eggers said he knows of no negotiation sessions, formal or otherwise, since the hearings ended.

"Cruel Hoax" Says Jones

Atl. Bldg Trades Project

Model City Plans 5 Month Carpenters

THE VIRGINIA OBSERVER 5/28/71

Editorial — Page 4

NORFOLK — The Model City Agency will spend $70,000 in tax funds to give five months training to 20 students to learn 'he "theory of carpentry" and how "to build forms."

Students will be paid $1,960.00 for the 22 week course — as opposed to a $2,572.00 figure earned by first year apprentice carpenters.

To pay the $39,200 in wages to the trainees — will require in tax funds — $12,600.00 to pay two instructors for five months, $13,200.00 in supplies and materials . . . and, strangely, $5,000.00 for rent.

The $13,200.00 amount for supplies and materials was termed "high" by William "Bill" Jones — Business Agent of Carpenters Union-Local 331.

Since the training will be conducted in a building wholely owned by the Model City Agency — the $5,000.00 five months rent charge is inexplicable.

The $12,600.00 five months salaries to the two instructors equals an annual wage of $15,000.00, or about double the average wage earned by journeyman carpenters and $5,000.00 a year less than carpenter foremen.

Jones noted that both the State of Virginia and the U.S. Department of Labor required contractors and the union to to have four year apprenticeship program — and termed as "a cruel hoax" for the Model City Agency to "lead people to believe" that the five months program could adequately meet the federal and state four year requirements.

Jones noted that another federal program — "Operation Outreach" was actively enlisting applicants from minority groups for the apprenticeship program, and at starting and finishing wages higher than those advocated by the Model City Program.

Saddest Model Program

In the Beginning...the Congress created the Model City Program to prevent the deterioration of the cities.

The formula was simple, save and restore the houses that could be saved...tear down the ones past saving — and build new dwellings.

The federal government asked the building industry and the construction unions to employ the residents in the Model City sections in the process.

To rebuild and restore the Model City areas, both business and labor entered into an agreement with the U.S. Deaprtment of Labor — to employ the citizens, create a new wage category above apprentice — but below journeyman, and after the work was finished — the unions pledged to retain as journeyman members the Model City residents.

Thus was accomplished — a city was saved, and a wage standard permanently insured.

But it has not happened that way. The Model City tax money has gone for paper projects. It has been squandered, wasted, spent on known crooks.

Out of $4 million dollars — only $78,000.00 has been spent to improve housing conditions...and most of that small amount was given to incompetent contractors...who did not pay the prevailing wage scales...who did not employ or train the Model City residents -- and who did not, in the main, fulfill the obligations of their contracts.

The Black population of Norfolk has every reason to be saddened by the poor performance of the Tarzan-syndrone-directed agency and its Black leaders.

But its saddest performance results in the false proposition and waste of tax funds — that it can train carpenters in five months — while the U.S. Deaprtment of Labor says it requires four years of on-the-job training — plus attendance at night school courses.

The Model City Agency is creating a fraud. And in so doing will pay far less wages than business and labor agreed to pay.

In the beginning, more wages would have been paid — more taxes restored to the community — permanent employment created.

The present plan is a model in mockery...that will surely sow the seeds for continued turmoil, discontent an future riots.

Say what you may about the federal 4-year plan...but no one can suggest that it can be condensed into 5-months.

ZP - Atl. Blk Trade

Week of June 14, 1971

'SAN FRANCISCO PLAN' FOR WIDENING EMPLOYMENT IN CONSTRUCTION AMONG BLACKS, OTHER MINORITIES UNVEILED

WASHINGTON -- Secretary of Labor J.D. Hodgson has announced implementation of a "San Francisco Plan" that sets equal employment opportunity standards in the construction industry.

Signing the order establishing the minority-hiring plan were Secretary Hodgson, Assistant Secretary Arthur A. Fletcher and Director John L. Wilks of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC).

The plan, which went into effect upon publication in the Federal Register on June 4, brings to three the number of Federally-imposed minority-hiring efforts for construction. Philadelphia and Washington, D.C, have similar plans.

The latest plan, applying to the City and County of San Francisco, envisions an increase of about 1,100 minority-group workers in five covered trades over the next four years.

Trades covered by the plan are electrical work, plumbing, pipefitting and steamfitting, structural metal work, sheet metal work and asbestos work.

Since several crafts are not covered by the plan, OFCC is continuing to gather data to determine if other trades should be covered by the plan or if other Federal action is necessary to assure equal employment opportunity.

Under the plan, no contracts or subcontracts will be awarded for Federally-involved construction projects exceeding $500,000 unless the bidder agrees to specific minority-hiring goals.

The contractor or subcontractor involved in these projects is required to make a "good-faith" effort to achieve these goals both in his Federally-involved and non-Federally-involved construction work.

(MORE)

TP A+1 Bldg Trades

The plan was initiated after findings of public hearings held last December by the Labor Department showed minority workers -- Negroes, Spanish-surnamed Americans, Orientals and American Indians -- have been prevented from fully participating in certain construction trades.

The findings revealed, for instance, that while the overall minority population in the City and County of San Francisco is about 30 percent, minority representation among journeymen in the area's construction industry is approximately 15.5 percent. Few of these minorities, it was found, are employed in certain skilled trades.

The following percentages, constituting "acceptable" ranges within which a prospective contractor or subcontractor must establish his minority-utilization goals, are established over the next four years under the San Francisco Plan for the five covered trades:

May 1, 1971 to April 30, 1972: Electricians, 10% to 12%; plumbers, pipefitters and steamfitters, 7% to 9%; structural metal workers, 10% to 12%; sheet metal workers, 12% to 14%, and asbestos workers, 14% to 20%.

May 1, 1972 to April 30, 1973: Electricians, 12% to 13%; plumbers, pipefitters and steamfitters, 9% to 10%; structural metal workers, 12% to 15%; sheet metal workers, 14% to 15%, and asbestos workers, 20% to 27%.

May 1, 1973 to April 30, 1974: Electricians, 13% to 15%; plumbers, pipefitters and steamfitters, 10% to 12%; structural metal workers, 15% to 17%; sheet metal workers, 15% to 17%, and asbestos workers, 27% to 33%

May 1, 1974 to April 30, 1975: Electricians, 15% to 17%; plumbers, pipefitters and steamfitters 12% to 14%; structural metal workers, 17% to 20%; sheet metal workers, 17% to 19%, and asbestos workers, 33% to 40%.

(MORE)

After the first year of the program, its standards will be reviewed to determine if the projections on which the standards are based adequately reflect the construction labor market situation in the area at that time.

It is expected that new job openings for the five crafts covered by the plan will total about 2,200 over the next four years. If new and vacated positions are filled on the basis of one minority worker for each non-minority worker, the increase in minority employment in those trades will be approximately 1,100 by May 1975.

"By establishing ranges which anticipate good-faith efforts by construction contractors to fill new and vacated jobs on at least a one-to-one minority-to-non-minority basis through May 1975," the order establishing the plan states, "contractors may recruit from available minority manpower without displacing any existing craftsmen and without discriminating against any non-minority applicant for employment."

The Labor Department's Manpower Administration is committed to make available "such funds as may be necessary to carry out reasonable and effective training programs" which further the objectives of the plan and which are consistent with President Nixon's March 1970 directive calling for a 50-percent increase in construction skills training over the next five years.

The rules and regulations establishing the San Francisco Plan were published in the Federal Register.

# # #

Atlanta Bldg Trades

Builders put a lid on overtime pay

A nationwide clampdown on scheduled overtime work in construction is beginning to take hold, helped by a softness in labor markets. The result could be an easing of construction costs—one of the hottest factors in inflation.

Union Electric Co. in St. Louis became the latest major builder to take a tough stand against regularly scheduled overtime, at premium wage rates, when its president, Charles J. Dougherty, ordered all "unnecessary" overtime eliminated on two large power plant projects. This followed an analysis of "inflated" costs for a project under way five years.

Overtime costs totaled $10-million, between 4% and 5% of the entire labor cost, and Union Electric found no offsetting gain in productivity: Costs per manhour of work rose disproportionately.

In 1969, contractors offered 10 hours of overtime each week in an effort to get needed skilled workers. Under Union Electric pressures to cut costs, the guarantee was later cut to five hours. Recently, when the utility made a change in contractors, a 40-hour week was put into effect, with overtime scheduled only on an emergency basis.

Unions accept. The cutback order has not affected the morale or productivity of workers, according to Dougherty. Unions have gone along with the decision, and skilled workers have been available as needed. An easing of the labor market has helped.

Dougherty said that Union Electric acted independently, but what it did was in line with a wider effort to put building trades work on a sounder basis. The National Constructors Assn. (NCA) and the Building & Construction Trades Dept. of the AFL-CIO worked out an agreement earlier this year to curb restrictive work practices and, among other things, to hold down avoidable overtime. The Nixon Administration has also urged this. And the Construction Users' Anti-Inflation Round Table, headed by United States Steel Corp.'s retired chairman, Roger M. Blough, has been working nationally against scheduled overtime on industrial projects.

Round Table studies of the part of the industry represented by NCA indicated that 23% of all projects in 1968 were on a scheduled overtime basis. The studies also showed that 66% of the overtime was paid to attract labor and 34% to maintain or accelerate construction schedules. The Blough organization is urging corporations to avoid "unrealistic" schedules that require overtime for completion.

Leonard Nadel

Blough directs "Roger's Round Table," which is scoring with its overtime stand.

Where it works. Generally, the campaign against scheduled overtime fails to take hold wherever there is intense competition for skilled workers, or where there are short-workweek provisions in union contracts. New York City is cited as a glaring example of both: Its massive World Trade Center project has created shortages of skilled labor and set off sharp competition by using the lure of high overtime pay. And some contracts require an hour or more overtime daily.

The softer the local labor market, the less likely overtime will be guaranteed. Corning Glass Works, like Union Electric, has eliminated scheduled overtime on new plant projects at Fairburn, Ga., and Huntsville, Ala., as a matter of company policy. An executive, John Vyverberg, said that its independent studies showed that scheduled overtime runs up costs and results in lower per-hour productivity rates.

Trumbell Blake, of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., said that no scheduled overtime is being worked on 30 construction jobs from Texas to the Carolinas, and that the company is having no difficulty getting work done on schedule. Blake, du Pont's director of construction, says employers are coming to the realization that "getting work done by scheduling overtime doesn't pay." He reports that "I don't know any projects in areas where we're active that are now regularly scheduling overtime work."

A quick survey of other major companies by the Blough organization found that overtime clampdowns have been ordered by such other pacesetters as Dow Chemical Co., Shell Oil Co., and American Electric Power Co. ■

HOUSING

A new pressure on housing bias

The Nixon Administration this week came down harder on housing segregation in the suburbs than anyone even a week ago might have suspected. It left zoning authority exactly where it has been all along, in the hands of local officials. But it served notice that localities where zoning could be construed as "racially motivated" may find the Justice Dept. facing them in court.

Attorney General John Mitchell filed such a case against a St. Louis suburb. And Housing & Urban Development Secretary George Romney has issued a new regulation that requires developers and builders to use an "equal housing" logotype or slogan in their advertising. This approach in advertising will soon be mandatory for all subdivisions and multi-family housing projects under Federal Housing Administration grants or insurance when they involve 25 or more lots or housing units.

Consistency. Only a week earlier, suburbanites who had been worrying about federal action to help blacks and other minorities move into their neighborhoods were sure they detected a different message in the President's own long-awaited statement on equal housing opportunity. In a 7,000-word document touching all legal and social bases, Nixon seemed to stress that the federal government could do little, even if it wanted to, and that "the kinds of land-use questions involved in housing site selection are essentially local in nature."

The Nixon statement had been thrashed out for months by three key officials. On one side was Romney, the man most committed to open housing. On the other side were Mitchell and John D. Ehrlichman, assistant to the President, both of whom are lawyers with long experience in zoning issues before they came to Washington. Nixon wanted to take a broad policy stand on the federal government's role before allowing the Justice Dept. or the Housing & Urban Development Dept. to proceed with new cases.

Black Jack, the St. Louis suburb, was one of the cases on the waiting list; last year Romney recommended Justice Dept. action, calling the town's conduct a "blatant" violation of the law and of the Constitution. This week Mitchell agreed that the citizens and officials had shown "racial motivation." They had incorporated their town last Au-

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An ally for admen against the FTC

The Federal Trade Commission has given the advertising industry its sharpest warning to date that its attempts at self-policing may be too little and too late. But in the process, it has raised the ire of the White House as well as the admen.

In a surprise move last week, the FTC said it wanted to require advertisers to submit data proving the specific quantitative claims they make for their products. Under its plan, the agency would scrutinize one industry at a time, beginning with automobiles, and would publish the data.

The move naturally upset advertisers and their agencies, but it also turned up opposition from an unexpected quarter. Herbert G. Klein, President Nixon's communications director, said that he does not like either the FTC's claims-substantiation requirement or the commission's plan to hold hearings this fall to explore the question of persuasion in advertising.

Klein told a meeting of the Public Relations Society of America in Little Rock, Ark., that the FTC's proposal was "the kind of thing that will lead toward further restrictions on an economic basis of the press and broadcast media." He faulted the FTC for moving "systematically" against advertising without thinking through what he sees as a dire economic impact on the press as well as on advertising.

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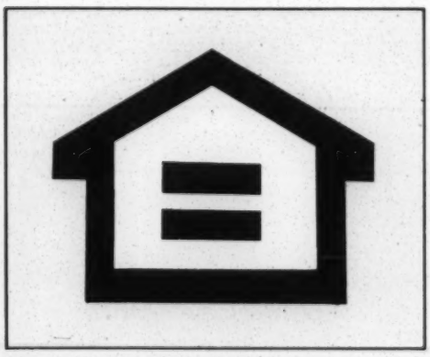

Symbol of equality in housing must soon appear in some realty advertising.

gust and had quickly adopted zoning rules that barred a housing project sponsored by a St. Louis church group, which had already acquired land and obtained HUD approval.

Mitchell said that he does not expect to file many suits like the one against Black Jack. But he also told newsmen that he would file similar suits against any other community that showed similar racial motivation, violating the fair-housing provisions of the 1968 Civil Rights Act as well as the 13th and 14th amendments to the U. S. Constitution. ■

Reactions. Elsewhere, the Administration's reaction was ambiguous. An attempt to get support for the FTC move from Virginia Knauer, Nixon's consumer aide, failed, partly because it would have seemed an indirect endorsement of a bill introduced by Democratic Senators Frank E. Moss (D-Utah) and George S. McGovern (D-S. D.). This measure would go further than the FTC action by requiring all advertisers to make documentation of claims available to consumers.

The FTC did, however, get some clear support from the commissioner of the Food & Drug Administration, Dr. Charles C. Edwards, who is moving against drug ad claims himself.

Miles W. Kirkpatrick took over as FTC chairman only last September, after he had been chairman of an American Bar Assn. study that was highly critical of the agency. He and his consumer protection chief, Robert Pitofsky, already have proved to be more sympathetic to consumer activists than their predecessors. Their claim-substantiation move was a partial response to a petition Ralph Nader filed last December.

Outlook. In the months ahead, advertisers will be watching the FDA, which is tightening its rules on drug effectiveness claims. Last March and April, for example, the FDA called a halt to ads in ethical drug publications for antibiotics and ordered some manufacturers to run "corrective" messages. "For a month or so, we lost the commission on the regular ads we would have placed, and we could not collect commission on the corrective ones," says a media man at a major ethical drug agency. The FDA also will act to sharpen food nutrition labels.

Meanwhile, advertisers are nervously watching the Federal Communications Commission, which is studying possible new rules on TV advertising aimed at children. And the FTC is preparing its September hearings on what Pitofsky chillingly refers to as "coercive advertising."

Just this week the Senate Commerce Committee approved a bill that would give the FTC stronger authority to make rules covering advertising and other business behavior of entire industries. An example of such rules is one currently in the works proposing that detergent makers warn consumers about phosphate. ■

A gloved rap at corporate bigotry

After nearly two years of debate, the Nixon Administration has drafted guidelines to help end religious discrimination in executive suites. Unlike the Administration's controversial Philadelphia Plan for combating racial discrimination in the construction industry, the guidelines contain no mandatory timetables. And penalties are not mentioned. The Administration's intent is to attack the problem by focusing public attention on it.

"There are no goals and timetables because that's not the kind of effort the concerned groups are asking for," says John Wilks, director of the Labor Dept.'s Office of Federal Contract Compliance, which can use its leverage on companies doing business with the government to enforce guidelines. "The new guidelines are really a procedure which a contractor can follow to really deal with the problem."

Samuel Freedman, director of the American Jewish Committee's Business & Industrial Div., with whom the Administration consulted in drafting the guidelines, agrees with their light-handed approach and the lack of penalties. Says Freedman: "It is an attempt to call attention to a problem by a process of head-counting. Most corporations know the number of Jews or Catholics in the executive suite." He seems hopeful that the guidelines will prod companies into taking affirmative action, such as persuading their own recruiters that they will no longer tolerate religious discrimination.

Ethnic approach. Issuance of the guidelines could be held up for some time by Labor Secretary James Hodgson's insistence that they first be combined with guidelines to fight ethnic discrimination at the high corporate level. There are few hard statistics on this problem. But both Freedman and Wilks oppose delay. Asserts Freedman, "We see no reason to hold up religious guidelines until they develop national origin guidelines."

In theory, at least, both sets of guidelines will apply to all companies under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. However, Hodgson calls them a form of "technical assistance" for government contractors, and he has sent a memorandum to all federal contracting agencies reminding them that corporate discrimination by reason of religious or national origin is not only illegal, but "inconsistent with American principles." ■

Week of June 28, 1971 TP: A+1 Bldg Trad

LABOR DEPARTMENT SETS CONTRACT BID CONDITIONS FOR HIRING MINORITIES IN SEATTLE AREA CONSTRUCTION WORK

WASHINGTON -- Specifications for expanding minority job opportunities in Seattle area construction crafts have been issued by Secretary of Labor J. D. Hodgson.

Signing the order that requires the bid specifications were Secretary Hodgson, Assistant Secretary Arthur A. Fletcher and Director John L. Wilks of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

The specifications, or "bid conditions," for Federally-involved contract work are essentially the terms of an agreement reached by local construction contractors, craft unions and the minority community.

Effective immediately, these specifications set goals and timetables for achieving equal job opportunity in all construction trades in King County.

The "hometown" agreement on which the specifications were largely based proved to be ineffective. It provided for minority training and employment goals equal to the area's 1970 minority population.

The action by the Labor Department represents a disapproval, at this time, of that "hometown" agreement as a means by which government contractors may meet Federal equal employment requirements.

The Department has funded a program for training construction workers as a part of a total equal employment effort in the Seattle area. The action does not include a decision to terminate that training program.

(MORE)

But the status of the training program "is under constant review," Secretary Hodgson said. "If the program proves to be effective, it will make an important contribution to equal employment in the Seattle area construction industry and will provide qualified minority craftsmen to assist contractors in meeting their goals under the bid conditions."

The Secretary said that "if the program is ineffective, it will be terminated."

To be eligible for Federally-involved contracts, contractors and subcontractors must submit, as a part of their bid, a written affirmative action plan embodying these two elements:

-- Specific goals and timetables of minority utilization (minorities include Negroes, Spanish-surnamed Americans, Orientals and American Indians).

-- Specific affirmative action steps directed at increasing utilization of minorities through "good-faith" efforts.

The conditions set the following minority utilization goals for the bidder and all contractors and subcontractors for all trades on projects in King County over the next 3 years:

-- From the present to December 31, 1971, 3.2% to 6.5%.

-- From January 1, 1972 to December 31, 1972, 6.5% to 9.7%.

-- From January 1, 1973 to December 31, 1973, 9.7% to 13%.

These percentage ranges are to be expressed in terms of man-hours of minority training and employment as a proportion of the total man-hours logged by the entire work force of the bidder,

(MORE)

contractor or subcontractor in trades on all projects in the county. During the life of his Federally-involved contract or subcontract, a contractor must meet the bid requirements on all of his work -- private as well as Federally-involved.

In order for training hours to count toward meeting the contractor's goal, the minority trainee must be employed by the contractor during the training period.

The transfer of minority employees or trainees from employer to employer and from project to project solely to meet the contractor's or subcontractor's goals will violate these conditions.

Failure to meet goals within the specified time frame will not mean that a contractor or subcontractor is not complying with bid conditions which were issued under Executive Order 11246. The contractor will be given an opportunity to demonstrate that he has taken all of the specific "affirmative action" steps under the conditions and has made "every good faith effort" to make these steps work toward the attainment of his goals within his timetables, "all to the purpose of expanding minority manpower utilization ..."

All trades are covered by the bid conditions, but certain contractors and subcontractors are not required to submit goals and timetables. These include contractors and subcontractors who are, by contract or otherwise, dependent upon labor organizations covered by the court's order or the consent decree for the supply of their employees. These include:

(MORE)

Ironworkers Local Union No. 86; Ironworkers Joint Apprenticeship Training Committee; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local Union No. 46; Plumbers and Pipfitters Local Union No. 32; Plumber and Pipfitters Joint Apprenticeship Committee; Sheet Metal Workers Union No.99, Sheet Metal Workers Joint Apprenticeship Committee and Operating Engineers Local No. 302.

# # #

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Tom Gibbons (w) DOL

— Powell (b) – Memorial
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Chapman b – Nat'l Cord.

James Lamal (w) – Sec. of Fed phil.

Ken Smallwood (w) DOL

Marvin Nixon (w) JSAC

Fred Gibson (w)

Carl Venable (?)
Newcomb (?) Nat. Coalition

Ray Carter (w)

Car Proj — AFL Bld Trds

FOUR OTHER VALUABLE BOOKS FROM BNA

- **THE CRISIS IN CONSTRUCTION**
- **WESTERN EUROPEAN LABOR AND THE AMERICAN CORPORATION**
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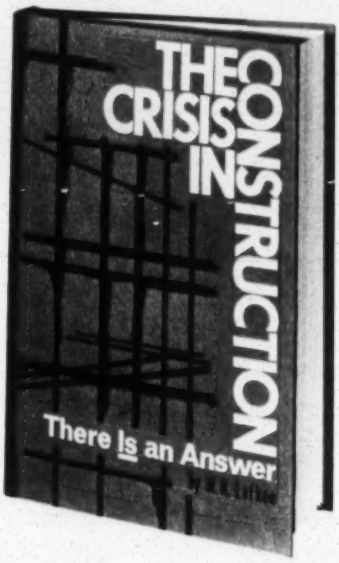

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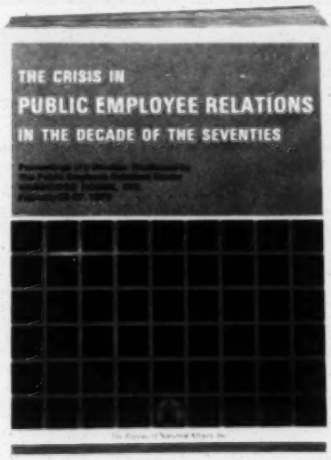

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In this volume, well-known specialists in public employee relations problems bring into focus the causes of bargaining impasses, representation hassles, switches in bargaining agents, demands for arbitration, walk-outs, and stepped-up organizing campaigns in the public employment sector. The book is at once a capsule history and practical operations manual for practitioners and students of public employee relations, and it is especially recommended to administrators of government instrumentalities of every kind, to the legal counsel of government employers and of public employee unions, and to union officials. To its penetrating studies of all the major problems currently bedevilling the public employment field its editors have added a comprehensive record of developments through July of 1970, extensive annotations of individual contributors' remarks, observations on the landmark postal strike, and a glossary of labor relations terms.

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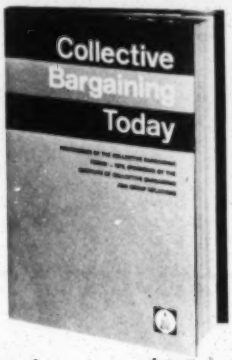
COLLECTIVE BARGAINING TODAY: 1969

Proceedings of the First Annual Collective Bargaining Forum, 1969



504 pp. Indexed $15

This volume constitutes a major contribution to the literature of labor relations and is "must" reading for labor attorneys, industrial relations executives, union officials, arbitrators, educators, and students.

It offers a remarkable collection of penetrating papers on the collective bargaining process by 48 nationally known authorities, drawn from business, labor, and government. These addresses were originally presented as conference papers at the First Annual Collective Bargaining Forum of the Institute of Collective Bargaining and Group Relations, held in New York in May 1969.

Eight major aspects of collective bargaining come under scrutiny by the Forum speakers—the bargaining process as it exists today, problems and strategies of effective bargaining, bargaining in the public sector, the impact of the social environment on bargaining, trends in the economic climate, methods of resolving impasses, automation and technical change as factors in bargaining, and labor and the law.

Collective Bargaining Today brings within the covers of a single volume a wealth of expert opinion, knowledge, and experience of the collective bargaining process in all its ramifications. The book is unhesitatingly recommended as a stimulating "refresher" for knowledgeable labor relations practitioners and as a first-class introduction to the techniques and problems of bargaining for newcomers to the field.

TO ORDER, USE FORM ATTACHED

Week of October 20, 1969

M- Minority

31 MINORITY CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTORS PREPARING TO HELP REBUILD BEDFORD-STUYVESANT

WASHINGTON -- Thirty one minority construction contractors are preparing themselves to participate in the rebuilding of the nation's second largest black neighborhood, New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant area.

Most of them black and a few of them Puerto Rican and all of them from Bedford-Stuyvesant, the contractors have attended nine weeks of classes in construction estimating at Brooklyn's Pratt Institute. Most plan to continue in two upcoming courses, advanced construction estimating and construction management.

The builders have learned the terminology of estimating, and the process of breaking out the quality and quantity of materials called for in a construction job.

Setting up sample jobs, they broke them into their component parts: excavation and concrete masonary, plastering, tile and ceramic work, roofing and sheet metal work, plumbing and carpentry.

They also learned to process these components and decide on those they could handle and those they should subcontract. They went into the subjects of overhead, contractor markups and the cost involved in carrying out a job.

The Pratt Center for Community Improvement is developing a repeat course for other minority builders and is trying to improve the course by uncovering the imperfections in the first one.

Two thirds of the first course was paid for by the builders and the other third by the Pratt Center which gets grants under the Higher Education Act and from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

(MORE)

Seymour Berger, vice-president of a Manhattan construction consultant and engineering firm and an instructor in the class, feels that estimating cannot be taught in a course. He feels that what these builders are learning, however, gives them an important beginning.

A major problem facing the builders is meeting the bonding requirements for city, State, Federal and often private contracts.

Bonding has been a serious barricade to minority contractors because bonding companies have been reluctant to furnish them with necessary bonds because the construction companies are usually small and not well established.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York City is studying the various problems confronting groups in construction contracting. Last July, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development awarded a contract to this NAACP branch to collect information on minority contractors, their resources and their problems.

The story of the estimating course is carried in the October Issue of the Labor Department's Manpower Magazine.

# # #

Atl. Bldg Trades

Memorandum February 27, 1970

To: Emory Via

From: Standley Alexander

I talked with a person at the Youth Opportunity Center about the testing techniques for securing employment. I was told the following:

(1) No high school diploma is required.

(2) If applying for an apprenticeship program, a high school diploma is not needed.

(3) The examination could not be failed completely, because a certain number of points are given and there are five seperate for each examination.

(4) The aptitude test and the apprenticeship tests are the same.

(5) If the examination is failed, five years would have to elapse before it could be taken over.

(6) The test is the SATB which is given on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

I called the Youth Opportunity Center again, and I talked to Mr. Forest Humphries, the Director. He gave me the following information:

(1) A high school diploma or GED is necessary in order to take the examination for the printing apprenticeship program.

(2) Anyone can apply for the apprenticeship program if there is an opening.

(3) If the examination is failed by an applicant, it would be permanent for a year.

(4) Only one examination is required.

Telephone conversation with Mr. Lloyd Smith:

(1) SATB is a general aptitude test.

(2) GATB is the test for the apprenticeship program.

(3) If a person is in the LEAP, he can take the test over in the same year, month, or the next day.

(4) The GATB is given on the basis of age and educational factors.

(5) The high school diploma is required.

(6) The GATB will allow you to take an examination for a particular apprenticeship trade.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

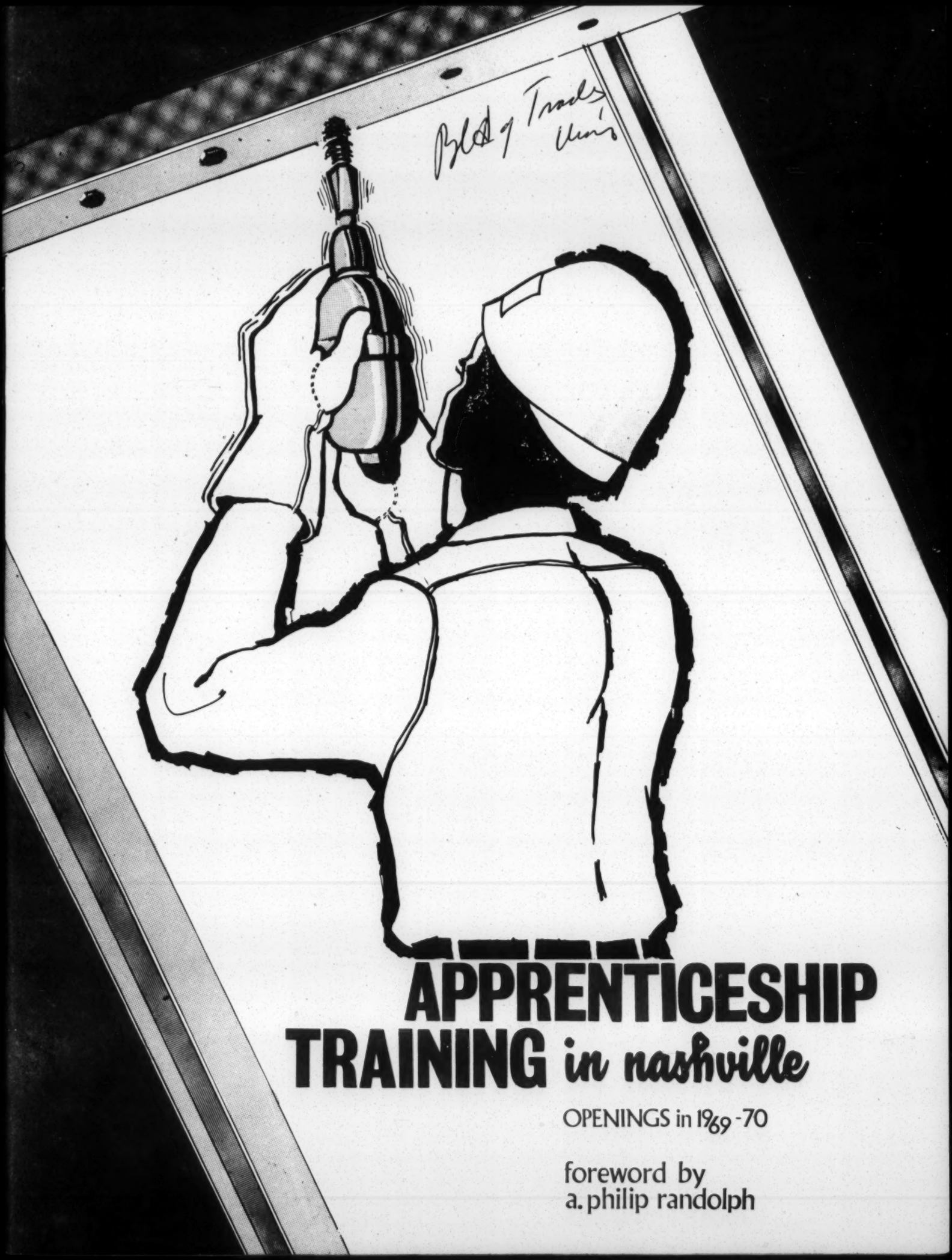
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The Bugaboo of Employment Quotas

by James E. Jones, Jr.

reprinted from
Wisconsin Law Review
Volume 1970, Number 2

Reprint no. 137



APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING *in nashville*

OPENINGS in 1969-70

foreword by
a. philip randolph

Proposed Rule Making

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

[24 CFR Part 76]

[Docket No. R-71-100]

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR LOWER INCOME PERSONS IN CONNECTION WITH ASSISTED PROJECTS

Notice of Proposed Rule Making

The Department of Housing and Urban Development is considering amending Title 24 of the Code of Federal Regulations to include a new Part 76 entitled "Employment Opportunities for Lower Income Persons in Connection with Assisted Projects." The proposed amendment, issued pursuant to section 3 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, 12 U.S.C. 1701u, would establish procedures to encourage the employment on assisted projects of lower income persons residing in the project locale, and the award of project-related contracts to businesses similarly located.

The proposed regulations, the purpose of which is more fully set forth under § 76.1, relate to public property, loans, grants, benefits, or contracts, and are not subject to the rule making requirements of 5 U.S.C. 553. However, recently announced Department policy provides that rules and regulations, as broadly defined by the promulgating notice, 36 F.R. 4291, will be published for proposed rule making. Accordingly, interested persons are invited to participate in the making of the proposed rule by submitting written data, views, or statements with regard to the proposed regulations. Communications should identify the proposed rule by the above docket number and title and should be filed in triplicate with the Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C. 20410. All relevant material received on or before July 19, 1971, will be considered by the Assistant Secretary before taking action on the proposal. Copies of comments submitted will be available during business hours, both before and after the specified closing date, at the above address, for examination by interested persons.

The proposed rule is issued pursuant to section 7(d) of the Department of Housing and Urban Development Act, 42 U.S.C. 3535(d).

The proposed Part 76 reads as follows:

PART 76—EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR BUSINESSES AND LOWER INCOME PERSONS WITHIN THE PROJECT LOCALE

Subpart A—General

Sec.
76.1 Purpose and scope of part.
76.5 Definitions.
76.10 Delegation to Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity.
76.15 Determination of the area of a section 3 covered project.
76.20 Assurance of compliance with regulations.
76.25 Bidding and negotiation requirements.
76.30 Other applicant and recipient obligations.
76.35 Effectuation of applicant obligations in direct and indirect relationships.

Subpart B—Utilization of Lower Income Area Residents as Trainees

76.40 General.
76.45 Establishing number of trainees.
76.50 Good faith effort.

Subpart C—Utilization of Lower Income Area Residents as Employees

76.55 General.
76.60 Good faith effort.

Subpart D—Utilization of Business Located in or Owned in Substantial Part by Persons Residing in the Area

76.65 General.
76.70 Development of an affirmative action plan.

Subpart E—Participation in Approved Programs

76.75 Participation as evidence of compliance with section 3 requirements.

Subpart F—Grievance and Compliance Review

76.80 Who may file grievance.
76.85 Content of grievance filings.
76.90 Form of grievance filings.
76.95 Place of filing.
76.100 Time of filing.
76.105 Processing of grievance filings.
76.110 Hearings.
76.115 Compliance reviews and procedures.

Subpart G—Miscellaneous

76.120 Reporting and recordkeeping.
76.125 Implementing procedures and instructions.
76.130 Labor standards.
76.135 Effective date.

AUTHORITY: The provisions of this Part 76 are issued under section 3 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, 12 U.S.C. 1701u, and sec. 7(d), Department of HUD Act, 42 U.S.C. 3535(d).

Subpart A—General

§ 76.1 Purpose and scope of part.

(a) The regulations set forth in this part contain the procedures established by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development for carrying out his responsibilities under section 3 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, 12 U.S.C. 1701u. That section requires that:

In the administration by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development of programs providing direct financial assistance in aid of housing, urban planning, development, redevelopment, or renewal, public or community facilities, and new community development, the Secretary shall—

(1) Require, in consultation with the Secretary of Labor, that to the greatest extent feasible opportunities for training and employment arising in connection with the planning and carrying out of any project assisted under any such program be given to lower income persons residing in the area of such project; and

(2) Require, in consultation with the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, that to the greatest extent feasible contracts for work to be performed in connection with any such project be awarded to business concerns, including but not limited to individuals or firms doing business in the field of planning, consulting, design, architecture, building construction, rehabilitation, maintenance, or repair, which are located in or owned in substantial part by persons residing in the area of such project.

(b) In the development of these regulations the Secretary has consulted with the Secretary of Labor and the Administrator of the Small Business Administration and mutual agreement has been reached with respect to the coordination of employment and training efforts and contracts awards under these regulations by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of Labor, and the Small Business Administration.

(c) The Secretary will issue such further regulations in connection with his responsibilities under section 3 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, as he finds appropriate and may, as needed, amplify any regulations issued pursuant to section 3, through guidelines, handbooks, circulars, or other means.

§ 76.5 Definitions.

As used in this part—

(a) "Applicant" means any entity seeking assistance for a section 3 covered project including, but not limited to, mortgagors, developers, local public bodies, nonprofit or limited dividend sponsors, builders, or property managers.

(b) "Business concerns located within the section 3 covered project area" means those individuals or firms located within the relevant section 3 covered project area as determined pursuant to § 76.15 which are small and owned by persons considered by the Small Business Administration to be socially or economically disadvantaged.

(c) "Business concerns owned in substantial part by persons residing in the section 3 covered project area" means those business concerns which are 51 percent or more owned by persons residing within the relevant section 3 covered project as determined pursuant to § 76.15 and which are small and owned by persons considered by the Small Business Administration to be socially or economically disadvantaged.

(d) "Contracting party" means any entity which contracts with a contractor for the performance of work in connection with a section 3 covered project.

(e) "Contractor" means any entity which performs work in connection with a section 3 covered project.

(f) "Department" means the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

(g) "Lower income resident of the area" means any individual who resides within the area of a section 3 covered project and whose family income does not exceed 80 percent of the median income in the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (or the county, if not within an SMSA) in which the section 3 covered project is located.

(h) "Political jurisdiction" means a politically organized community with a

governing body having general governmental powers.

(i) "Recipient" means any entity who received assistance for a section 3 covered project including, but not limited to, mortgagors, developers, local public bodies, nonprofit or limited dividend sponsors, builders or property managers.

(j) "Secretary" means the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

(k) "Section 3" means section 3 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, 12 U.S.C. 1701u.

(l) "Section 3 clause" means the contract provisions set forth in § 76.20(b).

(m) "Section 3 covered project" means any project assisted by any program administered by the Secretary in which loans, grants, subsidies, or other financial assistance are provided in aid of housing, urban planning, development, redevelopment, or renewal, public or community facilities, and new community development (except where the financial assistance available under such program is solely in the form of insurance or guaranty).

(n) "Subcontractor" means any entity (other than a person who is an employee of the contractor) which has agreed or arranged with a contractor to undertake a portion of the contractor's obligation or the performance of work in connection with a section 3 covered project.

§ 76.10 Delegation to Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity.

Except as otherwise provided in this part, the functions of the Secretary referred to herein will be delegated to the Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity.

§ 76.15 Determination of the area of a section 3 covered project.

(a) The area of a section 3 covered project shall be determined as follows:

(1) The boundaries of a section 3 covered project located within a geographic area designated pursuant to the provisions of title I of the Housing Act of 1949, 42 U.S.C. 1450, or pursuant to the provisions of title I of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, 42 U.S.C. 3301, shall be coextensive with the boundaries of that geographic area.

(2) The boundaries of a section 3 covered project not located within a geographic area designated pursuant to title I of the Housing Act of 1949, or title I of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 shall be coextensive with the boundaries of the smallest political jurisdiction in which the project is located.

(3) To the extent that goals (established pursuant to Subparts B, C, and D of this part) cannot be met within a section 3 covered project area as determined pursuant to subparagraph (1) of this paragraph, the boundaries of the smallest political jurisdiction in which the section 3 covered project is located shall be designated as the relevant section 3 covered project area.

(b) The Department's Regional Administrator, Area Office Director, or FHA Insuring Office Director, as appropriate, shall determine the boundaries of each section 3 covered project; develop a "Project Area Map" if the project area is determined pursuant to paragraph (a)(1) of this section, showing the section 3 covered project area, and the smallest political jurisdiction in which it is located, except where the project area is a Model Cities area which is coextensive with the city itself; and publish the "Project Area Map" in a newspaper serving the community in which the section 3 covered project area is located.

§ 76.20 Assurance of compliance with regulations.

(a) Every contract or agreement for a grant, loan, subsidy, or other direct financial assistance in aid of housing, urban planning, development, redevelopment, or renewal, public or community facilities, and new community development, entered into by the Department of Housing and Urban Development shall contain provisions requiring the applicant or recipient to carry out the provisions of section 3, the regulations set forth in this part, and any applicable rules and orders of the Department issued thereunder prior to approval of its application for assistance for a section 3 covered project.

(b) Every applicant, recipient, contracting party, contractor, and subcontractor shall incorporate, or cause to be incorporated, in all contracts for work in connection with a section 3 covered project, the following clause (referred to as a section 3 clause):

A. The work to be performed under this contract is on a project assisted under a program providing direct Federal financial assistance from the Department of Housing and Urban Development and is subject to the requirements of section 3 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, as amended, 12 U.S.C. 1701u. Section 3 requires that to the greatest extent feasible opportunities for training and employment be given lower income residents of the project area and contracts for work in connection with the project be awarded to business concerns which are located in, or owned in substantial part by persons residing in the area of the project.

B. The parties to this contract will comply with the provisions of said section 3 and the regulations issued pursuant thereto by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development set forth in 24 CFR ------, and all applicable rules and orders of the Department issued thereunder prior to the execution of this contract. The parties to this contract certify and agree that they are under no contractual or other disability which would prevent them from complying with these requirements.

C. The contractor will send to each labor organization or representative of workers with which he has a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding, if any, a notice advising the said labor organization or workers' representative of his commitments under this section 3 clause and shall post copies of the notice in conspicuous places available to employees and applicants for employment or training.

D. The contractor will include this section 3 clause in every subcontract for work in connection with the project and will, at the direction of the applicant for or recipient of Federal financial assistance, take appropriate action pursuant to the subcontract upon a finding that the subcontractor is in violation of regulations issued by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, 24 CFR ------. The contractor will not subcontract with any subcontractor where it has notice or knowledge that the latter has been found in violation of regulations under 24 CFR ------ and will not let any subcontract unless the subcontractor has first provided it with a preliminary statement of ability to comply with the requirements of these regulations.

E. Compliance with the provisions of section 3, the regulations set forth in 24 CFR ------, and all applicable rules and orders of the Department issued thereunder prior to the execution of the contract, shall be a condition of the Federal financial assistance provided to the project, binding upon the applicant or recipient for such assistance, its successors, and assigns. Failure to fulfill these requirements shall subject the applicant or recipient, its successors, and assigns to those sanctions specified by the grant or loan agreement or contract through which Federal assistance is provided, and to such sanctions as are specified by rules, regulations, or applicable policy of the Department of Housing and Urban Development governing the program under which Federal assistance to the project is provided.

§ 76.25 Bidding and negotiation requirements.

(a) Every applicant and recipient shall require prospective contractors for work in connection with section 3 covered projects to provide, prior to the signing of the contract, a preliminary statement of work force needs (skilled, semiskilled, unskilled labor and trainees by category) where known; where not known, such information shall be supplied prior to the signing of any contract between contractors and their subcontractors.

(b) When a bidding procedure is used to let the contract, the invitation or solicitation for bids shall advise prospective contractors of the requirements of these regulations. When the contract is let pursuant to negotiation or methods other than formal bidding procedures, prospective contractors shall be advised by the contracting party of the requirements of these regulations as part of the contract specifications.

§ 76.30 Other applicant and recipient obligations.

Every applicant and recipient shall assist and actively cooperate with the Secretary in obtaining the compliance of their contractors and subcontractors with the requirements of these regulations, including cooperation and assistance in distributing and collecting forms and information, and in notifying contracting parties and contractors of violations of these regulations, and shall refrain from entering into any contract with any contractor after notification by the Department that the contractor has been found in violation of these regulations pursuant to § 76.110(j).

§ 76.35 Effectuation of applicant obligations in direct and indirect relationships.

(a) Where the applicant for assistance under a section 3 covered project and the recipient of such assistance are not one and the same, the recipient shall be regarded as the successor in interest of

the applicant and shall have the same obligations as the applicant with respect to compliance with these regulations. These obligations shall be incorporated specifically or by reference in the loan or grant agreement or other contract or agreement through which the assistance is provided to the recipient.

(b) Where the applicant or recipient itself will perform all or part of the work in connection with a section 3 covered project within the meaning of these regulations, with either permanent or temporary staff by force account, it will provide the Department with all forms and assurances required of a contractor or subcontractor by these regulations prior to the execution of any loan or grant agreement or other contract or agreement through which assistance is provided.

(c) Where the applicant, recipient or contractor sells, leases, transfers or otherwise conveys land upon which work in connection with a section 3 covered project within the meaning of these regulations is to be performed (for example, under the Urban Renewal or Neighborhood Development program), it shall include in each contract or subcontract for work on such land a clause requiring the purchaser, lessee, or redeveloper to assume the same obligations as a contractor for work under section 3 of these regulations (including the incorporation of the Assurance of Compliance language specified in § 76.20).

(d) Each such purchaser, lessee, or redeveloper shall be relieved of such obligations upon satisfactory completion of all work to be performed under the terms of the redevelopment contract.

Subpart B—Utilization of Lower Income Area Residents as Trainees

§ 76.40 General.

Each applicant, recipient, contractor or subcontractor undertaking work in connection with a section 3 covered project shall fulfill his obligation to utilize lower income project area residents as trainees to the greatest extent feasible by:

(a) Utilizing the maximum number of persons in the various training categories in all phases of the work to be performed under the section 3 covered project; and

(b) Filling all vacant training positions with lower income project area residents except for those training positions which remain unfilled after a good faith effort has been made to fill them with eligible lower income project area residents.

§ 76.45 Establishing number of trainees.

(a) For the building construction occupations, the number of trainees or apprentices for each occupation shall be determined pursuant to regulations issued by the Secretary of Labor.

(b) For nonconstruction occupations or for any building construction occupations for which ratios are not determined pursuant to regulations of the Secretary of Labor, the number of trainees for each occupation shall be that number which can reasonably be utilized in each occupation on each phase of a section 3 covered project. The applicant, recipient, contractor, or subcontractor shall initially determine the maximum number of trainees for each occupation and submit that determination along with its justification to the Department.

§ 76.50 Good faith effort.

(a) Each applicant, recipient, contractor, or subcontractor seeking to establish that a good faith effort as required by § 76.40 has been made to fill all training positions with lower income area residents shall, as a minimum, set forth evidence acceptable to the Secretary that it has:

(1) Obtained from the Department's Regional Administrator, Area Office Director, or FHA Insuring Office Director having jurisdiction over the section 3 covered project, the "Section 3 Project Area Map," if available; and

(2) Attempted to recruit from the appropriate areas the necessary number of lower income residents through: Local advertising media, signs placed at the proposed site for the project, and community organizations and public or private institutions operating within or serving the project area such as Service Employment and Redevelopment (SER), Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), Urban League, Concentrated Employment Program, or the U.S. Employment Service.

(3) Maintain a list of all lower income area residents who have applied either on their own or on referral from any source, and employ such persons, if otherwise eligible and if a trainee vacancy exists. If the contractor has no vacancies, the applicant, if otherwise eligible, shall be listed for the first available vacancy.

(b) Any applicant, recipient, contractor, or subcontractor which fills vacant apprentice or trainee positions in its organization from sources other than those specified in paragraph (a), subparagraph (2) of this section immediately prior to undertaking work pusuant to a section 3 covered project shall set forth evidence acceptable to the Secretary that its actions were not an attempt to circumvent these regulations.

Subpart C—Utilization of Lower Income Area Residents as Employees

§ 76.55 General.

Each applicant, recipient, contractor or subcontractor undertaking work in connection with a section 3 covered project shall fulfill his obligation to utilize lower income project area residents as employees to the greatest extent feasible by:

(a) Identifying the number of positions in the various occupational categories including skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled labor, needed to perform each phase of the section 3 covered project;

(b) Identifying, of the positions identified in paragraph (a) of this section, the number of positions in the various occupational categories which are currently occupied by regular, permanent employees;

(c) Identifying, of the positions identified in paragraph (a) of this section, the number of positions in the various occupational categories which are not currently occupied by regular, permanent employees;

(d) Establishing, of the positions identified in paragraph (c) of this section, a goal which is consistent with the purpose of this subpart within each occupational category of the number of positions to be filled by lower income residents of the section 3 covered project area; and

(e) Making a good faith effort to fill all of the positions identified in paragraph (d) of this section with lower income project area residents.

§ 76.60 Good faith effort.

(a) Each applicant, recipient, contractor, or subcontractor seeking to establish that a good faith effort as required by paragraph (e) of § 76.55 has been made to fill all employment positions identified in paragraph (d) of § 76.55 with lower income project area residents shall, as a minimum, set forth evidence acceptable to the Secretary that it has:

(1) Obtained from the Department's Regional Administrator, Area Office Director, or FHA Insuring Office Director having jurisdiction over the section 3 covered project, the "Section 3 Project Area Map", if available; and

(2) Attempted to recruit from the appropriate areas the necessary number of lower income residents through: Local advertising media, signs placed at the proposed site for the project, and community organizations and public or private institutions operating within or serving the project area such as Project Area Committees (PAC) in urban renewal areas, Model Cities citizen advisory boards, Service Employment and Redevelopment (SER), Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), Urban League, Concentrated Employment Program, or the U.S. Employment Service.

(b) Any applicant, recipient, contractor, or subcontractor which fills vacant § 76.55(d) employment positions in its organization immediately prior to undertaking work pursuant to a section 3 covered contract shall set forth evidence acceptable to the Secretary that its actions were not an attempt to circumvent these regulations.

(c) When lower income resident workers apply, either on their own initiative or on referral from any source, the recipient, contractor, or subcontractor shall determine the qualifications of such persons and shall employ such persons if their qualifications are satisfactory and the contractor has openings. If the recipient, contractor, or subcontractor is unable to employ the workers, such persons shall be listed for the first available opening.

Subpart D—Utilization of Business Located in or Owned in Substantial Part by Persons Residing in the Area

§ 76.65 General.

Each applicant, recipient, contractor, or subcontractor undertaking work on a

section 3 covered project shall assure that to the greatest extent feasible, contracts for work to be performed in connection with the project are awarded to business concerns located within the section 3 covered project area or business concerns owned in substantial part by persons residing in the section 3 covered area. The Department, in consultation with the Small Business Administration will establish for the section 3 covered project area a registry of business concerns which meet the definition contained in § 76.5 (b) and (c) of these regulations. Each applicant, recipient, contractor, or subcontractor undertaking work in connection with a section 3 covered project shall fulfill his obligations to utilize business concerns located within or owned in substantial part by persons residing in the section 3 covered project area by developing and implementing an affirmative action plan.

§ 76.70 Development of an affirmative action plan.

In developing an affirmative action plan, each applicant, recipient, contractor, and subcontractor preparing to undertake work pursuant to a section 3 covered contract shall:

(a) Set forth the approximate number and dollar value of all contracts proposed to be awarded to all businesses within each category (type or profession) over the duration of the section 3 covered project in question.

(b) Analyze the information set forth in paragraph (a) of this section and the availability of eligible business concerns within the project area doing business in professions or occupations identified as needed in paragraph (a), of this section, and set forth a goal or target number and estimated dollar amount of contracts to be awarded to the eligible businesses and entrepreneurs within each category over the duration of the section 3 covered project.

(c) Outline the anticipated program to be used to achieve the goals for each business and/or professional category identified. This program should include but not be limited to the following actions:

(1) Insertion in the bid documents, if any, of the affirmative action plan of the applicant, recipient, contractor, or subcontractor letting the contract; and

(2) Identification within the bid document, if any, of the applicable section 3 project area.

(d) Indicate the anticipated process and steps which have been taken and/or will be taken to secure the cooperation of contractors, subcontractors, and unions in meeting the goals and carrying out the affirmative action plan developed pursuant to this subpart.

(e) Take steps to insure that the appropriate business concerns included in the Department's registry for the section 3 covered project area are notified of pending contractual opportunities either personally or through locally utilized media.

(f) Take steps to insure that contracts which are typically let on a negotiated rather than a bid basis in areas other than section 3 covered project areas, are also let on a negotiated basis, whenever feasible, when let in a section 3 covered project area.

(g) Where competitive bids are solicited, require the bidders to submit their utilization goals, and their affirmative action plans for accomplishing their goals, and in evaluating each bid, to determine its responsiveness, carefully evaluate the bidders' submission to determine whether the affirmative action plan proposed will accomplish the stated goals.

(h) Where advantageous, seek the assistance of local officials of the Department in preparing and implementing the affirmative action plan.

Subpart E—Participation in Approved Programs

§ 76.75 Participation as evidence of compliance with section 3 requirements.

Any applicant, recipient, contractor, or subcontractor may fulfill his obligations under Subparts B, C, and D of this part, respectively, to utilize lower income project area residents as trainees or employees on section 3 covered projects, and to award contracts to business concerns located in, or owned in substantial part by residents of, section 3 covered project areas by presenting evidence satisfactory to the Secretary that he is a cooperating participant in a federally assisted or other public program approved by the Department of Housing and Urban Development which provides training, employment, and/or business opportunities to lower income persons and business concerns which meet the definition in § 76.5 (b) and (c). The Secretary shall, from time to time, make public a list of those training, employment, and/or business opportunity programs approved by the Department.

Subpart F—Grievance and Compliance Review

§ 76.80 Who may file grievance.

Any lower income resident of the project area, for himself or as a representative of persons similarly situated, seeking employment or training opportunities with an applicant, recipient, contractor, or subcontractor, or any business concern located in, or owned in substantial part by persons residing within a project area seeking contract opportunities from any applicant, recipient, contractor, or subcontractor, for itself or as a representative of persons or firms similarly situated, may personally or by an authorized representative file a grievance alleging noncompliance with section 3, these regulations, or obligations undertaken pursuant thereto.

§ 76.85 Content of grievance filings.

(a) The grievance should include: (1) The name and address of the grievant, (2) the name and address of the grievant's business, if applicable, (3) the name and address of the applicant, recipient, contractor, or subcontractor (in this subpart called "respondent"), (4) a description of the acts or omissions giving rise to the grievance, and (5) the corrective action sought.

(b) Where a grievance contains incomplete information, the Secretary shall seek promptly the needed information from the grievant. In the event such information is not furnished to the Secretary within sixty (60) days of the date of such request, the grievance may be closed.

§ 76.90 Form of grievance filings.

Each grievance shall be in writing and signed.

§ 76.95 Place of filing.

A grievance may be filed by mailing it to the Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C. 20410, or by presenting it at any Regional Office, Area Office, or FHA Insuring Office of the Department. Any employee of the Department receiving a grievance shall forward the same directly to the Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity.

§ 76.100 Time of filing.

A grievance must be filed not later than ninety (90) days from the date of the action (or omission) upon which the grievance is based, unless the time for filing is extended by the Secretary upon good cause shown.

§ 76.105 Processing of grievance filings.

(a) Upon receipt of a grievance a copy thereof shall be furnished the respondent by certified mail or through personal service.

(b) The Secretary shall conduct an investigation of each grievance filed, and shall give notice in writing to the grievant and the respondent as to whether he intends to resolve it.

(c) Notwithstanding paragraphs (a) and (b) of this section, where the allegations of a grievance on their face, or as amplified by the statements of the grievant, disclose that the grievance is not timely filed or otherwise fails to state a valid claim for relief under these regulations or any other authority within the jurisdiction of the Department, the Secretary may dismiss the grievance without further action. To the extent that Executive Order 11246 relating to Equal Opportunity in Employment applies to the subject matter of the grievance, the procedures required by applicable regulations implementing that order shall be followed.

(d) If the Secretary decides not to resolve a grievance, or to dismiss it under paragraph (c) of this section, he shall advise the grievant of the disposition of his grievance. Respondent shall also be notified in any case where he has been served with a copy of the grievance.

(e) Any party adversely affected by a determination under paragraph (b) or

(c) of this section may, within 5 days of receipt of a notice of determination, request that the Secretary reconsider his action. Such request for reconsideration will be granted only on the basis of additional material evidence not previously available to the party requesting reconsideration or for other good cause shown.

(f) If the Secretary decides to resolve a grievance, he shall endeavor to eliminate or correct the matters complained of in the grievance by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and persuasion.

(g) In conciliating a grievance, the Secretary shall attempt to achieve a just resolution of the grievance including (1) specific relief for the grievant, (2) affirmative actions by the respondent to relieve the effects of past violation and preclude the occurrence of future violation, and (3) appropriate reporting requirements. Notice of a proposed disposition of a grievance and of the terms of a proposed settlement, if any, shall be given to the parties, or their representatives, by the Secretary, in writing. If satisfactory, the proposed settlement shall be signed by the grievant and the respondent, or their representatives, and approved by the Secretary. The Secretary may, from time to time, review compliance with the terms of any settlement agreement and may, upon a finding of noncompliance, reopen the grievance or take such enforcement action as is provided for under the settlement agreement or as may otherwise be appropriate.

(h) Should a respondent fail or refuse to confer with the Secretary or fail or refuse to make a good faith effort to resolve the grievance, or should the Secretary find for any other reason that voluntary agreement is not likely to result, the Secretary may terminate his efforts to conciliate the dispute. In the latter event the parties shall be notified promptly, in writing, that such efforts have been unsuccessful.

(i) If the Department is unable to obtain voluntary compliance, the Secretary shall advise the parties in writing of his proposed resolution of the grievance. Such resolution shall become final and binding on the parties, unless within 15 days after the receipt of notification, either party files with the Secretary a written request for a hearing on the matter.

§ 76.110 Hearings.

(a) Whenever a hearing is requested, reasonable notice shall be given by registered or certified mail, return receipt requested, to the parties. This notice shall advise the parties of the action proposed to be taken, the specific provision under which the proposed action is to be taken, and the matters of fact or law asserted as the basis for this action. In addition, it shall either (1) fix a date not less than 20 days after the date of such notice within which the parties may request of the Secretary that the matter be scheduled for hearing or (2) advise the parties that the matter in question has been set down for hearing at a stated time and place. The time and place so fixed shall be subject to change for cause. The requesting party may waive a hearing and in lieu thereof submit written information and argument for the record. The failure of the requesting party to appear at a hearing for which a date has been set shall be deemed to be a waiver of the right to a hearing and consent to the making of a decision on the basis of such information as is available.

(b) Hearings shall be held in or near the section 3 covered project area in question, or at such other location as will serve the convenience of parties and witnesses, at a time fixed by the Secretary. Hearings shall be held before the Secretary or, at his discretion, before a hearing examiner designated in accordance with 5 U.S.C. 3105 and 3344.

(c) In all proceedings under this section, the respondent and grievant, if any, shall have the right to be represented by counsel.

(d) The hearing, decision, and any administrative review thereof shall be conducted in conformity with 5 U.S.C. 554–557, and in accordance with such rules of procedure issued by HUD as are proper relating to the conduct of the hearing, the issuance of notice except that provided in paragraph (a) of this section, the taking of testimony, exhibits, arguments, and briefs, requests for findings, and other related matters. HUD, the respondent, and the grievant, if any, shall be entitled to introduce all relevant evidence on the issues as stated in the notice of hearing or as determined by the officer conducting the hearing at the outset of or during the hearing.

(e) Technical rules of evidence shall not apply to hearings conducted pursuant to this paragraph but rules or principles designed to assure production of the most credible evidence available and to subject testimony to test by cross-examination shall be applied where deemed reasonably necessary by the officer conducting the hearing. The hearing officer may exclude irrelevant, immaterial, or unduly repetitious evidence. All documents and other evidence offered or taken for the record shall be open to examination by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the respondent, and the grievant, if any, and opportunity shall be given to refute facts and arguments advanced on either side of the issues. A transcript shall be made of the oral evidence except to the extent the substance thereof is stipulated for the record. All decisions shall be based upon the hearing record and written findings shall be made.

(f) If the hearing is held by a hearing examiner, he shall either render an initial decision, if so authorized, or certify the entire record, including his recommended findings and proposed decision to the Secretary for a final decision. A copy of such initial decision or certification shall be mailed to the respondent and the grievant, or their representative, by certified or registered mail, return receipt requested. Where the initial decision is made by the hearing examiner, the respondent or grievant may within 30 days of the mailing of such notice of initial decision file with the Secretary exceptions to the initial decision, with reasons therefor. In the absence of exception, the Secretary may on his own motion, within 45 days after the initial decision, serve on the respondent and grievant, a notice that he will review the decision. Upon the filing of such exceptions or of such notice of review, the Secretary shall review the initial decision and issue his own decision thereon including the reasons therefor. If no exception is taken or notice of review issued, the initial decision shall constitute the final decision of the Secretary.

(g) Whenever a record is certified to the Secretary for decision or he reviews the decision of a hearing examiner pursuant to paragraph (f) of this section, or whenever the Secretary conducts the hearing, the respondent and grievant shall be given reasonable opportunity to file briefs or other written statements of their contentions, and a copy of the final decision of the Secretary shall be given in writing to the respondent, and to the grievant by certified or registered mail, return receipt requested.

(h) Whenever a hearing is waived pursuant to paragraph (a) of this section, a decision shall be made by the Secretary on the record and a copy of such decision shall be given in writing to the respondent, and to the grievant, by certified or registered mail, return receipt requested.

(i) Each decision of a hearing examiner or the Secretary shall set forth his ruling on each finding, conclusion, or exception presented, and shall identify the requirement or requirements of section 3 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 or the regulations which the respondent has not complied with.

(j) The final decision may contain such terms, conditions, and other provisions as are consistent with, and will effectuate the purposes of section 3 and these regulations. The decision may also include provisions designed to assure that no contract will thereafter be entered into with a respondent determined by such decision to be in default in its performance of its contractual obligations or to have otherwise failed to comply with these regulations, unless the respondent corrects its noncompliance and satisfies the Secretary that it will fully comply with section 3 and these regulations.

(k) The General Counsel shall represent the Department at all hearings and shall receive copies of all notices, decisions and other documents which are forwarded to the parties.

(l) The applicant or recipient, if not a party, shall be invited to participate in the hearing and shall receive copies of all notices, decisions, and other documents which are forwarded to the parties.

§ 76.115 Compliance reviews and procedures.

In order to determine whether the responsibilities imposed upon him by section 3 and these regulations are being properly carried out, the Secretary shall periodically conduct section 3 compliance

reviews of selected applicants, recipients, contractors, and subcontractors. A compliance review shall consist of a comprehensive analysis and evaluation of each aspect of the aforementioned section 3 policies, and conditions resulting therefrom. Where deficiencies are found to exist, reasonable efforts shall be made to secure compliance through the conciliation process set forth in § 76.105(g). Compliance reviews may be conducted prior to award of contracts in any case where the Secretary has reasonable grounds, based on a substantiated grievance, the Department's own investigation, or other substantial evidence, to believe that the applicant, recipient, contractor, or subcontractor or will be unable or unwilling to comply with section 3 and the provisions of this part.

Subpart G—Miscellaneous

§ 76.120 Reporting and recordkeeping.

In order to insure that the Secretary is kept informed of the progress being made by the applicant, recipient, contractor, and subcontractor in meeting their obligations under these regulations, each applicant, recipient, contractor, and subcontractor is required to:

(a) Maintain such records and accounts and furnish such information and reports as are required by the Secretary under these regulations or pursuant thereto and permit the Secretary access to books, records and premises for purposes of investigation in connection with a grievance or to ascertain compliance with these regulations or the rules and orders of the Department issued thereunder.

(b) Advise the Secretary within 15 days of the award of any contract under a section 3 covered project of the steps which have been and will be taken to comply with the requirements of Subparts B, C, and D of this part.

§ 76.125 Implementing procedures and instructions.

Assistant Secretaries of the Department administering programs subject to this regulation may issue such procedures and instructions as are necessary to implement the provisions of section 3 and this part. A copy of such procedures and instructions shall be forwarded to the Secretary for approval prior to issuance.

§ 76.130 Labor standards.

All labor standards applicable by statute, regulations, or other administrative issuance shall apply to section 3 covered projects.

§ 76.135 Effective date.

This part shall become effective on [ ] 1971 for all applications for assistance under section 3 covered by projects which are made after such date within the meaning of the program in question. However, nothing in this part shall effect requirements already imposed on applicants, recipients, and contractors, and subcontractors pursuant to section 3.

GEORGE ROMNEY,
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

[FR Doc.71-8618 Filed 6-17-71;8:51 am]

Problem, esp. non-union, of job classification — cf. to Industrial & Female — Suppose "Labor" actually competing — does this catch most or fewer minority done by

Att. City Tend

What proportion of K in Atl. are 500T & over

Al K List of K's — and promptly — not years later — (to monitor "across the Bd — Union & non Union)

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

JUN 22 1971

ORDER

TO: HEADS OF ALL AGENCIES

FROM: James D. Hodgson
Secretary of Labor

Arthur A. Fletcher
Assistant Secretary for Employment Standards

John L. Wilks
Director, Office of Federal Contract Compliance

SUBJECT: Atlanta Plan

The "Atlanta Plan," a copy of which is attached, has been executed and transmitted to the Federal Register for publication.

Effective upon publication, all Federal and Federally-assisted construction contracts for projects in the Five County Atlanta, Georgia Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area of Fulton, DeKalb, Cobb, Clayton and Gwinnett, whose estimated cost exceeds $500,000, will be subject to the requirements of the Atlanta Plan.

All agencies are hereby directed to comply with the requirements of the Atlanta Plan.

Inquiries concerning the operation and effect of the Plan should be transmitted to Mr. John L. Wilks, Director, Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

Attachment

J. T. Fagan
Compliance officer
mailed cites.

Suppose land acquired & cost was 500T or more & Fed funds involved — later city wants to develop as park (actual construction less than 500T), will it be covered — Peterson — D. K.

Nat Pearson OFCC

Jodie Eggers —

Fred Wilkins

Francis Starke (Eggers Secty)

TITLE 41 - PUBLIC CONTRACTS AND
PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

Chapter 60 - Office of Federal Contract Compliance
Equal Employment Opportunity
Department of Labor

PART 60-8 -- ATLANTA PLAN

Affirmative Action Program to Assure Compliance with Equal Employment Opportunity Requirements of Executive Order 11246 for Federally-Involved Construction Contractors

Published June 25, 1971 + Plan in effect till Dec 31

Pursuant to a notice of hearing appearing in the Federal Register on March 16, 1971, (36 F.R. 5020), representatives of the Department of Labor conducted public hearings in Atlanta, Georgia, on March 31, April 1 and 2, 1971, for the purpose of determining what action should be taken to ensure equal employment opportunity in the construction industry in Atlanta, Georgia. As a result of the findings made during those hearings, the Atlanta Plan is hereby issued and published in the Federal Register. A copy of the findings made as a result of the above noted hearings has been submitted with these regulations and is on file.

Therefore, and pursuant to Executive Order 11246 (30 F.R. 12319, 3 CFR 1964-65 Comp., p. 406) and Sections 60-1.1 and 60-1.40

of Title 41 of the Code of Federal Regulations, Chapter 60 of these regulations is hereby amended by adding a new part 60-8 to read as set forth below.

Subpart A - Purpose; Applicability; Background

Section:

60-8.1 Purpose of the Atlanta Plan

60-8.2 Applicability

60-8.3 Background

Subpart B - General Findings; Minority Participation in Specific Trades; Availability; Need for Training; Impact upon Existing Labor Force

60-8.10 General Findings

60-8.11 Minority Participation in the Specified Trades

60-8.12 Availability of Minority Group Persons for Employment

60-8.13 Need for Training

60-8.14 The Impact of the Plan upon the Existing Labor Force

60-8.15 Conclusions of Findings

Subpart C - Non-discriminatory Purpose of the Plan; Requirements; Exemptions; Effective Date

60-8.20 Non-Discriminatory Purpose of the Plan

60-8.21 Requirements

60-8.22 Exemptions

60-8.23 Effective Date

(?) Shaddix — should cover under $500T & at present all $500T is made checks —

Subpart D - Appendix A

Berty neither Fed'l part — Fed'l funds that this would separate corp. just off for a project — and then just a Fed proj. so no coverage of priv. part. work — since no part work

60-8.30 Appendix A

Authority: The provisions of this part are issued under Sections 201, 202, 205, 211, 301, 302, and 303 of Executive Order 11246, (30 F.R. 12319, 3 CFR 1964-65 Comp., p. 406) and Sections 60-1.1 and 60-1.40 of Title 41 of the Code of Federal Regulations.

Subpart A - Purpose; Applicability; Background

60-8.1 Purpose

The purpose of these regulations is to implement the provisions of Executive Order 11246, and the rules and regulations issued pursuant thereto, requiring a program of equal employment opportunity by Federal contractors and subcontractors and Federally-assisted construction contractors and subcontractors in Atlanta, Georgia.

When Pub. K signed & still operational then part. K must be covered but if part. goes longer than pub., then part. not covered part term of Pub.

60-8.2 Applicability

While a contractor or subcontractor is performing on Federally-involved (Federal or Federally-assisted) construction contracts for projects, in the five county Atlanta, Georgia Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area of Fulton, DeKalb, Cobb, Clayton and Gwinnett, the estimated cost of which exceeds $500,000, all construction activities (including all activities on non-Federally involved work) of such a contractor or subcontractor within the Atlanta area shall be subject to the requirements of these regulations;

would not cover work outside area —

covers only subsequent contracts — part. & Pub

Sub Contractor is covered from date of (signing) or date of starting work? Pearson (& then reversed & said as of signing

Project Value $500T & individual Sub-K is covered no matter how small —

provided, however, that if an area-wide agreement is developed for any trade covered by these regulations or any such trade is covered by a multi-trade agreement and such an agreement is among contractors, unions, and the minority community, then the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) may, in its complete discretion, accept such program in lieu of any or all of the requirements of these regulations, subject to such terms and conditions as OFCC may specify.

Bontom could supersede if accepted by OFCC

60-8.3 Background

Public hearings were conducted by representatives of the Department of Labor in Atlanta, Georgia, on March 31, April 1 and 2, 1971, to determine what action should be taken to insure equal employment opportunity in the construction industry in Atlanta, Georgia. Testimony was heard and data received on the following:

(a) The current extent of minority group participation in the construction trades as journeymen, apprentices, trainees and helpers;

(b) The effectiveness of present employee recruitment methods;

(c) The availability of qualified and qualifiable minority group persons for employment in each construction trade, including where they are now working, how they may be brought into the trades;

(d) The effectiveness of existing training programs in the area, including the number of minorities and others recruited into

the programs, the number who complete training, the length and extent of training, employer experience with trainees, the need for additional or expanded training programs;

(e) The number of additional workers that could be absorbed into each trade without displacing present employees, including consideration of present employee shortages, projected growth of the trade, projected employee turnover;

(f) The availability and utilization of minority contractors on Federally-involved contracts;

(g) The desirability and extent, including the geographical scope, of possible Federal action to ensure equal employment opportunity in the construction trades;

(h) Recommendations of governmental compliance agencies active in the Atlanta, Georgia area.

Subpart B - General Findings; Minority Participation in Specific Trades; Availability; Need for Training; Impact upon Existing Labor Force

60-8.10 General Findings

As a result of the material presented at the public hearing in Atlanta and as a result of other investigations, it is apparent that minority workers (Negroes, Spanish Surnamed Americans, Orientals, and American Indians) have been prevented from fully participating

in certain construction trades. This exclusion is due in great measure to the special nature of employment practices in the construction industry where contractors and subcontractors rely on construction craft unions as their prime or sole labor source. Collective bargaining agreements and/or established custom between construction contractors and subcontractors and unions frequently provide for, or result in, exclusive hiring halls. Even where the collective bargaining agreement contains no such hiring hall provisions or the custom is not rigid, as a practical matter most people working in these classifications are referred to the jobs by the unions. As a result, referral by the union is a virtual necessity for obtaining employment in union construction projects. Minorities often have not gained admittance into membership of certain unions and into certain apprenticeship programs, and, thus, for these and other reasons, have not been referred for employment.

60-8.11 (a) Minority Participation in the Specified Trades

The over-all minority population in the Atlanta area is approximately 22.6 percent. Minority representation among journeymen employees in the Atlanta area construction industry is approximately 27.1 percent. However, very few of these minorities are located in certain "skilled" trades.

(b) Statistical Data

The most reliable data developed at the hearings reveal the following as the current minority representation in unions in selected trades, for the Atlanta area:

Asbestos Workers 8.5%	Laborers 91.4%
Bricklayers 33.0%	Lathers 53.3%
Carpenters 3.4%	Millwrights 1.0%
Electricians .5%	Painters 3.6%
Elevator Constructors 1.1%	Plasterers 62.5%
Operating Engineers 30.0%	Plumbers 1.6%
Glaziers 0%	Roofers 89.2%
Iron Workers 1.3%	Sheetmetal Workers 0%

It is apparent from the foregoing that certain trades evidence a significant underutilization of minority employees. Several of the above designated trades and others however, as supported by findings of fact in that regard, do not appear to be engaged in the underutilization of minorities and accordingly will not be included under the requirements of these regulations, at this time. These excluded trades are

the bricklayers, operating engineers, laborers, lathers, plasterers, and roofers. Therefore, the requirements of these regulations shall apply only to the trades of asbestos workers, carpenters, electricians, elevator constructors, glaziers, ironworkers, millwrights, painters, plumbers and the sheet metal workers.

60-8.12 Availability of Minority Group Persons for Employment

(a) Population

The April 1970 population estimate of the Atlanta area as found by the U.S. Census Bureau was 1,390,164 for a gain of 36.7 percent since the 1960 census. This population is disbursed among five counties that range in population from 607,592 residents in Fulton County to 72,349 in Gwinnett County, and includes a minority constituency of 314,015 or approximately 22.5 percent.

The total labor force in the Atlanta area is approximately 700,000 persons, all but 19,000 of whom are nonagricultural. The contract construction industry accounts for the employment of approximately 31,500 persons. The total unemployment rate in the Atlanta area as of January 1971 was 3.2%. Negro unemployment in the Atlanta area however, as has been true of the Nation generally, has rather consistently been approximately twice the unemployment rate in the white labor force. Data for the full 1969

fiscal year indicates that this was a fact of long standing particularly in the City of Atlanta by showing unemployment for Negroes in that area at 7.3% while white unemployment was placed at less than one-half that figure, 3.4%.

Based upon a statistical submission by the State of Georgia Department of Labor, in excess of 38,000 minority group persons are classified as underutilized, as employed part time for economic reasons, employed full time with total family income below the poverty level or excluded from the active work force altogether solely because of employment barriers. In addition there is the added problem of finding suitable employment for an estimated 1,500 returning minority group veterans during the present calendar year.

For the City of Atlanta, the panel found its civilian labor force to approximate 206,000 of whom 96,000 are Negro. Of this figure, an estimated 195,400 are employed including 89,000 Negroes.

(b) Training Programs

Although the Hearing Panel found that minorities have been and continue to be statistically underrepresented in certain construction trades and trade unions, this is not due to any lack of available qualified or qualifiable Negro and other minority applicants.

Rather, the Panel's analysis of all available data reveals that existing contractor and union recruitment efforts fall far short of the

type of affirmative action which would bring substantial numbers of available minorities into the construction trades.

Thus a total of 878 minority persons with either some or substantial experience in various construction trades, have registered with the Georgia State Employment Service seeking employment in the industry.

The Atlanta LEAP (Labor Education Advancement Program) has, in a two-year period indentured 128 minority youth and dropped only 18 of them, equipping the remainder with some measure of the skills necessary to work in the following trades:

> Bricklaying, Carpentry, Cement Masonry, Electrical Work, Operating Engineers, Lather, Machinists, Painting, Roofing and Sheet Metal Work.

The LEAP program's 1970 goal was to indenture 100 persons and tutor 275.

(c) Community Involvement

Testimony presented at the hearings revealed, and it has consistently been the Department's experience, that the effectiveness of efforts to recruit minority trainees and workers depends in large measure upon the active involvement of minority organizations in the community. Various representatives of minority organizations indicated that they would have little, if any, difficulty in recruiting minority workers for training and jobs in sufficient numbers to meet

the manpower needs of the Atlanta area construction industry.

(d) Minority Subcontractors

Information gained at the hearing indicated, and it is found, that a number of minority subcontractors are operating effectively within the Atlanta area. Utilization of these subcontractors, particularly by non-minority contractors, could significantly expand the participation of minority craftsmen on projects of Federally-involved construction contractors.

60-8.13 Need for Training

(a) Existing Programs

Total enrollment in the several Vocational Education full-time programs in the Atlanta area is estimated in excess of 80 for the construction trades of whom approximately 50 are minorities. In the night school there are additionally enrolled 234 minorities for training in the construction trades.

MDTA programs operating in the Atlanta area include seven minority group trainees acquiring skills in the construction trades.

A readily available source of minority manpower most of whom could be utilized in the skilled trades with skills refinement training only may be found in the number of minority laborers currently in labor unions having jurisdiction in the Atlanta area. This figure is currently placed at 2,550 Minority representation among the

unionized laborers is in excess of 91% of the total, an indication of their disproportionate placement and the underutilization of actual or potential skills by the industry.

Who knows how to reach these? are they all minorities

Additionally, there are substantial numbers of non-union employees and self-employed minorities currently employed throughout the industry, including 435 electricians, 417 plumbers and pipefitters, and 1,206 carpenters. (Barely! There wouldn't be 10 black electricians in the whole city)

(b) Trainable Persons

It is found and determined that a substantial number of minority persons can receive training annually in the Atlanta area through existing programs with additional funding. The Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor is committed to make available such funds as may be necessary to carry out reasonable and effective training programs in furtherance of the objectives of these regulations and consistent with the policies and standards of the Manpower Administration as amplified in the President's statement of March 17, 1970, directing a 50 percent increase in construction skills training over the next 5 years.

60-8.14 The Impact of the Program Upon the Existing Labor Force

(a) Contractors Commitments

A contractor could commit himself to minority hiring up to the annual rate of job vacancies for each trade without adverse impact upon the existing labor force. On the basis of specific information presented at the hearings indicating new jobs requirements and

replacement needs within the construction trades covered by these regulations, it is expected that there will be 3,000 new job opportunities in the Atlanta area through 1975. These projections are not inconsistent with conservative national statistics which reveal that approximately 7.5 percent of construction trade workers are replaced each year due to death, retirement, disability and outmigration.

(b) Timetable

In an effort to provide an affirmative action program and practical ranges for utilization of minority manpower which can be met by employers in hiring productive, trained minority craftsmen, these rules should be developed to cover an extended period of time. Testimony at the hearing indicated that a four year duration for the Plan is proper as the greatest need for additional manpower in the industry will take place during the first part of the decade. Therefore, it is found and determined that in order for these regulations to effect equal employment to the fullest extent, the standards of minority utilization should be determined for the next four years.

(c) Projected New Jobs

The annual percentage of new job opening per craft for selected trades from 1971-1975 are as follows:

1.	Asbestos Workers	-	10.0%
2.	Carpenters	-	7.5%
3.	Electricians	-	7.2%
4.	Elevator Constructors	-	6.5%

3000 openings ~~[illegible]~~ percentage of openings — based on total trade (not just union) & is attrition + growth —

5.	Glaziers	-	15.8%
6.	Iron Workers	-	4.4%
7.	Millwrights	-	6.5%
8.	Painters	-	9.4%
9.	Plumbers	-	6.6%
10.	Sheet Metal Workers	-	9.6%

60-8.15 Conclusions of Findings

(a) Current Minority Participation

It is found in the Atlanta area work force data submitted at the public hearings, that minority representation in the construction industry in general exceeds 27% while certain skilled trades in the same area and industry have an extremely low minority representation, e.g., electricians .5, elevator constructors 1.1, ironworkers 1.3, millwrights 1.0 and plumbers 1.6. Thus, it appears that the latter trades have a level of minority representation far below that which should have resulted from meaningful past participation in the industry without regard to race, color, or national origin. Therefore, it is determined that these rules are necessary to provide for minority participation in the following trades:

Asbestos Workers	Ironworkers
Carpenters	Millwrights
Electricians	Painters
Elevator Constructors	Plumbers
Glaziers	Sheet Metal Workers

(b) Effect of Plan

A construction contractor working in the Atlanta area could increase the minority participation in his trade significantly by hiring only minorities to fill new job openings (attrition plus growth). However,

to do so would inevitably result in the exclusion of qualified non-minorities from such job opportunities. Based upon the fact that the minority population in the Atlanta area is approximately 22.5 percent of the total population, upon the fact that the minority unemployment rate in the Atlanta area is greater than double that of non-minority unemployment, upon the fact that there exists substantial minority underemployment in the area and upon the further fact that significant and effective training programs now exist, it may be reasonably expected that in the filling of new and vacant jobs, effective affirmative action efforts should produce at least one minority applicant for each non-minority applicant for effective construction employment.

(c) Increased Minority Participation

If new and vacated positions in only the trades covered by these rules totaling approximately 3,000 through 1975 were filled by one minority worker for each non-minority worker, the resultant increased minority participation in those trades alone through June 1975 would be approximately 1,500 workers. On the basis of the findings indicated above, it is estimated that approximately 5,000 minority persons are presently available to fill such jobs, many of whom possess some degree of training. With the anticipated increase in those who should be available over the next four years, it appears that more than sufficient numbers of minority workers will be available to effectively fill new and vacated construction trade positions.

(d) Purpose of Ranges

By establishing ranges which anticipate good faith efforts by construction contractors to fill new and vacated jobs on at least a 1-to-1 minority-to-non-minority basis through June 1975, contractors may recruit from available minority manpower without displacing any existing craftsmen and without discriminating against any non-minority applicant for employment.

(e) Evaluation and Advisory Recommendations

The Department recognizes that the contractors, unions, and minority community, who must operate on a day-to-day basis under the requirements of these regulations, are in the best positions to evaluate the effectiveness of these regulations. Therefore, the Department shall make every effort to encourage and develop a voluntary committee representing these three groups, which committee shall periodically review the effectiveness of these regulations and make advisory recommendations to the Department in this regard.

Subpart C - Non-Discriminatory Purpose of the Plan; Requirements; Exemptions; Effective Date

60-8.20 Non-Discriminatory Purpose of the Plan

The purpose of the contractor's commitment to specific goals is to meet the contractor's affirmative action obligations and is not intended and shall not be used to discriminate against any qualified applicant or employee.

Pelison If sub has work force of 10 & they are permanent & he bids on that basis — & if he can't meet goal — then he should not bid not eligible — (Could lt part force based on Fed. K)

60-8.21 Requirements

After full consideration and in view of the foregoing it is determined that:

(a) No contracts or subcontracts shall be awarded for Federally and Federally-assisted construction in the Atlanta, Georgia area on projects whose estimated cost exceeds $500,000 unless the bidder completes and submits, prior to bid opening, the document identified as Appendix A, Notice of Requirement for Submission of Affirmative Action Plan to Ensure Equal Employment Opportunity or a substantially similar document, which shall include specific goals of minority manpower utilization for each trade designated below which will be used by the contractor on all of his work (both Federal and non-Federal) within the Atlanta, Georgia area, during the term of his performance of the contract, such goals to be established by the contractor at least within the ranges established in Appendix A of these regulations. Such Appendix is for all purposes a part of these regulations and shall be deemed a part of all contracts executed pursuant to these regulations. Minority manpower means, for the purposes of these rules, Negroes, Spanish Surnamed Americans, Orientals and American Indians. The trades utilizing the following classifications of employees are covered by these rules:

Asbestos Workers	Ironworkers
Carpenters	Millwrights
Electricians	Painters
Elevator Constructors	Plumbers
Glaziers	Sheet Metal Workers

(b) Each Federal agency shall include, or require the applicant to include, in the invitation for bids, or other solicitation used for a Federally-involved (Federal or Federally-assisted) construction contract, when the estimated total cost of the construction project exceeds $500,000, a notice stating that to be eligible for award, each bidder will be required to comply with Appendix A for the hereinbefore designated trades to be used during the term of the performance of the contract -- whether or not the work is subcontracted. The form of such notice shall be substantially similar to such Appendix A.

60-8.22 Exemptions

Requests for exemptions from these regulations must be in writing, with justification, to the Director, Office of Federal Contract Compliance, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210, and shall be forwarded through and with the endorsement of the agency head.

60-8.23 Effective Date

The provisions of this Part will be effective with respect to transactions for which the invitations for bids or other solicitations for bids, or additions or amendments thereto, are sent on or after the publication of these regulations.

Subpart D - Appendix A

60-8.30 Appendix A

For inclusion in the Invitation or Other Solicitation for Bids for a Federally-involved Construction Contract in the Atlanta, Georgia area, when the Estimated Total Cost of the Construction Project Exceeds $500,000.

NOTICE OF REQUIREMENT FOR SUBMISSION OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PLAN TO ENSURE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

NOTICE

TO BE ELIGIBLE FOR AWARD OF THE CONTRACT, EACH BIDDER MUST FULLY COMPLY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS, TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THIS APPENDIX A.

The following are hereby submitted by the undersigned bidder as its goals for minority manpower utilization ("minority" being Negro, Spanish Surnamed American, Oriental and American Indian) to be achieved on all work of the bidder within the Atlanta, Georgia area, during the terms of his performance of this contract in the trades specified below in conformity with the Requirements, Terms and Conditions of this Appendix A as hereinafter set forth:

Trade	Total number of Manhours to be Worked by Minority Persons on all Bidder's Projects within the Atlanta area including on this Contract, Expressed in Terms of a Percentage of the Total Number of Manhours to be Worked until June 30, 1972.
Asbestos Workers	
Carpenters	
Electricians	
Elevator Constructors	
Glaziers	
Ironworkers	
Millwrights	
Painters	
Plumbers	
Sheet Metal Workers	

Trade	Total Number of Manhours to be Worked by Minority Persons on all Bidder's Projects within the Atlanta area including on this Contract, Expressed in Terms of a Percentage of the Total Number of Manhours to be Worked from July 1, 1972, until June 30, 1973
Asbestos Workers	
Carpenters	
Electricians	
Elevator Constructors	
Glaziers	
Iron Workers	
Millwrights	
Painters	
Plumbers	
Sheet Metal Workers	

Trade	Total Number of Manhours to be Worked by Minority Persons on all Bidder's Projects within the Atlanta area including on this Contract, Expressed in Terms of a Percentage of the Total Number of Manhours to be Worked from July 1, 1973, until June 30, 1974.
Asbestos Workers	
Carpenters	
Electricians	
Elevator Constructors	
Glaziers	
Iron Workers	
Millwrights	
Painters	
Plumbers	
Sheet Metal Workers	

Trade	Total Number of Manhours to be Worked by Minority Persons on all Bidder's Projects within the Atlanta area including on this Contract, Expressed in Terms of a Percentage of the Total Number of Manhours to be Worked from July 1, 1974 until June 30, 1975.
Asbestos Workers	
Carpenters	
Electricians	
Elevator Constructors	
Glaziers	
Iron Workers	
Millwrights	
Painters	
Plumbers	
Sheet Metal Workers	

REQUIREMENTS, TERMS AND CONDITIONS

1. No contracts or subcontracts shall be awarded for Federal or Federally-assisted construction in the Atlanta, Georgia area on projects whose estimated cost exceeds $500,000 unless the bidder completes and submits, prior to bid opening, this document designated as Appendix A, or a substantially similar document, which shall include specific goals of minority manpower utilization for each trade designated below which will be used by the contractor on all his work (both Federal and non-Federal) within the Atlanta, Georgia area during the term of his performance of the contract, such goals to be established by the contractor at least within the ranges established by this Appendix in Section 3 thereof. Minority manpower means, for the purposes of this Appendix, Negroes, Spanish Surnamed Americans, Orientals, and American Indians. The trades utilizing the following classifications of employees are covered by this Appendix:

Asbestos Workers	Ironworkers
Carpenters	Millwrights
Electricians	Painters
Elevator Constructors	Plumbers
Glaziers	Sheet Metal Workers

A bidder who fails or refuses to complete or submit such goals shall not be deemed a responsive bidder and may not be awarded the contract or subcontract, but such goals need be submitted only for those trades which the contractor contemplates to be used in the performance

of the Federally-involved contract. In no case shall there be any negotiations over the provisions of the specific goals submitted by the bidder after the opening of bids and prior to the award of the contract.

2. The following ranges, constituting acceptable minimums within which a prospective contractor or subcontractor must establish his goals are hereby established as the standards for minority manpower utilization for each of the designated trades in the Atlanta, Georgia area for the next four years:

Trade	Range of Minority Group Employment Until June 30, 1972		
Asbestos Workers	13.5%	-	18.5%
Carpenters	7.1%	-	10.9%
Electricians	4.1%	-	7.7%
Elevator Constructors	4.3%	-	7.6%
Glaziers	7.9%	-	15.8%
Ironworkers	3.5%	-	5.7%
Millwrights	4.2%	-	7.5%
Painters	8.3%	-	13.0%
Plumbers	4.9%	-	8.2%
Sheet Metal Workers	4.8%	-	9.6%

Dillard: who left out and why -

Trade	Range of Minority Group Employment from July 1, 1972 Until June 30, 1973		
Asbestos Workers	18.5%	-	23.5%
Carpenters	10.9%	-	14.6%
Electricians	7.7%	-	11.3%
Elevator Constructors	7.6%	-	10.8%
Glaziers	15.8%	-	23.7%
Ironworkers	5.7%	-	7.9%
Millwrights	7.5%	-	10.7%
Painters	13.0%	-	17.7%
Plumbers	8.2%	-	11.5%
Sheet Metal Workers	9.6%	-	14.4%

Trade	Range of Minority Group Employment from July 1, 1973 Until June 30, 1974		
Asbestos Workers	23.5%	-	28.5%
Carpenters	14.6%	-	18.3%
Electricians	11.3%	-	14.9%
Elevator Constructors	10.8%	-	14.1%
Glaziers	23.7%	-	31.6%
Ironworkers	7.9%	-	10.1%
Millwrights	10.7%	-	14.0%
Painters	17.7%	-	22.4%
Plumbers	11.5%	-	14.8%
Sheet Metal Workers	14.4%	-	19.2%

Trade	Range of Minority Group Employment from July 1, 1974 Until June 30, 1975		
Asbestos Workers	28.5%	-	33.5%
Carpenters	18.3%	-	22.0%
Electricians	14.9%	-	18.5%
Elevator Constructors	14.1%	-	17.3%
Glaziers	31.6%	-	39.5%
Ironworkers	10.1%	-	12.3%
Millwrights	14.0%	-	17.2%
Painters	22.4%	-	27.7%
Plumbers	14.8%	-	18.1%
Sheet Metal Workers	19.2%	-	24.0%

goals apply to year when K signed &/or work expected to be performed — if signed in 1971, then 1971 goals apply — if a sub will perform in 1972 then that goal applies —

After the first year of the program, the standards (trades and ranges) set forth herein shall be reviewed to determine whether the projections on which these standards are based adequately reflect the construction labor market situation at that time. Reductions or other significant fluctuations in Federally involved construction shall be specifically reviewed from time to time as to their effect upon the practicality of the standards. In no event, however, shall the standards be increased or trades be added for the contracts after bids have been received.

The contractor's or subcontractor's goals established within the above ranges shall express the contractor's or subcontractor's commitment of the percentage of minority ~~personnel~~ on a hourly which would by who will be working in each specified craft on each of his projects (whether Federally involved or otherwise) within the Atlanta, Georgia, area during the term of the covered contract.

?

The man hours for minority workers must be substantially uniform throughout the entire length of the contract for each of the designated trades, to the effect that the percentage of minority workers in the designated trades must be working throughout the length of work on each project in each trade. The contractor or subcontractor shall be deemed to have met his commitment to specific goals for minority manpower utilization:

If total employment % by K^or is ok. then individual jobs may vary

α "a" on p26

(a) If the minority manpower utilization rate of the contractor or subcontractor itself meets the goals on the total of all of the contractor's or subcontractor's facilities within the Atlanta area provided, however, that if the contractor has denied equal employment opportunity, he shall not be in compliance with this Appendix, or

(b) If the contractor or subcontractor can establish that it is a member of a contractor's association or other employer organization or association, which has as one of its purposes the expanded utilization of minority manpower and the total utilization rate of minority craftsman by all member contractors and subcontractors of such an association or organization on all projects in which they are involved within the Atlanta area meets the contractor's or subcontractor's commitments, provided, however, that if the contractor has denied equal employment opportunity, he shall not be in compliance with this Appendix. or

(c) If the contractor or subcontractor can establish that it has a collective bargaining agreement with a labor organization, that it utilizes such organization as its source for over 80 percent of its manpower needs and (i) that the percentage total of minority membership of such organization and the total percentage of minorities referred for employment on all projects within the Atlanta area meets the contractor's or subcontractor's commitments or (ii) that such labor organization has made good faith efforts as described in 5. below in the referral of

If K^tr has K cancelled then, subs whose in compliant might be hurt (recourse to courts)

minorities for employment and the admission of minorities to membership, provided, however, that if the contractor has denied equal employment opportunity, he shall not be in compliance with this Appendix.

3. Whenever a contractor or subcontractor uses trades covered by this Appendix which were not contemplated at the time of his bid and he therefore does not submit goals for such trades, he shall be deemed to be committed to the minority group employment goal of the minimum percentage range for that trade for the appropriate year.

In the event that under a contract subject to this Appendix any work by a trade covered by this Appendix is performed after December 31, 1975, the minimum ranges of minority group employment for the year ending December 31, 1975, shall be applicable to such work.

4. The contractor's or subcontractor's commitment to specific goals is to meet affirmative action obligations and is not intended and shall not be used to discriminate against any qualified applicant or employee. Whenever it comes to the bidder's or contractor's attention that the goals are being used in a discriminatory manner, he shall immediately report that fact to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance of the U. S. Department of Labor in order that appropriate proceedings may be instituted.

5. The contractor's or subcontractor's (collectively hereinafter referred to as "contractor") commitment to specific goals for minority

manpower utilization as required by this Appendix A shall constitute a commitment that it or the labor organization described in 2(c) above, will make every good faith effort to meet such goals. If the contractor has failed to meet his goals, a determination of "good faith" will be based upon his efforts or those of such labor union to broaden its recruitment base which efforts shall include but not be limited to the following as applicable:

(a) Notification to the community organizations that the contractor or union has employment opportunities available and maintenance of records regarding the organizations' response.

(b) Maintenance of a file of the names and addresses of each minority worker referred by the union or to the contractor and what action was taken with respect to each such referred worker. If such worker was not sent to the union hiring hall for referral or if such worker was not referred by the union or not employed by the contractor, the file should document this and the reasons therefor.

(c) The contractor shall promptly notify the OFCC Area Coordinator when the union or unions with whom the contractor has a collective bargaining agreement has not referred to the contractor a minority worker sent by the contractor or the contractor has other information that the union referral process has impeded him in his efforts to meet his goal.

(d) Participation in training programs in the area, especially those funded by the Department of Labor.

(e) Dissemination of the contractor's or unions EEO policy within the respective organizations as applicable, by including it in any policy manual; by publicizing it in company or union newspapers, annual report, etc.; by conducting meetings to explain and discuss the policy; by posting of the policy; and by specific review of the policy with minority employees or members.

(f) Dissemination of its EEO policy externally by informing and discussing it with all recruitment sources; by advertising in news media, specifically including minority news media; and by notifying and discussing it with all contractors and subcontractors.

(g) Specific and constant personal (both written and oral) recruitment efforts directed at all minority organizations, schools with minority students, minority recruitment organizations and minority training organizations, within the contractor's or union's recruitment area.

(h) Specific efforts to encourage present minority employees or members to recruit their friends and relatives.

(i) Validation of all man specifications, selection requirements, tests, etc.

(j) Making every effort to provide after-school, summer and vacation employment to minority youths.

(k) Where reasonable, the development of on-the-job training opportunities and participation and assistance in any association or group training programs relevant to the contractor's or unions needs.

(l) Continuing inventory and evaluation of all minority personnel or members for promotional opportunities and encouragement of minority employees or members to seek such opportunities.

(m) Assuring that seniority practices, job classifications, etc. do not have a discriminatory effect.

(n) Assuring that all facilities and activities are non-segregated.

(o) Continual monitoring of all personnel activities to insure that its EEO policy is being carried out.

(p) The contractor shall solicit bids for subcontracts from available minority subcontractors with the trades covered by this Appendix, including circulation of minority contractor associations.

6. Each agency shall review contractors' and subcontractors' employment practices during the performance of the contract. If the contractor or subcontractor meets its goals or if the contractor or subcontractor can demonstrate that it or the labor union described in 2(c) above has made every good faith effort to meet those goals, the contractor shall be presumed to be in compliance with Executive Order 11246, the implementing regulations and its obligations under this Appendix.

and no formal sanctions or proceedings leading toward sanctions shall be instituted unless the agency otherwise determines that the contractor or subcontractor is not providing equal employment opportunities. Where the agency finds that the contractor or subcontractor has failed to comply with the requirements of Executive Order 11246, the implementing regulations and its obligations under its Appendix, the ageny shall take such action and impose such sanctions as may be appropriate under the Executive Order and the regulations. When the agency proceeds with formal action, it has the burden of proving that the contractor has not met the requirements of this Appendix, but the contractor's failure to meet his goals shall shift to him the requirement to come forward with evidence to show that he or his labor union has met the "good faith" requirements of this Appendix. Such non-compliance by the contractor or subcontractor shall be taken into consideration by Federal agencies in determining whether such contractor or subcontractor can comply with the requirements of Executive Order 11246 and is therefore a "responsible prospective contractor" within the meaning of the Federal procurement regulations.

7. Except as provided herein, it shall be no excuse that the union with which the contractor has a collective bargaining agreement providing for exclusive referral failed to refer minority employees.

Discrimination in referral for employment, even if pursuant to provisions of a collective bargaining agreement, is prohibited by the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It is the long-standing uniform policy of OFCC that contractors and subcontractors have a reasponsibility to provide equal employment opportunity if they want to participate in Federally-involved contracts. To the extent they have delegated the responsibility for some of their employment practices to a labor organization which does not meet the criteria prescribed in 5 above and they are, thus, prevented from meeting the obligations pursuant to Executive Order 11246, as amended, such contractors cannot be considered to be in compliance with Executive Order 11246, as amended, or the implementing rules, regulations and orders.

8. All prime contractors and subcontractors shall include in all bid invitations or other pre-bid communications, written or otherwise, with respect to their prospective subcontractors, the goals, as applicable, which are required under this Appendix. Whenever a prime contractor or subcontractor subcontracts a portion of the work in any trade designated herein, he shall include in such subcontract his commitment made under this Appendix, as applicable, which shall be adopted by his subcontractor, who shall be bound thereby and by this Appendix to the full extent as if he were the prime contractor. The prime contractor shall not be accountable

for the failure of his subcontractor to fulfill his requirements. However the prime contractor or subcontractor shall give notice to the Area Coordinator of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance of the Department of Labor and the contracting agency of any refusal or failure of any subcontractor to filfill his obligations under this Appendix. Failure of compliance by any subcontractor will be treated in the same manner as such failure by the prime contractor.

9. Contractors and subcontractors must keep such records and file such reports relating to the provisions of this Appendix as shall be required by the contracting or administering agency.

10. Nothing in this Appendix shall be interpreted to diminish the responsibilities of the contracting and administering agencies nor the obligations of contractors or subcontractors pursuant to Executive Order 11246 for those trades and those contracts not covered by this Appendix.

11. The procedures set forth in this Appendix shall not apply to any contract when the lead of the contracting or administering agency determines that such contract is essential to the national security and that its award without following such procedure is necessary to the national security. Upon making such a determination, the agency head will notify, in writing, the Director of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance within thirty days.

12. Nothing in this Appendix shall be interpreted to diminish the present contract compliance review and complaint programs.

13. Requests for exemptions from this Appendix must be made in writing, with justification, to the Director, Office of Federal Contract Compliance, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., 20210, and shall be forwarded through and with the endorsement of the agency head.

14. This Appendix shall be signed in the space provided below.

_____
(Bidder)

_____ By: _____
(Date)

Signed at Washington, D. C. this 18th day of June, 1971.

J D Hodgson
Secretary of Labor

William A Fletcher
Assistant Secretary for Employment Standards

John L Wells
Director, Office of Federal Contract Compliance

FEDERAL CONTRACT COMPLIANCE
JUN 23 1971
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Week of June 28, 1971

'ATLANTA PLAN' FOR WIDENING MINORITY
JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN CONSTRUCTION
ANNOUNCED BY LABOR DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON -- Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur A. Fletcher has announced implementation of an "Atlanta Plan" that sets equal employment standards in the construction industry.

The order establishing the minority-hiring plan was signed by Secretary of Labor J.D. Hodgson, Mr. Fletcher and Director John L. Wilks of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

The plan, which went into effect upon publication in the Federal Register, brings to four the number of Federally-imposed minority hiring plans in construction. Similar plans have been set in Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

In announcing the new plan, Mr. Fletcher said, "Atlanta area unions, contractors and minority groups had attempted for some time to develop a voluntary, home-town agreement for expanding minority job opportunities in construction. But since a voluntary solution was not forthcoming, the Labor Department felt a plan should be imposed at this time to provide a meaningful framework within which the parties in Atlanta may deal with the underutilization of minority group workers."

The new plan, which covers the five Atlanta area counties of Fulton, DeKalb, Cobb, Clayton and Gwinnett, envisions an increase of about 1,500 minority workers in 10 trades over the next four years.

(MORE)

7P- Atl. Blg Trades

Trades covered by the plan are asbestos work, carpentry, electrical work, glazing, iron work, millwrighting, painting, plumbing, sheet metal work, and elevator constructor work.

No contracts will be awarded for Federally-involved construction projects exceeding $500,000 unless the bidder agrees to specific minority hiring goals.

The contractor or subcontractor involved in these projects is required to make a "good-faith" effort to achieve these goals both in his Federally-involved and non-Federally involved construction work.

The plan was initiated after findings of public hearings held in March and April by the Labor Department showed minority workers have been prevented from fully participating in certain construction trades.

The findings revealed, for example, that although the overall minority population in the Atlanta area is approximately 22.6 percent and minority representation among journeymen in construction in that area is approximately 27.1 percent, very few of these minorities are located in the skilled trades.

The following percentages, constituting "acceptable" ranges within which a prospective contractor or subcontractor must establish his minority-utilization goals, are established over the next four years under the Atlanta Plan for the 10 covered trades:

-- June 1971 to June 30, 1972: asbestos workers, 13.5% to 18.5%; carpenters, 7.1% to 10.9%; electricians, 4.1% to 7.7%; elevator constructor, 4.3% to 7.6%; glaziers, 7.9% to 15.8%; ironworkers, 3.5% to 5.7%; millwrights, 4.2% to 7.5%; painters, 8.3% to 13.0%; plumbers, 4.9% to 8.2% and sheet metal workers, 4.8% to 9.6%.

What are current levels

(MORE)

-- July 1, 1972 to June 30, 1973: asbestos workers, 18.5% to 23.5%; carpenters, 10.9% to 14.6%; electricians, 7.7% to 11.3%; elevator constructors, 7.6% to 10.8%; glaziers, 15.8% to 23.7%; ironworkers, 5.7% to 7.9%; millwrights, 7.5% to 10.7%; painters, 13.0% to 17.7%; plumbers, 8.2% to 11.5%; sheet metal workers, 9.6% to 14.4%.

-- July 1, 1973 to June 30, 1974: astestos workers, 23.5% to 28.5%; carpenters, 14.6% to 18.3%; electricians, 11.3% to 14.9%; elevator constructors, 10.8% to 14.1%; glaziers, 23.7% to 31.6%; ironworkers, 7.9% to 10.1%; millwrights, 10.7% to 14.0%; painters, 17.7% to 22.4%, plumbers, 11.5% to 14.8%; sheet metal workers, 14.1% to 19.2%.

-- July 1, 1974 to June 30, 1975: asbestos workers, 28.5% to 33.5%; carpenters, 18.3% to 22.0%; electricians, 14.9% to 18.5%; elevator constructors, 14.1% to 17.3%; glaziers, 31.6% to 39.5%; ironworkers, 10.1% to 12.3%; millwrights, 14.0% to 17.2%; painters, 22.4% to 27.7%; plumbers, 14.8% to 18.1%; sheet metal workers, 19.2% to 24.0%.

It is expected that new job openings for the 10 crafts covered by the plan will total about 3,000 over the next four years. If new and vacated positions are filled on the basis of one minority worker for each non-minority worker, the increase in minority employment in those trades will be approximately 1,500 by June 1975.

"By establishing ranges which anticipate good-faith efforts by construction contractors to fill new and vacated jobs on at least a one-to-one minority-to-non-minority basis through May 1975," the order establishing the plan states, "contractors can recruit from available minority manpower without displacing any existing craftsmen and without discriminating against any non-minority applicant for employment."

Every other kind would be a minority worker?

(MORE)

The Labor Department's Manpower Administration is committed to make available "such funds as may be necessary to carry out reasonable and effective training programs" which further the objectives of the plan and which are consistent with President Nixon's March 1970 directive calling for a 50-percent increase in construction skills training over the next five years.

# # #

JUN 28 1971

Atl Bldg Trades

From the desk of Samuel J. Simmons

Attached please find the Federal Register items I promised to send at Secretary Romney's meeting on Wednesday afternoon, June 23, 1971.

Please notice that the deadlines for return comments vary.

Your comments are needed and they will be greatly appreciated.

Horace:
Please give me your reactions to attached -
Paul

Proposed Rule Making

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

[24 CFR Part 8]

[Docket No. R-71-111]

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY UNDER HUD CONTRACTS AND HUD ASSISTED CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS

Notice of Proposed Rule Making

The Department of Housing and Urban Development is considering amending Title 24 of the Code of Federal Regulations to include a new Part 8 entitled "Equal Employment Opportunity under HUD Contracts and HUD Assisted Construction Contracts." The proposed amendment, issued pursuant to 41 CFR 60-1.6(c) and Executive Order No. 11246, Equal Employment Opportunity, 31 F.R. 12319, establishes procedures for HUD administration of the equal employment opportunity policy in cases where HUD funds are involved.

Generally, under the proposed regulations, HUD would adopt the applicable provisions of 41 CFR Part 60-1 promulgated by the Department of Labor. However, in addition, § 8.25 *Award of contracts* sets forth specific steps to be followed by HUD with respect to the award of construction contracts in excess of $100,000, and nonconstruction contracts in excess of $50,000. Also, § 8.35 requires the filing of written affirmative action compliance programs in connection with construction contracts of $1 million or more. Section 8.100 sets the effective date as 60 days after publication in the FEDERAL REGISTER, applicable to all contracts which have not been executed as of that date.

Accordingly, interested persons are invited to participate in the making of the proposed rule by submitting written data, views, or statements with regard to the proposed regulations. Communications should identify the proposed rule by the above docket number and should be filed in triplicate with the Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C. 20410, not later than July 16, 1971. All relevant material will be considered before adoption of a final rule. Copies of comments submitted will be available for examination during business hours, both before and after the specified closing date, at the above address.

The proposed rule is issued pursuant to section 7(d) of the Department of Housing and Urban Development Act, 42 U.S.C. 3535(d).

The proposed Part 8 reads as follows:

PART 8—EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY UNDER HUD CONTRACTS AND HUD ASSISTED CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS

Sec.
8.1 Purpose.
8.5 Definitions.
8.10 Responsibilities.
8.15 Equal opportunity clause.
8.20 Exemptions.
8.25 Award of contracts.
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AUTHORITY: The provisions of this Part 8 issued under sec. 201, Executive Order 11246 30 F.R. 12319; and 41 CFR 60-1.6(c).

§ 8.1 Purpose.

This part prescribes standards and procedures for the Department of Housing and Urban Development in the implementation of its responsibilities as a compliance agency under Executive Order 11246; the rules and regulations of the Secretary of Labor, codified in 41 CFR Part 60, prescribed thereunder; and other rules, orders, instructions, designations, and directives issued by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, Department of Labor.

§ 8.5 Definitions.

(a) "Administering agency" means any department, agency, and establishment in the Executive Branch of the Government, including any wholly owned Government corporation, which administers a program involving federally assisted construction contracts.

(b) "Agency" means any contracting or any administering agency of the Government.

(c) "Applicant" means an applicant for Federal assistance from the Department involving a construction contract, or other participant in a program involving a construction contract as determined by the Department. The term also includes such persons after they became recipients of such Federal assistance.

(d) "Compliance Agency" means the agency designated by the Director on a geographical, industry, or other basis to conduct compliance reviews and to undertake such other responsibilities in connection with the administration of the order as the Director may determine to be appropriate. In the absence of such a designation, the Compliance Agency will be determined as follows:

(1) In the case of a prime contractor not involved in construction work, the Compliance Agency will be the agency whose contracts with the prime contractor have the largest aggregate dollar value;

(2) In the case of a subcontractor not involved in construction work, the Compliance Agency will be the Compliance Agency of the prime contractor with which the subcontractor has the largest aggregate value of subcontracts or purchase orders for the performance of work under contracts;

(3) In the case of a prime contractor or subcontractor involved in construction work, the Compliance Agency for each construction project will be the agency providing the largest dollar value for the construction projects; and

(4) In the case of a contractor who is both a prime contractor and subcontractor, the Compliance Agency will be

determined as if such contractor is a prime contractor only.

(e) "Construction work" means the construction, rehabilitation, alteration, conversion, extension, demolition or repair of buildings, highways, or other changes or improvements to real property, including facilities providing utility services. The term also includes the supervision, inspection, and other onsite functions incidental to the actual construction.

(f) "Contract" means any Government contract or any federally assisted construction contract.

(g) "Contractor" means, unless otherwise indicated, a prime contractor or subcontractor.

(h) "Department" means the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

(i) "Director" means the Director, Office of Federal Contract Compliance, U.S. Department of Labor, or any person to whom he delegates authority under the regulations of the Secretary of Labor.

(j) "Equal opportunity clause" means the contract provisions set forth in § 8.15 (a) or (b), as appropriate.

(k) "Facilities" as used in § 8.75, includes, but is not limited to waiting rooms, work areas, restaurants and other eating areas, time clocks, restrooms, wash rooms, locker rooms and other storage or dressing areas, parking lots, drinking fountains, recreation or entertainment areas, transportation, and housing facilities provided for employees.

(l) "Federally assisted construction contract" means any agreement or modification thereof between any applicant and any person for construction work which is paid for in whole or in part with funds obtained from the Government or borrowed on the credit of the Government pursuant to any Federal program involving a grant, contract loan, insurance, or guarantee, or undertaken pursuant to any Federal program involving such grant, contract, loan, insurance, or guarantee, or any application or modification thereof approved by the Department for a grant, contract, loan, insurance, or guarantee under which the applicant itself participates in the construction work.

(m) "Government" means the Government of the United States of America.

(n) "Government contract" means any agreement or modification thereof between any contracting agency and any person for the furnishing of supplies or services or for the use of real or personal property, including lease arrangements. Services, as used in this section includes, but is not limited to, the following services: Utility, construction, transportation, research, insurance, and fund depository. Government contract does not include (1) agreements in which the parties stand in the relationship or employer and employee, and (2) federally assisted construction contracts.

(o) "Hearing officer" means the individual or board of individuals designated to conduct hearings.

(p) "Modification" means any alteration in the terms and conditions of a contract, including supplemental agreements, amendments, and extensions.

(q) "Order" means Parts II, III, and IV of Executive Order 11246, dated September 24, 1965 (30 F.R. 12319), as amended by Executive Order 11375 dated October 13, 1967 (32 F.R. 14303), and any Executive Order amending or superseding such orders.

(r) "Person" means any natural person, corporation, partnership, unincorporated association, State or local government, and any agency, instrumentality, or subdivision of such a government.

(s) "Prime contractor" means any person holding a contract, and for the purposes of Subpart B (General Enforcement, Compliance Review, and Complaint Procedure) of the "rules and regulations", any person who has held a contract subject to the order.

(t) "Recruiting and training agency" means any person who refers workers to any contractor or subcontractor, or who provides or supervises apprenticeship or training for employment by any contractor or subcontractor.

(u) "Rules, regulations, and relevant orders" of the Secretary of Labor used in paragraph (4) of the equal opportunity clause means rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the Secretary of Labor or his designee issued pursuant to the order.

(v) "Secretary" means the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

(w) "Site of construction" means the general physical location of any building, highway, or other change or improvement to real property which is undergoing construction, rehabilitation, alteration, conversion, extension, demolition, or repair and any temporary location or facility at which a contractor, subcontractor, or other participating party meets a demand or performs a function relating to the contract or subcontract.

(x) "Subcontract" means any agreement or arrangement between a contractor and any person (in which the parties do not stand in the relationship of an employer and an employee):

(1) For the furnishing of supplies or services or for the use of real or personal property, including lease arrangements, which, in whole or in part, is necessary to the performance of any one or more contracts; or

(2) Under which any portion of the contractor's obligation under any one or more contracts is performed, undertaken or assumed.

(y) "Subcontractor" means any person holding a subcontract and, for the purposes of Subpart B (General Enforcement; Compliance Review, and Complaint Procedure) of the "rules and regulations," any person who has held a subcontract subject to the order. The term "First-tier subcontractor" refers to a subcontractor holding a subcontract with a prime contractor.

(z) "United States" as used herein shall include the several States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone, and the possessions of the United States.

§ 8.10 Responsibilities.

(a) *General.* The Department of Housing and Urban Development is responsible for: (1) Implementing the requirements of the order, the "rules and regulations," OFCC directives and all other rules, regulations, and orders issued pursuant thereto, and (2) obtaining the compliance of all contractors for which the Department is the Compliance Agency.

(b) *Contract Compliance Officer (CCO).* The Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity has been designated the Contract Compliance Officer (CCO) for the Department by the Secretary (35 F.R. 7138, May 6, 1970), and is responsible for developing and administering the Department's program under the order.

(c) *General Deputy Contract Compliance Officer (GDCCO).* The Deputy Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity has been designated the General Deputy Contract Compliance Officer (GDCCO) for the Department by the Secretary (35 F.R. 7138, May 6, 1970), to assist the Contract Compliance Officer in the performance of his duties. He is authorized to exercise the authority delegated to the Contract Compliance Officer.

(d) *Deputy Contract Compliance Officer (DCCO).* Each Assistant Regional Administrator for Equal Opportunity has been designated by the Contract Compliance Officer as Deputy Contract Compliance Officer (DCCO) for the Region in which he serves. Deputy Contract Compliance Officers are responsible for field administration of programs of contract compliance in conformity with directives and guidelines promulgated by the Contract Compliance Officer.

(e) *Heads of Program Areas.* Assistant Secretaries of the Department who are authorized to extend Federal financial assistance which involves construction work shall be responsible for effectuating the Order, "rules and regulations," OFCC directives, this Part 8, directives of the Department and all other rules, regulations, and orders issued pursuant thereto as they relate to construction contracts financially assisted by the Department.

§ 8.15 Equal opportunity clause.

(a) *Government contracts.* Except as otherwise provided, the following equal opportunity clause contained in section 202 of the Order shall be included in each Government contract entered into by the Department (and modification thereof if not included in the original contract):

During the performance of this contract, the contractor agrees as follows:

(1) The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated

during employment, without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to, the following: Employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer, recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post in conspicuous places, available to employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of this nondiscrimination clause.

(2) The contractor will, in all solicitations or advertisements for employees placed by or on behalf of the contractor, state that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(3) The contractor will send to each labor union or repesentative of workers with which he has a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding, a notice to be provided by the Department's contracting officer, advising the labor union or workers' representative of the contractor's commitments under section 202 of Executive Order 11246 of September 24, 1965, and shall post copies of the notice in conspicuous places available to employees and applicants for employment.

(4) The contractor will comply with all provisions of Executive Order 11246 of September 24, 1965, and of the rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the Secretary of Labor.

(5) The contractor will furnish all information and reports required by Executive Order 11246 of September 24, 1965, and by the rules, regulations, and orders of the Secretary of Labor, or pursuant thereto, and will permit access to his books, records, and accounts by the Department and the Secretary of Labor for purposes of investigation to ascertain compliance with such rules, regulations, and orders.

(6) In the event of the contractor's noncompliance with the nondiscrimination clauses of this contract or with any of such rules, regulations, or orders, this contract may be canceled, terminated or suspended in whole or in part and the contractor may be declared ineligible for further Government contracts in accordance with procedures authorized in Executive Order 11246 of September 24, 1965, and such other sanctions may be imposed and remedies invoked as provided in Executive Order 11246 of September 25, 1965, or by rule, regulation, or order of the Secretary of Labor, or as otherwise provided by law.

(7) The contractor will include the provisions of paragraphs (1) through (7) in every subcontract or purchase order unless exempted by rules, regulations, or orders of the Secretary of Labor issued pursuant to section 204 of Executive Order 11246 of September 24, 1965, so that such provisions will be binding upon each subcontractor or vendor. The contractor will take such action with respect to any subcontract or purchase order as the Department may direct as a means of enforcing such provisions including sanctions for noncompliance: *Provided, however,* That in the event the contractor becomes involved in, or is threatened with, litigation with a subcontractor or vendor as a result of such direction by the Department, the contractor may request the United States to enter into such litigation to protect the interests of the United States.

(b) *Federally assisted construction contracts.* Except as otherwise provided, the following language shall be included as a condition of any grant, contract, loan, insurance, or guarantee involving federally assisted construction which is not exempt from the requirements of the equal opportunity clause:

The applicant hereby agrees that it will incorporate or cause to be incorporated into any contract for construction work or modification thereof, as defined in the regulations of the Secretary of Labor at 41 CFR Chapter 60, which is paid for in whole or in part with funds obtained from the Federal Government or borrowed on the credit of the Federal Government pursuant to a grant, contract, loan, insurance, or guarantee, or undertaken pursuant to any Federal program involving such grant, contract, loan, insurance, or guarantee, the following equal opportunity clause:

During the performance of this contract, the contractor agrees as follows:

(1) The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to the following: Employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post in conspicuous places, available to employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided setting forth the provisions of this nondiscrimination clause.

(2) The contractor will, in all solicitations or advertisements for employees placed by or on behalf of the contractor, state that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(3) The contractor will send to each labor union or representative of workers with which he has a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding, a notice to be provided advising the said labor union or workers' representatives of the contractor's commitment under this section, and shall post copies of the notice in conspicuous places available to employees and applicants for employment.

(4) The contractor will comply with all provisions of Executive Order 11246 of September 24, 1965, and of the rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the Secretary of Labor.

(5) The contractor will furnish all information and reports required by Executive Order 11246 of September 24, 1965, and by rules, regulations and orders of the Secretary of Labor, or pursuant thereto, and will permit access to his books, records, and accounts by the Department and the Secretary of Labor for purposes of investigation to ascertain compliance with such rules, regulations, and orders.

(6) In the event of the contractor's noncompliance with the nondiscrimination clauses of this contract or with any of the said rules, regulations, or orders, this contract may be cancelled, terminated, or suspended in whole or in part and the contractor may be declared ineligible for further Government contracts or federally assisted construction contracts in accordance with procedures authorized in Executive Order 11246 of September 24, 1965, or by rule, regulation, or order of the Secretary of Labor, or as otherwise provided by law.

(7) The contractor will include the portion of the sentence immediately preceding paragraph (1) and the provisions of paragraphs (1) through (7) in every subcontract or purchase order unless exempted by rules, regulations, or orders of the Secretary of Labor issued pursuant to section 204 of Executive Order 11246 of September 24, 1965, so that such provisions will be binding upon each subcontractor or vendor. The contractor will take such action with respect to any subcontract or purchase order as the Department may direct as a means of enforcing such provisions, including sanctions for noncompliance: *Provided, however,* That in the event a contractor becomes involved in, or is threatened with, litigation with a subcontractor or vendor as a result of such direction by the Department, the contractor may request the United States to enter into such litigation to protect the interest of the United States.

The applicant further agrees that it will be bound by the above equal opportunity clause with respect to its own employment practices when it participates in federally assisted construction work: *Provided,* That if the applicant so participating is a State or local government, the above equal opportunity clause is not applicable to any agency, instrumentality or subdivision of such government which does not participate in work on or under the contract.

The applicant agrees that it will assist and cooperate actively with the Department and the Secretary of Labor in obtaining the compliance of contractors and subcontractors with the equal opportunity clause and the rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the Secretary of Labor; that it will furnish the Department and the Secretary of Labor such information as they may require for the supervision of such compliance; and that it will otherwise assist the Department in the discharge of its primary responsibility for securing compliance.

The applicant further agrees that it will refrain from entering into any contract or contract modification subject to Executive Order 11246 of September 24, 1965, with a contractor debarred from, or who has not demonstrated eligibility for, Government contracts and federally assisted construction contracts pursuant to the Executive order and will carry out such sanctions and penalties for violation of the equal opportunity clause as may be imposed upon contractors and subcontractors by the Department or the Secretary of Labor pursuant to Part II, Subpart D of the Executive order. In addition, the applicant agrees that if it fails or refuses to comply with these undertakings, the Department may take any or all of the following actions: Cancel, terminate, or suspend in whole or in part this grant (contract, loan, insurance, guarantee); refrain from extending any further assistance to the applicant under the program with respect to which the failure or refusal occurred until satisfactory assurance of future compliance has been received from such applicant; and refer the case to the Department of Justice for appropriate legal proceedings.

(c) *Subcontracts.* Each nonexempt prime contractor or subcontractor shall include the equal opportunity clause in each of its nonexempt subcontracts.

(d) *Incorporation by reference.* The equal opportunity clause may be incorporated by reference in Government bills of lading, transportation requests, contracts for deposit of Government funds, contracts for issuing and paying U.S. savings bonds and notes, contracts and subcontracts less than $50,000 and such other contracts as the Director may designate.

(e) *Incorporation by operation of the order and departmental regulations.* By operation of the order, the equal opportunity clause shall be considered to be a part of every contract and subcontract required by the order, the "rules and regulations" and these regulations to include such a clause whether or not it is physically incorporated in such contracts. The clause is applicable to every nonexempt contract where there is no written contract between the Department and the contractor.

(f) *Adaptation of language.* Such necessary changes in language may be made in the equal opportunity clauses as shall be appropriate to identify properly the parties and their undertakings.

§ 8.20 Exemptions.

(a) *General.*—(1) *Transactions of $10,000 or under.* Contracts and subcontracts not exceeding $10,000, other than Government bills of lading, are exempt from the requirements of the equal opportunity clause. In determining the applicability of this exemption to any federally assisted construction contract, or subcontract thereunder, the amount of such contract or subcontract rather than the amount of the Federal financial assistance shall govern. The Department, applicants, contractors, and subcontractors shall not procure supplies or services in less than usual quantities to avoid applicability of the equal opportunity clause.

(2) *Contracts and subcontracts for indefinite quantities.* With respect to contracts and subcontracts for indefinite quantities (including, but not limited to, open-end contracts, requirement-type contracts, Federal Supply Schedule contracts, "call-type" contracts, and purchase notice agreements), the equal opportunity clause shall be included unless the purchaser has reason to believe that the amount to be ordered in any year under such contract will not exceed $10,000. The applicability of the equal opportunity clause shall be determined by the purchaser at the time of award for the first year, and annually thereafter for succeeding years, if any. Notwithstanding the above, the equal opportunity clause shall be applied to such contract whenever the amount of a single order exceeds $10,000. Once the equal opportunity clause is determined to be applicable, the contract shall continue to be subject to such clause for its duration, regardless of the amounts ordered, or reasonably expected to be ordered in any year.

(3) *Work outside the United States.* Contracts and subcontracts are exempt from the requirements of the equal opportunity clause with regard to work performed outside the United States by employees who were not recruited within the United States.

(4) *Contracts with State or local governments.* The requirements of the equal opportunity clause in any contract or subcontract with a State or local government (or any agency, instrumentality or subdivision thereof) shall not be applicable to any agency, instrumentality or subdivision of such government which does not participate in work on or under the contract or subcontract. In addition, State and local governments are exempt from the requirements of filing the annual compliance report provided for by § 8.50 and maintaining a written affirmative action compliance program prescribed in §§ 8.30 and 8.35.

(b) *Specific contracts and facilities not connected with contracts.* The equal opportunity clause will not be required to be included in any contract or subcontract exempted by the Director under the provisions of 41 CFR 60-1.5(b) (1) or (2) provided such exemption has not been withdrawn under the provisions of 41 CFR 60-1.5(d).

(c) *National security.* Any requirement set forth in the regulations in this part shall not apply to any contract or subcontract whenever the Secretary determines that such contract or subcontract is essential to the national security and that its award without complying with such requirement is necessary to the national security. Upon making such a determination, the Secretary will notify the Director in writing within 30 days.

§ 8.25 Award of contracts.

(a) All Contracting Officers and all officers who approve applications for Federal financial assistance involving a construction contract, shall prior to approval follow either of the procedures in subparagraphs (1) or (2) of this paragraph:

(1) Notify the Contract Compliance Officer or appropriate Deputy as soon as practicable of the impending award of each nonexempt construction contract in excess of $100,000, the name and address of the prime contractor, anticipated time of performance, name and address of each known subcontractor and whether the prime contractor and known subcontractors have:

(i) Participated in any previous contract subject to the equal opportunity clause, and

(ii) Filed with the Joint Reporting Committee, the Director, an agency, or the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission all reports due under the applicable filing requirements.

(2) Consult a list (supplied by the Contract Compliance Officer) of contractors who have previously been found to be in noncompliance with equal opportunity requirements. In the event of an impending award to any contractor on such list, the Contract Compliance Officer or appropriate Deputy shall be advised and the procedures of paragraph (b), (c), and (d) of this section shall be followed.

(b) The Contract Compliance Officer or appropriate Deputy shall review the available information relative to the prospective prime contractor's equal opportunity compliance status and notify the Contracting Officer or Approving Officer of any deficiencies found to exist. A copy of such report shall be forwarded to the Director.

(c) Contracting Officers or Approving Officers shall: (1) Notify the bidder, offeror, or applicant of any deficiencies found to exists by the Contract Compliance Officer or appropriate Deputy, and (2) direct any bidder, offeror, or applicant so notified to negotiate with the Contract Compliance Officer and to take such actions as the Contract Compliance Officer may require.

(d) The award of any such contract shall be conditioned upon the Contract Compliance Officer's notification to the Contracting Officer or Approving Officer that the bidder, offeror, or applicant has taken action or has agreed to take action satisfactory to the Contract Compliance Officer, appropriate Deputy, or the head of the agency as provided in § 8.55(a). Any such agreement to take action shall be stated in the contract, if the Contract Compliance Officer so requires.

(e) In the case of nonconstruction contracts, all Contracting Officers shall:

(1) Notify the Contract Compliance Officer as soon as practicable of the impending award of each nonexempt, nonconstruction Government contract in excess of $50,000, the name and address of the prime contractor, anticipated time of performance, name and address of each known subcontractor and whether the prime contractor and known subcontractors have:

(i) Participated in any previous contract or subcontract subject to the equal opportunity clause;

(ii) Filed with the Joint Reporting Committee, the Director, an agency, or the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission all reports due under the applicable filing requirements; and

(iii) Developed and have on file at each establishment affirmative action programs pursuant to Part 60-2 of the "rules and regulations."

(2) The Contract Compliance Officer shall notify the Compliance Agency (designated pursuant to the Director's Order No. 1 and 41 CFR 60-1.3(d)) of the impending award of each contract covered by subparagraph (1) of this paragraph. Based upon the information furnished by the Compliance Agency, the Contract Compliance Officer shall advise the Contracting Officer to take such action with respect to the impending award as may be appropriate pursuant to the rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the Secretary of Labor and this Part 8.

(f) The invitation for bids for each formally advertised nonconstruction contract, shall include a notice, and Department officials shall state at the outset of negotiations for each negotiated contract, that if the award, when let, should exceed the amount of $1 million, the prospective contractor and his known first-tier subcontractors with subcontracts of $1 million or more will be subject to a compliance review before the award of the contract. No such contract shall be awarded unless a preaward compliance review of the prospective contractor and his known first-tier $1 million subcontractors has been conducted by the Compliance Agency within 12 months prior to the award. If an agency other than the Department is the Compliance Agency, the Department will

notify the Compliance Agency and request appropriate action and findings in accordance with this paragraph. In order to qualify for the award of a contract, a contractor and such first-tier subcontractors must be found to be in compliance pursuant to Part 60-2 of the "rules and regulations."

(g) A preaward compliance review may be conducted prior to award of contracts in any case where the CCO has reasonable grounds, based on a complaint, the Department's own investigation, or otherwise, to believe that the contractor or subcontractor is unable or unwilling to comply with the requirements of the equal opportunity clause. (Such reviews are in addition to those required pursuant to paragraph (f) of this section.)

§ 8.30 Affirmative action compliance programs—nonconstruction contracts.

Order No. 4 (41 CFR Part 60-2), issued by the Secretary of Labor, sets forth requirements for the development of affirmative action compliance programs for nonconstruction contractors.

§ 8.35 Affirmative action compliance programs—construction contracts.

(a) *Requirements of programs.* The Department or the applicant shall require each Federal or federally assisted construction prime contractor on projects costing $1 million or more, regardless of the number of employees, and each Federal or federally assisted construction prime contractor and subcontractor shall require each subcontractor on projects costing $1 million or more with a subcontract of $100,000 or more, regardless of the number of employees, to develop a written affirmative action compliance program.

(b) *Purposes.* The purposes of the written affirmative action program are:

(1) To identify areas of employment, employment policies and practices which require action by the contractor or subcontractor to assure equal employment opportunity to all employees and applicants for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

(2) To analyze these areas, policies, and practices to determine what actions by the contractor or subcontractor will be most effective in assuring equal opportunity; and

(3) To establish a plan to achieve employment opportunity through those actions identified as potentially most effective.

§ 8.40 Prebid requirements and conferences.

(a) In any area or for any class of contracts designated by the Director, or by the CCO, no bid invitations will be issued for any Federal or federally assisted construction contract unless such bid invitation contains definite minimum standards for affirmative action and a statement that contractors and subcontractors must meet such minimum standards to be eligible for award.

(b) Whenever the submission of a written affirmative action program is required before the award of a contract, definite minimum standards for such program shall be incorporated in the bid invitations or requests for proposal issued in connection with such contracts.

(c) When the Director or CCO so requires, a prebid conference will be held in which the minimum standards for affirmative action will be explained to those in attendance. All known prospective bidders will be notified of the date, time, and place of the prebid conference.

(d) Bids which fail to meet the standards prescribed shall be deemed nonresponsive and will not be considered for award.

§ 8.45 Participation in areawide equal employment opportunity programs.

Any contractor who is a participant in, or is a member of an organization or association which participates in, an areawide equal employment opportunity program which is approved by the Department and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance for the purpose of effectuating the goals of Executive Order 11246, may be deemed to be in compliance with the order by virtue of such participation and shall be exempt from the requirement of developing and maintaining a written affirmative action program, unless required to do so under the areawide equal employment opportunity program.

§ 8.50 Reports and other required information.

(a) *Requirements for prime contractors and subcontractors.* (1) Each prime contractor shall file, and each prime contractor and subcontractor shall cause its subcontractors to file annually, on or before the 31st day of March, complete and accurate reports on Standard Form 100 (EEO-1) promulgated jointly by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and Plans for Progress or such form as may hereafter be promulgated in its place if such prime contractor or subcontractor (i) is not exempt from the provisions of the "rules and regulations" in accordance with 41 CFR 60-1.5; (ii) has 100 or more employees; (iii) is a prime contractor or first-tier subcontractor; and (iv) has a nonexempt contract, subcontract or purchase order, serves as a depository of Government funds, or is a financial institution which is an issuing and paying agent for U.S. savings bonds and savings notes: *Provided,* That any subcontractor below the first tier which performs construction work shall be required to file such a report if it meets requirements of subdivisions (i), (ii), and (iv) of this subparagraph.

(2) Each person required by subparagraph (1) of this paragraph to submit reports shall file such a report with the Department within 30 days after the award to him of a contract or subcontract, unless such person has submitted such a report within 12 months preceding the date of the award. Subsequent reports shall be submitted annually in accordance with subparagraph (1) of this paragraph, or at such other intervals as the CCO or the Director may require. The Department, with the approval of the Director, may extend the time for filing any report.

(3) The Director, the CCO, or the applicant, on his own motion, may require a prime contractor or subcontractor to keep employment or other records and to furnish, in the form requested, within reasonable limits, such information as the Director, CCO or the applicant deems necessary for the administration of the order.

(4) Failure to file timely, complete and accurate reports as required constitutes noncompliance with the prime contractor's or subcontractor's obligations under the equal opportunity clause and is grounds for the imposition by the Department, the Director, an applicant, prime contractor or subcontractor, of any sanctions as authorized by the order and the "rules and regulations." Any such failure shall be reported in writing to the Director by the CCO as soon as practicable after it occurs.

(b) *Requirements for bidders or prospective contractors*—(1) *Previous reports.* Each bidder or prospective prime contractor and proposed subcontractor, where appropriate, shall state in the bid or in writing at the outset of negotiations for the contract: (i) Whether it has developed and has on file at each establishment affirmative action programs pursuant to 41 CFR Part 60-2; (ii) whether it has participated in any previous contract or subcontract subject to the equal opportunity clause and (iii) if so, whether it has filed with the Joint Reporting Committee, the Director, an agency, or the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission all reports due under the applicable filing requirements.

(2) *Additional information.* A bidder or prospective prime contractor or proposed subcontractor shall be required to submit such information as the CCO, the Deputy CCO, or the Director requests prior to the award of the contract or subcontract. When a determination has been made to award the contract or subcontract to a specific contractor, such contractor shall be required, prior to award, or after the award, or both, to furnish such other information as the Department, the applicant, or the Director requests.

(c) *Use of reports.* Reports filed pursuant to this section shall be used only in connection with the administration of the order and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or in furtherance of the purposes of the order and said Act.

§ 8.55 Compliance reviews.

(a) *General.* The purpose of a compliance review is to determine if the prime contractor or subcontractor maintains nondiscriminatory hiring and employment practices and is taking affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed and that employees are placed,

trained, upgraded, promoted, and otherwise treated during employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. It shall consist of a comprehensive analysis and evaluation of each aspect of the aforementioned practices, policies, and conditions resulting therefrom. Where necessary, recommendations for appropriate sanctions shall be made. Where deficiencies are found to exist, reasonable efforts shall be made to secure compliance through conciliation and persuasion. Before the contractor can be found to be in compliance with the order, it must make a specific commitment, in writing, to correct any such deficiencies. The commitment must include the precise action to be taken and dates for completion. The time period allotted shall be no longer than the minimum period necessary to effect such changes. Upon approval of the Contract Compliance Officer, the appropriate Deputy, or the Secretary of such commitment, the contractor may be considered in compliance, on condition that the commitments are faithfully kept. The contractor shall be notified that making such commitments does not preclude future determinations of noncompliance based on a finding that the commitments are not sufficient to achieve compliance.

(b) *Regular compliance reviews.* Each Deputy Contract Compliance Officer shall institute a program of regular compliance reviews of those contractors and subcontractors for which he is assigned responsibility.

(c) *Special compliance review.* The special compliance review of bidders, applicants, offerors, contractors, or subcontractors will be conducted at the request of the CCO or the Director, OFCC to determine compliance or ability to comply with the order, the "rules and regulations," these rules and regulations and directives issued pursuant thereto.

(d) *Reports*—(1) *Special compliance review reports.* A special compliance review report shall be provided to the CCO or the Director, OFCC, as directed.

(2) *Regular compliance review reports.* A report of each compliance review shall be forwarded to the CCO within 30 days after the regular review is conducted unless otherwise provided.

(3) *Preaward compliance review report.* A written report of every preaward compliance review required by the "rules and regulations," or otherwise required by the Director including findings, will be forwarded to the Director by the CCO within 10 days after the award for a postaward review.

(4) *Additional reports.* A written report of every other compliance review or any other matter processed by the Department involving an apparent violation of the equal opportunity clause shall be submitted to the Director. Such report shall contain a brief summary of the findings, including a statement of conclusions regarding the contractor's compliance or noncompliance with the requirements of the order, and a statement of the disposition of the case, including any corrective action taken or recommended and any sanctions or penalties imposed or recommended.

§ 8.60 Complaint procedure.

(a) *Who may file complaints.* Any employee of any contractor or applicant for employment with such contractor may, by himself or by an authorized representative, file in writing a complaint of alleged discrimination in violation of the equal opportunity clause. Such complaint is to be filed not later than 180 days from the date of the alleged discrimination, unless the time for filing is extended by the CCO or the Director upon good cause shown.

(b) *Where to file.* Complaints may be filed with the Director of OFCC or at any HUD Regional or Area Office, FHA Insuring Office or with the CCO. Any HUD employee receiving a complaint shall forward the complaint directly to the CCO or his designee. The CCO shall transmit a copy of the complaint to the Director within 10 days after the receipt thereof.

(c) *Contents of complaint.* (1) The complaint should include the name, address, and telephone number of the complainant, the name and address of the prime contractor or subcontractor committing the alleged discrimination, a description of the acts considered to be discriminatory, and any other pertinent information which will assist in the investigation and resolution of the complaint. The complaint shall be signed by the complainant or his authorized representative.

(2) Where a complaint contains incomplete information, the CCO shall seek promptly the needed information from the complainant. In the event such information is not furnished to the CCO within 60 days of the date of such request, the case may be closed.

(d) *Investigations.* For each complaint filed against a prime contractor or subcontractor for which HUD is the Compliance Agency, the CCO shall institute a prompt investigation and shall be responsible for developing a complete case record. A complete case record consists of the name and address of each person interviewed, and a summary of his statement, copies or summaries of pertinent documents, and a narrative summary of the evidence disclosed in the investigation as it relates to each violation revealed. When a complaint is filed against a prime contractor or subcontractor for which the Department is not the compliance agency, the CCO shall transmit the complaint to the Director for disposition.

(e) *Resolution of complaints.* (1) If the complaint investigation by the CCO shows no violation of the equal opportunity clause, he shall so inform the Director. The Director may request further investigation by the CCO.

(2) If any complaint investigation or compliance review indicates a violation of the equal opportunity clause, the matter should be resolved by informal means whenever possible. Such informal means may include the holding of a compliance conference. Each prime contractor and subcontractor shall be advised that the resolution is subject to review by the Director, and may be disapproved if he determines that such resolution is not sufficient to achieve compliance.

(3) Where any complaint investigation or compliance review indicates a violation of the equal opportunity clause and the matter has not been resolved by informal means, the CCO with the approval of the Director shall afford the contractor an opportunity for a hearing. If the final decision reached in accordance with the provisions of § 60–1.26 of the "rules and regulations" is that a violation of the equal opportunity clause has taken place, the CCO with the approval of the Director, may cause the cancellation, termination, or suspension of any contract or subcontract, cause a contractor to be debarred from further contracts or subcontracts, or may impose such other sanctions as are authorized by the order.

(4) When a prime contractor or subcontractor, without a hearing, shall have complied with the recommendations or orders of the CCO or the Director and believes such recommendations or orders to be erroneous, he shall, upon filing a request therefor within 10 days of such compliance, be afforded an opportunity for a hearing and review of the alleged erroneous action by the CCO or the Director.

(5) For reasonable cause shown, the CCO may reconsider or cause to be reconsidered any matter on his own motion or pursuant to a request.

(f) *Report to the Director.* Within 60 days from receipt of a complaint or within such additional time as may be allowed by the Director for good cause shown, the CCO shall process a complaint and submit to the Director the case record and summary report containing the following information:

(1) Name and address of the complainant.

(2) Brief summary of findings, including a statement as to the CCO's conclusions regarding the contractor's compliance or noncompliance with the requirements of the equal opportunity clause.

(3) A statement of the disposition of the case, including any corrective action taken and any sanctions or penalties imposed or, whenever appropriate, the recommended corrective action and sanctions or penalties.

§ 8.65 Hearings and sanctions.

(a) The Secretary with the approval of the Director may convene formal or informal hearings as he may deem appropriate for inquiring into the status of compliance by any prime contractor or subcontractor with the terms of the equal opportunity clause.

(b) The Secretary may propose or apply sanctions in the event of noncompliance by a contractor or subcontractor

with the requirements of the equal opportunity clause, subject to the limitations of the "rules and regulations," particularly § 60-1.27.

(c) The conduct of hearings and the proposal and application of sanctions shall be in accordance with the requirements of the order and of the "rules and regulations."

§ 8.70 Intimidation and interference.

The sanctions and penalties contained in Subpart D of the order may be exercised by the CCO or the Director against any prime contractor, subcontractor or applicant who fails to take all necessary steps to ensure that no person intimidates, threatens, coerces, or discriminates against any individual for the purpose of interfering with the filing of a complaint, furnishing information, or assisting or participating in any manner in an investigation, compliance review, hearing, or any other activity related to the administration of the order or any other Federal, State, or local laws requiring equal employment opportunity.

§ 8.75 Segregated facilities certificate.

Prior to the award of any nonexempt Government contract or subcontract or federally assisted construction contract or subcontract, the Department or the applicant shall require the prospective prime contractor, and each prime contractor and subcontractor shall require each subcontractor, to submit a certification, in the form approved by the Director, that the prospective prime contractor or subcontractor does not and will not maintain any facilities he provides for his employees in a segregated manner, or permit his employees to perform their services at any location under his control where segregated facilities are maintained; and that he will obtain a similar certification in the form approved by the Director, prior to the award of any nonexempt subcontract.

§ 8.80 Solicitations or advertisements for employees.

In solicitations or advertisements for employees placed by or on behalf of a prime contractor or subcontractor, the requirements of paragraph (2) of the equal opportunity clause shall be satisfied whenever the prime contractor or subcontractor complies with any of the following:

(a) States expressly in the solicitations or advertising that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

(b) Uses display or other advertising, and the advertising includes an appropriate insignia prescribed by the Director. The use of the insignia is considered subject to the provisions of 18 U.S.C. 701;

(c) Uses a single advertisement, and the advertisement is grouped with other advertisements under a caption which clearly states that all employers in the group assure all qualified applicants equal consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

(d) Uses a single advertisement in which appears in clearly distinguishable type the phrase "an equal opportunity employer."

§ 8.85 Access to record of employment.

Each prime contractor and subcontractor shall permit access during normal business hours to his books, records, and accounts pertinent to compliance with the order, and all rules and regulations promulgated pursuant thereto, by the Department or the Director for purposes of investigation to ascertain compliance with the equal opportunity clause of the contract or subcontract. Information obtained in this manner shall be used only in connection with the administration of the order and the administration of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and in furtherance of the purposes of the order and that Act.

§ 8.90 Notices to be posted.

Contractors and subcontractors required to do so by paragraphs (1) and (3) of the equal opportunity clause shall post notices to be provided by the CCO. Such notices shall be in compliance with the requirements of § 60-1.42 of the "rules and regulations."

§ 8.95 Program directives and instructions.

Appropriate program officials may issue such directives, procedures, and instructions as they consider necessary to achieve equal employment opportunity in programs administered by them, provided such issuances are not inconsistent with the provisions of the order, the rules, regulations, and directives of the Secretary of Labor or the Director, and these regulations. A copy of such directives, procedures, and instructions shall be submitted to the CCO for approval prior to issuance.

§ 8.100 Effective date.

The regulations contained in this part shall become effective _____ (60 days after publication in the FEDERAL REGISTER) for all contracts, solicitations, invitations for bids, or requests for proposals which shall be sent by the Department or an applicant on or after said effective date and for all negotiated contracts which have not been executed as of said effective date.

GEORGE ROMNEY,
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

[FR Doc.71-8205 Filed 6-10-71;8:51 am]

HUD-Wash. D. C.

AFL-CIO

Transmittal Slip

DATE: June 30, 1971

TO: Emory Via

FROM: E. T. Kehrer

☐ Note and File	☐ Prepare Reply For My Signature
☐ Note and Return To Me	☐ Take Appropriate Action
☐ Return With More Details	☐ Per Your Request
☐ Note and See Me About This	☐ Signature
☐ Please Answer	☐ Advice Please
☐ For Your Approval	☐ Attach Complete File and Return

COMMENTS:

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Atl Bldg Trades (#1)

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING
Room 725 - 1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

February 10, 1971

Mr. E. T. Kehrer, Southern Area Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
Suite 1422
40 Marietta St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

I am enclosing the following information on numbers of new apprenticeship registrations for the calendar years 1969 and 1970 for the crafts in Atlanta, as you requested in your letter of February 1st:

CRAFT	1969	1970
Central Georgia Sheet Metal JAC	51	25
Atlanta Roofers JAC	17	17
Atlanta Plasterers JAC	5	1
Atlanta Plumbers-Pipefitters JAC	43	1
Painting Industry Appr. Program	104	43
Atlanta Operating Engineers JAC	22	20
Atlanta Lathers JAC	16	3
Atlanta Iron Workers JAC	26	20
Atlanta Area Glaziers JAC	9	13
Atlanta Electrical JATC	79	60
Atlanta Cement Masons JAC	2	1
Atlanta Carpenters JATC	116	100
Atlanta Bricklayers JAC	35	19
TOTAL:	525	323

I trust this information is adequate for your study. Any time I can be of service, don't hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely,

William I. Elrod
WILLIAM I. ELROD
State Supervisor

EEO CONFERENCE AND
EXPLANATION
OF ATLANTA PLAN, 7/2/71

NAME	AGENCY
JODIE R. EGGERS	OFCC - ATLANTA
FRED WILKINS	OFCC - ATLANTA
NAT PIERSON	OFCC - WASHINGTON
James Harris	Community Relations Commission, City of Atlanta
MATTHEW J. Robbins	Environmental Protection Agency
DAVID M. AMBROSE	ASSOCIATED INDEPENDENT ELECT. CONTRACTORS - ATLANTA CHAPTER
M. STONER	ROBERT E. McKEE, INC
JIM DAVIS	SHEET METAL #85
Lance Knight	Model Cities Employment Center
Percy L. HARDEN	MAYOR'S OFFICE, ATL. GA.
J. T. Fagan	Employment Compliance Office Model Cities
E. T. Kehrer	AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept.
Phillip A. Williams	Asbestos Workers Local 48
Walter C. Rucker	AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Inst
EMORY F. VIA	Southern Regional Council, Inc.
George L. Pierson	Atlanta Chapter, Natl. Elec. Cont. Asso
[illegible]	[illegible]
Marion Lee	Plumber & Steamfitter Local 72
[illegible]	
Raymond E. Presley	Carpenters Local Union #2725
R. H. Miller	Glaziers Local Union 1940
George Candelle	North Ga. Bldg. Trades Council -
Robert L. Coker	Plumbers & Steamfitters #72
[illegible]	
Fred D. Taylor	Georgia Sub Contractors Assn
	Southern Christian Leadership Confer

Explanation of
Atlanta Plan

Ed Calhoun	Atlanta Business League
H. O. Arch? Fray	Roofing Local # 136
C L Wise	Painters District Council # 38
Joe Ann Toney	Atlanta NAACP
Earl Harper, Jr.	EEOC
Benjamin Spaulding	Atlanta Legal Aid Society, Inc.
(Mrs) Annie S Jackson	Economic Opportunity Atlanta
C W Lynn Jr.	SOL
Thomas M Scarborough	Georgia Department of Labor
S. J. Stokes	Ga. Dept. of Labor
G. G. Batchelor	Ga. Dept. of Labor
Don R. Bryant	Ga. Dept. of Labor
Joel J. Hewell	AMCA
Walter Cohen	AMCA
Bennie F. Scruggs	J. A. Jones Const. Co.
Lewis J Carter III	Southern Region National Labor League
Jim Bell	City of Atlanta (Mayor's Office)
Mac Baggett	City of Atlanta (Mayor's Office)
Julian S. Wiley	Grove Park Electric Co.
Orville Opp	Associated Independent Electrical Contractors Atlanta Chapter.
John Chambless	Ga. Branch, Assoc Gen Contractors
W Wilkins	Ga Subcontractors
WC Carmichael	Master Roofing + Sheet Metal Contractors Assn
H. Jack Bishop	Atlanta Metro Associated Plumbing Cont

NAME	DENOM., OR AGENCY	ADDRESS
EN SMALLWOOD	DEPT. OF LABOR - Office of Federal Contract Compliance	Room 806, 971-5563/5564 450 Seventh Ave., N.Y. N.Y. 10001
MARIAN R. NIXON	JSAC	475 RIVERSIDE, RM 1700A NY (NY)
JAMES H. LAIRD	SOCIETY OF FRIENDS	1515 Cherry St. Phila. Pa. 19102
John Powell	Minority Ministries Council	Box 370 Elkhart, Ind.
Arthur Caffeto	Mennonite Bd of Missions	
Cedric H. Tilberg	U.S. Service Projects	14th Constitution Ave E - WASH D.C.
EMORY F. VIA	Bd. of Social Ministry, Luth Ch in Amer	231 Madison Ave, New York, NY
	Southern Regional Council, Inc	5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga
THOMAS H. GIBBONS	DEPT. OF LABOR	WASH, D.C. 20210 - RM. 532
Lawrence McMaster	United Presby - Bd Nat. Missions	Rm 1108 475 Riv. Dr.
Ben Maddocks	CCSA - United Church of Christ	289 Park Ave S. NY NY
Allan Fisher	Comm. for Racial Justice - U.C.C	287 Park Ave. S. NY, N.Y. 10010
Charles Bremer	Joint Apprenticeship Regional	162 Fifth Ave 10010 691-066
Eddie L. JOHNSON	Joint Apprenticeship program	162 Fifth Ave. NY, 10010 691-0
JOHN F. LARBERG	NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR SOCIAL POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT	345 E. 46 St. - NYC - 10022 / 490-2900
CARL D. BROWN	Dept. of LABOR OFFICE OF FEDERAL CONTRACT COMPLIANCE	Room 806 450 7th AVE. N.Y. N.Y.
CARL A. VERGARA	GREATER NEWARK URBAN COALITION	24 Commerce St, Suite 802 Newark NJ 07102
Frank G. Gibson, Jr.	Presbytery of Newark	969 McCarter Hwy, Nwk 07102
RAYMOND C. CORBIN	PRESBYTERY OF NEWARK	969 McCARTER HWY. NEWARK 07102
Ed Rauff	Lutheran Council USA	315 PARK AV S.
Sophia Tarusso	Council on Church & Race, UPC	475 Riverside Dr., NYC 10027
E. A. SMITH	UNITED METH.	100 MARYLAND AVE - WASH D.C.
N. Reed	Bidwell	1509 Bidwell St Pgh Pa 15203
Rev. Hal Robinson	Bidwell Director Pgh Plan Adm Com.	1509 Bidwell St Pgh Pa 15203
Hulbert H. Samen	N.C.C. Social Justice Dept.	475 Riverside Dr.
LEON E MODESTE	Episcopal Church Center	815 SECOND AVE. N.Y.C.
MRS. V. PLUMMER		

AH Blk Fund

Week of July 5, 1971

FEDERAL GUIDELINES FOR REVIEWING EQUAL EMPLOYMENT IN CONSTRUCTION ISSUED

WASHINGTON -- Specific guidelines to assist in Federal reviews of the equal employment posture of Government construction contractors across the country have been issued by the Department of Labor.

Director John L. Wilks of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance said the guidelines provide a new government-wide standard and will cover all construction projects of Federally-involved contractors.

"For the first time," Mr. Wilks said, "Federal agencies will have comprehensive, step-by-step procedures for reviewing equal opportunity in construction work among Government contractors."

Mr. Wilks listed the review guidelines -- covering all phases of construction projects of Government contractors and subcontractors -- in a memorandum to heads of all Federal agencies.

There will be two "distinct and equally important" phases in each review of construction projects, the top Federal contract compliance officer said. He listed them:

-- First, the compliance officer of the agency involved will analyze the personnel policies, practices and programs of the prime contractor and subcontractors to determine possible problems.

-- Second, the compliance officer will conduct on-site visits and prepare a detailed compliance review report of what he finds.

"The number of persons in a particular trade on the job varies with the phase of building," Mr. Wilks said. "Therefore, it is important to schedule site visits when trades in which minority groups are typically less well represented will be on the job."

(MORE)

The guidelines call for four on-site visits during various stages of construction.

During the visits, the compliance officer will seek to verify the contractor's minority employment record and employee referral system to ascertain whether he is in compliance.

An important element of these on-site visits will be interviews with minority workers and non-minority workers in each trade included on the project.

Whenever a deficiency appears, the compliance officer is required to attempt conciliation within established framework of Federal contract regulations covering contractors.

If he succeeds in conciliation, a formal agreement will be executed. However, if the contractor refuses to correct a deficiency within a "reasonable" period of time, the contractor will be considered not complying. In this event, the Federal compliance agency involved will issue to the contractor a notice to "show cause" as to why he should not be denied Federal contracts.

Where deficiences are found, a regular monthly progress report will be required. Continued uncorrected deficiences will result in hearing that could lead to contract cancellation and debarment.

If a contractor has a collective bargaining agreement providing for exclusive referral of workers, it will be no excuse for being out of compliance if the union fails to refer minority employees.

"Discrimination in referral for employment, even if pursuant to provisions of a collective bargaining agreement, is prohibited by the National Labor Relations Act and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," Mr. Wilks said.

(MORE)

Prior to making the on-site inspection, the compliance officer will gather information on the contractor's current work force in the area; the contractor's relationship with referral sources; the minority representation of his referral sources; the availability in the area of minorities with requisite skills, and any pending Federal cases involving the contractors, subcontractors or their referral sources.

# # #

Atl. Bldg Trades

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT
LANE KIRKLAND
SECRETARY-TREASURER

E. T. KEHRER, SOUTHERN AREA DIRECTOR
CIVIL RIGHTS DEPARTMENT
SUITE 1422 - 40 MARIETTA ST., N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 (404) 525-8549

July 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM

TO: North Georgia Building Trades Council

FROM: E. T. Kehrer

I think you will find the attached report on the Atlanta Urban League Labor Education Advancement Program (Lloyd X. Smith) of considerable interest, especially since it was made by an objective outside group.

ETK:sjs
opeiu #2
afl-cio

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

MANPOWER EFFORTS

—IN—

METROPOLITAN ATLANTA, GEORGIA

— by —

James A. Hefner

Clark College

(Assisted by I. James Davey)

CENTER FOR MANPOWER STUDIES

SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

JUNE, 1970

In November, 1969, a "JOBS 70" contract series was announced; this series modified and improved the program as follows:

1. Contracts would be accepted for the first time nation-wide. This would allow for greater participation by small employers.

2. Five hundred specially trained employment service personnel would assist employers in preparing their JOBS proposals.

3. Monthly pay-back amounts would be geared to the actual length of training. Formerly pay-back periods sometimes extended beyond training periods.

4. The conventional MDTA-OJT program would be merged to JOBS to eliminate duplication.[51]

Labor Education Advancement Program (LEAP)

The Labor Education Advancement Program (LEAP), a project under the sponsorship of the National Urban League, was established in 1966, with one objective in mind: to increase substantially the number of minority youths in apprenticeship programs of the building trades and construction crafts. To accomplish this end, the program emulated techniques employed by the Workers Defense League (WDL), a human rights organization which made impressive advances along these lines in New York City during the early sixties.

Even though WDL had been in existence prior to World War II, it was not until 1963 that the organization turned its attention to apprenticeships and, having become involved, attempts to effect change in this area soon became

the organization's primary objective.[52] One of the initial problems the New York organization ran into was the nonavailability of qualified recruits. It undertook, therefore, a thorough enlistment campaign which included going to schools (a long-term investment since most apprenticeship programs required high school diplomas); appeared before PTA meetings, because it was cognizant of the role parental influence played in filial career choices; asked YMCA directors to identify potential applicants, since the "Y" served as temporary home for many rural to urban transients; canvassed bars and poolrooms; solicited the help of every possible community organization concerned with minority youth; and, finally, derived the greatest number of recruits from the ranks of the underemployed: gas jockeys, car washers and soda jerks.

After recruitment, a preliminary aptitude screening test was administered. Since most youths were unaware of the wide range of apprenticeship programs available, the next step was counseling. It was during this process that WDL attempted to guide the aspirants into that field most nearly compatible with their abilities and desires. After an individual made his choice, intensive tutoring sessions started. These meetings, spanning a six to eight week period, were used "to develop test awareness and to impart knowledge." Preparation for the oral interview also was given, when necessary. After the examination was passed, WDL helped find

temporary jobs for its youth while they waited to enter their respective programs. In addition to the above help, the organization arranged for free medical examinations; it made loans and outright donations to its students; applications were processed; and appeal cases were prepared when applicable.

All of this was accomplished by a surprisingly small staff.

> The WDL staff is purposely kept small since "it is easier to be accountable for your actions" under such an arrangement. The format basically calls for three staff specialists: one to deal with the unions in order to learn the who's and where's of individual apprentiveship classes; one to deal with the applicants and to see that their credentials are in order; and one to take charge of tutoring the applicants to get them through the examinations.[53]

In 1966, when Whitney Young, Executive Director of the National Urban League, solicited the support of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the Council donated $30,000 for a three-year period,[54] and a Joint Urban League-Labor Program was set up for the purpose of bringing more blacks into labor. Out of this venture came LEAP (Labor Education Advancement Program), which received its first outreach grant from the U. S. Department of Labor in July, 1967.[55] LEAP was patterned upon the format of the WDL program and made use of the same techniques.

In June, 1968, the Atlanta LEAP organization began its operations from an office within the EOA target area known as "Vine City." High school graduates 17 through 25 years of age were recruited through the high schools, churches, civic organizations and "other community sources."[56]

Each individual was then given a battery of six tests to ascertain his aptitude. After he selected a craft, he was tutored to strengthen his position when he took the actual tests which were administered by the Georgia State Employment Service. According to a LEAP staff member, the most important part of the tutoring centered around the preparation for an aspirant's oral interview.[57] He was taught successful communication and given clues on how to sell himself as a successful employee. In review then, LEAP assisted its prospective apprentices in the following ways: (1) by assisting in the completion and filing of an application; (2) by administering apprenticeship-type tests; and (3) by preparing the aspirant for the oral interview. Those who passed the entrance requirements were then listed, by rank, based upon the above three factors. When selected, the individual began a probationary period of three to six months at a minimum salary of $3.00 an hour. After this period, the individual was launched into a three to five year apprenticeship program. Once the applicant was accepted, LEAP theoretically served as coordinator between the individual and the employer. Follow-ups also included statistical accountability of those persons indentured through the efforts of the organization.

The Atlanta LEAP staff was comprised of three full-time members; a director, an associate director, and an administrative associate. Six part-time instructors also assisted

in the tutoring sessions.

To give a precise evaluation of the program is difficult both because official reports are conflicting and officials were uncooperative in providing information. For example, the administrative associate (who performed secretarial duties) was reluctant to divulge statistical information. Such information was supplied by either the director or the associate director, both of whom were either "out of the office at the present time" or "on vacation". After two weeks of endeavors, an interview was finally secured with the adminstrative associate (neither of the other two officers was available); during the interview, attempts to secure statistics were turned aside with, "We don't know what the retention percentage is. These boys just drop out of the programs and don't call us to let us know. Many of them don't seem interested in the first place; they don't like to get their hands dirty".[58] When pressed further for data, the reply was "Oh, I'd guess we have a 60 to 65 percent retention rate". A sheet of statistics was supplied during the interview; it showed a cumulative total of 128 blacks indentured from program inception through December, 1969, with 18 individuals "dropped".[59] If this were the case, the retention rate would have been 86 percent.

Because of federal governmental funding, the LEAP organization was under contractual agreement to furnish statistics giving the numbers of indentured apprentices and the number of dropped indentured individuals which had been placed in

programs through its efforts. This information was for publication in the U. S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration Outreach Program activity summary charts. Although such information was not due for publication until early in 1970, it was secured in its final form late in 1969;[60] these figures showed a retention rate of 71 percent.

Thus, three sources of data concerning the same topic (black apprentices indentured through Atlanta LEAP efforts) and covering the same time period (from program inception through December, 1969), were conspicuously inconsistent (60-65 percent, 86 percent, 71 percent). What made the discrepancies even more inconceivable was the fact that ultimately the Atlanta LEAP organization had issued all three sets of statistics from its own office.

Needless to say, further research was considered necessary. In an attempt to discover the actual number of black indentured apprentices who had been placed in programs by LEAP efforts, and who were still indentured at the end of 1969, it was necessary to contact JAC (Joint Apprenticeship Committee) officers of all eleven Atlanta unions which had black apprentices at that time.[61] Table 65 is a comparison of the figures supplied by LEAP to the U. S. Labor Department's Manpower Administration Outreach Program with figures obtained from JAC officials. The JAC figures were also to be filed with the U. S. Department of Labor, but through its Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

TABLE 65

NEGRO INDENTURED APPRENTICES IN ATLANTA
DECEMBER, 1969

Program	LEAP Figures	JAC Figures*	Total of JAC Negro Apprentices
Atlanta Electrical JATC	3	1	2
Atlanta Masonry JAC	3	-	20
Atlanta Roofers' JAC	31	-	12
Atlanta Carpenters' JATC	29	3	7
Central Ga.Sheet Metal JAC	2	-	1
Atlanta Lathers' JAC	14	15	65
Atlanta Painters' JAC	18	10	16
Atlanta Area Glaziers' JAC	-	-	6
Atlanta Plasterers' JAC	-	-	40
Atlanta Cement Masons' JAC	1	1	45
Atlanta Operating Engineers JAC	4	-	2
Machinists Placed at Lockheed**	5	(5)	(5)
Total	110	35	221

The preceding table does not imply that there were only 35 black indentured apprentices in Atlanta in December, 1969. There were actually 221 such apprentices. For example, the Atlanta Plasterers had a total of 40 black apprentices, but LEAP did not claim credit for any of them, and rightfully so. On the other hand, LEAP claimed to have had 31 black apprentices in the Atlanta Roofers, when in actuality there was a grand total of only twelve, not one of whom was a LEAP recruit according to the union's business agent. Those 186 apprentices who were not indentured through LEAP efforts were brought into their respective programs mainly through the efforts of union members and other apprentices, some were

Table 65

* From interviews with W. A. Griffin, W. Johnson, Jr. Gray, J. Miles, M. Dixon, B. Elrod, -. Jackson, -. Fredwell, -. Miller, -. Count, and -. Deason

** Interview with Bill Elrod. Mr. Elrod verified this figure and added that while these men were not members of one of the Atlanta programs they were registered apprentices and LEAP should receive credit for them.

referred through the Georgia State Employment Service and YOC, while the remainder were recruited through schools and word of mouth, according to JAC officers. One coordinator who claimed to have been recruiting through area vocational and high school for a number of years said, "One of the LEAP officials came up to me last September (1969) and told me to quit recruiting in Negro schools, because that's where he worked and he didn't want any competition."[62]

Thus, one finds that, in actuality, LEAP efforts had led to the indenture of only 35 of the 221 total black apprentices who were still in programs at the end of 1969. If, in fact, LEAP had recruited and originally placed 128 apprentices, this displayed a retention rate of only 27 percent for their efforts. Even more damaging is the fact that of the total number of Atlanta black apprentices (221), only 15.8 percent were attributable to this organization whose sole justification for existence lay here.

In order to place Atlanta LEAP efforts in their proper perspective, it was felt necessary to compare its retention rate with the rates of three other Southeastern cities which had LEAP programs in December, 1969. The Jacksonville, Florida, program had a retention rate of 55 percent, the Miami, Florida, LEAP project had a 73 percent retention rate, while the New Orleans, Louisiana, figure was 81 percent.[63] The Atlanta figure (27 percent) was, therefore, half that of the lowest figure of the other three cities. Based upon these

data, it could hardly be contended that Southern racial prejudices were the contributing factor of Atlanta's depressing ratio.

The reasons had to lie deeper. According to the Director of the Civil Rights Division of AFL-CIO for the Southeast, the reason for the poor retention rate was attributable to the lack of on-the-job follow-up which LEAP was supposed to provide the apprentices. "The first six months to a year are the most difficult, the boys need encouragement and if they don't get it, they get discouraged and drop out. The people at LEAP admit to no responsibility for follow-up".[64]

When questioned about the lack of follow-up, the administrative associate conceded that it was not done on a regular basis, but defended LEAP's inability to provide it due to staff shortages. (It is interesting to recall that WDL purposely kept their staff small for easier accountability). When asked to outline the duties of each of the three LEAP officers, the respective job descriptions were read to the interviewer out of a booklet entitled "LEAP Standard Operating Procedures".

Dissatisfied with the answers received, further research was undertaken. It brought to light some disturbing facts. The LEAP director, in addition to his full-time duties, was involved with Manpower Development Programs for the Atlanta Urban League. He was also director of a black contractors group; furthermore, he was a business partner in a

corporation, which acted as general consultants with respect to federal procurement and federal guarantees, engaged in land development and improvement and general business promotions. He was also the registered agent for the corporation of Bankhead-West, Contractors and Developers, Inc. Lack of follow-up was no longer a mystery but a new question now appeared unanswered; with the myriad of jobs in operation from the LEAP office, how could the organization find time to place apprentices? The following replies and other similar ones were received from the JAC coordinators:

"They would call me and say they were sending me some people and they never did show up".

"If the director says he had a single apprentice in this organization due to his efforts, he's a damned liar. He's supposed to have come down here two or three times to bring boys and to talk to me. He's never even shown up, leave alone the boys".

"LEAP has contacted me and I've talked to them and been told there'd be people to call on me and I've never seen them, no one ever came".

"Indenture' to us means when a signed apprenticeship agreement is received in this office and certified. Their (LEAP's) interpretation is when someone says, 'I'll take three boys if they meet our qualifications'. So LEAP tells three boys, 'You go to this address and they'll give you a job in the apprenticeship program'. If the boys don't make it, so what? LEAP still says, "We indentured three boys'".

"They're not too damn regular".

Only two of the eleven coordinators felt they received individuals on a satisfactory basis from LEAP:

"I'd say that almost all of our boys come through the LEAP program".

"As far as we're concerned we've got a real good working relationship with LEAP. They call me and let me know about one and when I get one I call them. But I don't work with them that close".

Thus it seemed that in a majority of cases Atlanta LEAP was counting apprentices who had never existed. Maybe the actual ratio between those truly indentured and those retained in programs was not so dismal as inflated figures would indicate. If this be the case, why were the figures exaggerated? Part of the answer could be found in the need to "appear busy" but the most condemning reason seemed to lie with the LEAP director's attitude:

> . . . The director was meeting with us and he bowled me over when he said, "Our goal is to get thirty-three bodies in apprenticeship programs. We don't care how long they stay, just so we meet our quota". I swear to God that he said that, and Ive got witnesses who heard it, too.[65]

If the statements and accusations on this and preceding pages could be accepted with credence, their sole validity and purpose lie not in their truthfulness or even in their consequential imputation of the LEAP director. Their only utility must be to bring into rather sharp focus the urgent need for new leadership in the Atlanta LEAP program. Or, as one individual put it:

> "As far as I'm concerned one of the problems we have is the guy charged with our programs in wearing so many hats that he may not be as effective as we'd like to see him. Our concern is not how many business he gets into, our concern is that the program functions properly".[66]

For as disgruntled as many JAC coordinators were with LEAP's present leadership they repeatedly praised the purpose and the goals of the program:

> "When the program first started I tried to work closely with them, but they pulled such deals all the time I finally just gave up. But I still think the idea of the program is fine".

"Our idea is, given time, an organization like this can show more progress than any other, because it is something that takes time and what they're doing is instilling in helping them get a start by getting them into these apprenticeship programs".

"LEAP is a good program; it is what is needed". . . my overall viewpoint is that this is the right approach and as far as the program is concerned, I'd like to see it stay in existence and as years go by it'll become more and more useful until it serves its purpose".

In this program, as in so many others, the problems rested not with its theory or philosophy but rather with its implementation, or lack thereof.

Youth Employment Project (YEP)

Another program designed to help young people find meaningful jobs in Atlanta during the sixties was the Youth Employment Project (YEP). This program was established by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in February, 1969, as a job referral service. The project, which was funded for three years by the organization's Local Contribution Fund, was set up in five cities: Oklahoma City, Baltimore, Memphis, Philadelphia, and Atlanta. YEP functioned as a private employment agency dependent upon field contacts and job information placed with it by industry.

The objective was to recruit, counsel, refer, and follow up on young minority member applicants who applied for jobs through its office.[67] Recruitment was accomplished through the news media and by word of mouth. The counseling consisted primarily of easing the applicant's mind about the job interview and suggesting a manner of dress and punctuality. It did not include training but the agency referred

BAT REPORT
ON
OUTREACH PROGRAM
MONTHLY ACTIVITY REPORT
BASED ON BAT OFFICIAL RECORDS

U. S. Department of Labor
Manpower Administration

#5

Contractor Atlanta Urban League, Inc.

Report for Month of: March

City and State Atlanta, Georgia

Contract Number: 34-0-0001-007

Execution Date: 8/27/70

Termination Date 8/31/71

Contract Objective:

No. apprentice indentures 100

No. other placements if specified in contract:
Journeymen _____ Other workers _____

	Construction Industry			All Other Industry		
	Cumulative Total For all prior Contracts	Cumulative Total For Current Contract	Total During Report Month	Cumulative Total For all prior Contracts	Cumulative Total For Current Contract	Total During Report Month
No. apprentice indentures	107	13	8	5	0	0
No. indentured apprentices dropped:		55				
Voluntarily						
Dismissed						
Entered military service		1				
USE ONLY IF SPECIFIED IN CONTRACT:						
No. Journeyman placed						
Other workers placed						

Brief narrative by Project Director when appropriate to highlight significant accomplishments during report month, identify problem areas, or explain items in the report:

Signature of Project Director: _____

Date _____

Signature of BAT Representative: _____

Date _____

OUTREACH PROGRAM ACTIONS BASED ON BAT OFFICIAL RECORDS

CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY	Cumulative Total for all Prior Contracts		Cumltv. Total for Current Contract thru Report Month		Actions during Report Month	
	Appren.	Other	Appren.	Other	Apprentice Indentures	Journeyman or Other
Asbestos Worker						
Bricklayer	13		0			
Carpenter	36		2			
Cement Mason	2		0			
Electrician	3		0			
Elev. Const.	2		2			
Glazier						
Iron Worker						
Lathers	4		0			
Oper. Engnr.	4		0			
Painter	16		0			
Pipe Trade	4		0			
Plasterer	1		0			
Roofer	13		9			
Sheet Metal	4		0			
Tile Setter						
ALL OTHER INDUSTRY						
Machinist	5					

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Atlanta Bricklayers JATC

BAT Records of Indentures:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Isaac Anderson	Current indenture	9/2/68
Nathaniel Williams	Completed 10/28/70	9/2/68
James Shanks, Jr.	Current indenture	12/1/69
Freddie M. Woods	Current indenture	12/1/69
James F. Tucker	Current indenture	12/1/69
James Johnson	Current indenture	12/1/69
Henry T. Glass	Current indenture	12/1/69
Herman George, Jr.	Current indenture	12/1/69
Bailey N. Daniels	Current indenture	12/1/69
J. B. Barnum, Jr.	Current indenture	12/1/69
J. B. Blair	Current indenture	12/1/69
Matthew Blair	Cancelled	12/1/69
Hubert Peterson	Current indenture	12/1/69

Sponsor's Comments About Reported Indentures/Placements:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Leroy Cosey	No record of application or placement	10/1/68

The Coordinator informed me that LEAP has never sent him anyone. At one time Lloyd Smith came over there and wanted a list of his minorities. Smith then tried to take credit for these that he had not sent to them.

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Atlanta Cement Masons JAC

BAT Records of Indentures:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
R. C. Baker	Current indenture	2/4/70
Verlon Baker	Current indenture	2/4/70

Sponsor's Comments About Reported Indentures/Placements:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Walter Scott Willis	No record of application or placement	12/30/68

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Atlanta Residential Carpenters Local Union 2358

BAT Records of Indentures:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Howard J. Moore	Current indenture	5/19/69
John H. Wells	Suspended 2/28/70	5/19/69
James O. Clayton	Suspended 12/31/69	5/19/69
Kenneth Searcy	Suspended 5/31/70	5/3/69
Jimmy Washington	Suspended 12/31/69	5/22/69
Robert Williams	Suspended 12/31/69	5/26/69
Charles Seaborn	Suspended 11/30/69	5/30/69
James Wedges	Current indenture	2/5/71

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Atlanta Carpenters JATC

BAT Records of Indentures:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Lamar Gipson	Cancelled 12/11/68	6/19/68
Michael Cade	Cancelled 11/14/68	6/19/68
Willie Williams	Cancelled 11/14/68	6/19/68
Raymond Kelley	Cancelled 7/11/69	6/19/68
Edward Jenkins	Suspended Mil. Serv. 10/68	6/19/68
Charles Bridges	Cancelled 7/11/69	6/19/68
Walter McMullen	Cancelled 12/11/68	5/10/68
David Hardy	Cancelled 12/11/68	5/10/68
James Stroud	Cancelled 3/13/69	9/10/68
Eddie Butler	Cancelled	9/10/68
Aaron Carter	Cancelled 11/14/68	9/10/68
David Livingston	Cancelled 3/13/69	10/9/68
Leroy Owens	Cancelled	10/9/68
Grady Petty	Cancelled 12/11/68	
Jerome Johnson	Cancelled 11/12/69	
Ralph G. Weaver	Current indenture	5/19/69
Solomon Jones	Current indenture	5/19/69
Joel L. Middlebrooks	Cancelled 11/12/69	6/11/69
Edward E. Singleton	Cancelled 11/12/69	6/11/69
Eddie King	Cancelled 11/12/69	6/11/69
Edward L. Harvey	Cancelled 3/12/70	11/12/69
Charles Almond	Cancelled 2/11/70	11/28/69
Samuel Sankey, Jr.	Cancelled 10/14/70	6/11/70
Nathaniel Roberson	Cancelled 1/13/71	6/11/70
Walter Cromartie	Cancelled 10/14/70	6/11/70
Steve B.Ruff	Current indenture	6/11/70
Chauncey Jackson	Cancelled 10/14/70	6/11/70
Joyner Stepney*	Current indenture	2/11/71

Sponsor's Comments About Reported Indentures/Placements:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Donald Davis	No record of application or placement	8/10/68
Eugene Barnes	No record of application or placement	10/9/68
Alvin Griffin	No record of application or placement	12/30/68
Carmelo Rodriquez	No record of application or placement	5/19/69
Charles Lattimore	No record of application or placement	7/28/70
Walter Trigger	No record of application or placement	7/28/70
Darryl Oosley	No record of application or placement	7/28/70

*Dual registration - also Roofers

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Atlanta Electrical JATC

BAT Records of Indentures:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Gregory Reid	Current indenture	8/5/68
Lance Armour	Current indenture	8/18/69
James Greer	Cancelled 9/30/69	8/18/69

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Elevator Construction

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Carl R. Conley	NO APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM	3/31/71
Billy Wheatstone	NO APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM	3/6/71

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Atlanta Lathers JAC

BAT Records of Indentures:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Roy Curtis Brown	Current indenture	3/26/69
Eugene Jackson	Current indenture	3/26/69
Jimmy Ellen	Current indenture	4/1/69
Charles Benton	Current indenture	9/23/69

Sponsor's Comments About Reported Indentures/Placements:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Luther Avery	No record of application or placement	5/7/68
Lorenza Beck	No record of application or placement	5/7/68
John Avery	No record of application or placement	5/7/68
Charles Edward	No record of application or placement	5/7/68
Frederick Polly	No record of application or placement	5/7/68
John Foster	No record of application or placement	5/7/68
Melvin E. Hubert	No record of application or placement	9/10/69

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Lockheed-Georgia Co., Marietta, Georgia
(Machinists)

BAT Records of Indentures:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Starling Gordon	Current indenture	12/16/68
Harrison Dean	Current indenture	12/16/68
Andrew Clark	Current indenture	12/16/68
Jarrett C. Dean	Cancelled 4/24/69	12/16/68
Marion G. Jenkins	Current indenture	12/16/68

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Atlanta Operating Engineers JAC

BAT Records of Indentures:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Todd V. Rogers	Cancelled	6/30/69
Eugene White, Jr.	Cancelled	6/30/69
Leroy Moss	Current indenture	7/13/70
F. J. Brown	Current indenture	7/13/70

Sponsor's Comments About Reported Indentures/Placements:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Rudy Populas	No record of application or placement	12/30/68
Leroy Moses	No record of application or placement	12/30/68
Leroy Ferguson	Accepted by JAC but dropped before indentured	7/1/70
Johnny Usher	Accepted by JAC but never reported	3/31/71
Charlie Jones	Accepted by JAC but never reported	3/31/71
Johnny W. Smith, Jr.	Accepted by JAC but never reported	3/31/71
Marshall Archie	Accepted by JAC but never reported	3/31/71
John Rodgers	Enrolled in MDTA pre-apprenticeship training	3/31/71
Johnny Carter	Enrolled in MDTA pre-apprenticeship training	3/31/71
Roy Griffin	Enrolled in MDTA pre-apprenticeship training	3/31/71
Willie Milton	Enrolled in MDTA pre-apprenticeship training	3/31/71
Johnny Gloston	Accepted by JAC but never reported	3/31/71
Joel Williams	Enrolled in MDTA pre-apprenticeship training	3/31/71
Thomas Walker	Enrolled in MDTA pre-apprenticeship training	3/31/71
Robert Hendricks	Enrolled in MDTA pre-apprenticeship training	3/31/71

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Atlanta Painters-Decorators JATC

BAT Records of Indentures:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Willie J. Sampler	Cancelled 12/16/68	6/24/68
Kenneth Phillips	Cancelled 12/16/68	6/24/68
Lawrence Johnson	Cancelled 12/16/68	7/10/68
David Mosley	Cancelled 12/16/68	5/22/68
Marion Grimes	Cancelled 12/16/68	6/20/68
Lawrence Grier	Cancelled 12/16/68	6/20/68
Edward Grier	Cancelled 2/12/70	3/17/69
Louis L. Arnold	Cancelled 2/12/70	3/17/69
Gregory Jordon	Cancelled 2/12/70	3/17/69
James Gary Moore	Cancelled 2/12/70	3/17/69
Tommy Vance	Cancelled 2/12/70	3/17/69
Rufus White	Cancelled 2/12/70	3/17/69
Wilfred Shack	Cancelled 2/12/70	3/17/69
William L. Zackery	Cancelled 2/12/70	3/21/69
Lynn E. Kendrick	Cancelled 2/12/70	4/2/69
Benjamin D. Terrell	Cancelled 2/12/70	4/2/69

Sponsor's Comments About Reported Indentures/Placements:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Roy Holden	No record of application or placement	6/24/68
Robert A. Johnson	No record of application or placement	6/24/68
Ralph McMullen	No record of application or placement	5/1/68
James Brown	No record of application or placement	9/2/68
Bobby Bivien	No record of application or placement	?
Kenney Guidly	No record of application or placement	3/17/69
Willie C. Ryals	No record of application or placement	3/17/69
Syvester Huitt	Accepted 4/9/69, never showed up	3/17/69

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Atlanta Plasterers JAC

Sponsor's Comments About Reported Indentures/Placements:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Donald C. Birch	No record of application or placement	2/4/70

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Atlanta Plumbers-Fitters JAC

BAT Records of Indentures:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Willie Franks	Cancelled 1/25/71	7/27/70
Ray P. Taylor	Current indenture	7/27/70
James Johnson	Current indenture	7/27/70
Bobby Lee Simmons	Current indenture	7/27/70

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Atlanta Roofers JAC

BAT Records of Indentures:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Robert L. Allen	Current indenture	4/30/69
Willie Turner	Current indenture	4/23/69
Charles Grahan	Current indenture	11/12/69
Larry Green	Current indenture	2/12/70
Bruce A. Alexander	Current indenture	2/12/71
Leon Turner	Current indenture	2/12/71
William Hassell	Current indenture	2/13/71
Joyner Stepney*	Current indenture	3/23/71
James Citione	Current indenture	3/19/71
George Hinton	Current indenture	3/19/71
Larry Hughes	Current indenture	3/22/71
Edward Lee	Current indenture	3/8/71
Marshal Sheffield	Current indenture	3/4/71

Sponsor's Comments About Reported Indentures/Placements:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Robert West	No record of application or placement	6/14/68
Earnest Brown	No record of application or placement	6/14/68
Willie Marby	No record of application or placement	
Henry Scott	No record of application or placement	
Dairon L. Stroud	No record of application or placement	3/10/69
James Traylor	No record of application or placement	3/26/69
Roy Lee McGarity	No record of application or placement	4/30/69
Roger Bray	No record of application or placement	4/30/69
Edward Scudder	No record of application or placement	4/30/69
John Allen	No record of application or placement	4/30/69
Michael Sawyer	No record of application or placement	4/23/69
Alfonso Nunley	No record of application or placement	4/23/69
Robert Lee	No record of application or placement	4/25/69
Milton Keizer	No record of application or placement	4/25/69
Donald Brown	No record of application or placement	5/1/69
Claude H. Patrick	No record of application or placement	5/26/69
Herman Smith	No record of application or placement	6/20/69
Tony Lawson Cody	No record of application or placement	8/7/69
Willie Smith	No record of application or placement	8/14/69
Lewis Lamar	No record of application or placement	8/21/69

--Continued--

*Dual registration - also Carpenters

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS
Atlanta Roofers JAC - Page 2

Sponsor's Comments About Reported Indentures/Placements:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
David Culberson	No record of application or placement	8/26/69
Bruce Stewart	No record of application or placement	9/18/69
Gary Weems	No record of application or placement	9/18/69
Rufus Willis	No record of application or placement	11/11/69
Michael Hill	No record of application or placement	12/2/69
Charles Pettway	No record of application or placement	12/16/69
Nelson E. White	No record of application or placement	12/16/69
Melvin Britton	No record of application or placement	12/16/69
Timothy Fleming	No record of application or placement	9/29/70
Ralph Brint	No record of application or placement	9/29/70
Grady Morris	No record of application or placement	9/22/70
Nathaniel Brown, Jr.	No record of application or placement	9/24/70
Horace E. Johnson	No record of application or placement	9/25/70
Irby Young	No record of application or placement	9/19/70
Emory McKoy	No record of application or placement	9/30/70
Lonnie Brown	No record of application or placement	9/25/70
Charles Hinton	No record of application or placement	9/23/70
Bernard Washington	No record of application or placement	9/23/70
Willie Kirkpatrick	No record of application or placement	9/23/70
Bennie Don Looney	No record of application or placement	10/12/70
James Lawrence	No record of application or placement	10/18/70
Charles Almond	No record of application or placement	10/27/70
Albert Greer	No record of application or placement	2/13/71
Clifford R. Willis	Accepted, joined Service before indentured	3/8/71

ATLANTA OUTREACH PROJECT LEAP REPORT OF INDENTURES/PLACEMENTS

Central Georgia Sheet Metal JAC

BAT Records of Indentures:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Eugene Wilson	Cancelled 1/15/69	8/23/68
Ezell Brown	Cancelled 4/30/69	8/12/68
Maurice Dudley	Cancelled 9/12/69	8/26/69
Cleothel Moody	Current indenture	4/20/70

Sponsor's Comments About Reported Indentures/Placements:

NAME	STATUS	OUTREACH REPORT OF DATE PLACED
Rickey Bailey	Accepted by JAC, but no immediate work available and he joined the Air Force	4/8/70
Melvin Griffin	Accepted by JAC. No immediate work available. Has since been sent letter to report but never replied	5/6/70

M- AH. Bldg Trades

Week of October 18, 1971

MITCHELL APPOINTED TO MANPOWER POST;
TO HAVE EEO RESPONSIBILITIES IN APPRENTICESHIP

WASHINGTON -- James P. Mitchell, a 21-year veteran of the Labor Department, has been appointed Deputy Administrator of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT), Manpower Administrator Paul J. Fasser, Jr., has announced.

Mitchell will have a primary role in implementing the revised apprenticeship regulations governing "Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship and Training" which becomes operational in October.

Mitchell will be deputy to Administrator Hugh C. Murphy in managing the Bureau's promotional activities through its 160 field offices in major industrial cities in every State.

The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training is part of the Labor Department's Manpower Administration.

Mitchell has held positions as management analyst, administrative officer, assistant to the administrator for planning, and director of the office of program and budget in BAT.

A native of Kingston, Oklahoma, he was educated in the Tulsa public schools and worked as an apprentice and journeyman coremaker and foreman.

He joined the Federal service in 1950 as field representative in the BAT Oklahoma City office, providing advisory and technical services related to the training of apprentices to industry.

Prior to his transfer to Washington in 1960, Mitchell was selected by the Labor Department for participation in the Civil Service Commission Inter-Agnecy Management Intern Program in the field of operations research, with service in the Department of Agriculture.

Mitchell is married to the former Eileen Rock of Beaver, Okla. They reside in Adelphi, Md., have four children and six grandchildren.

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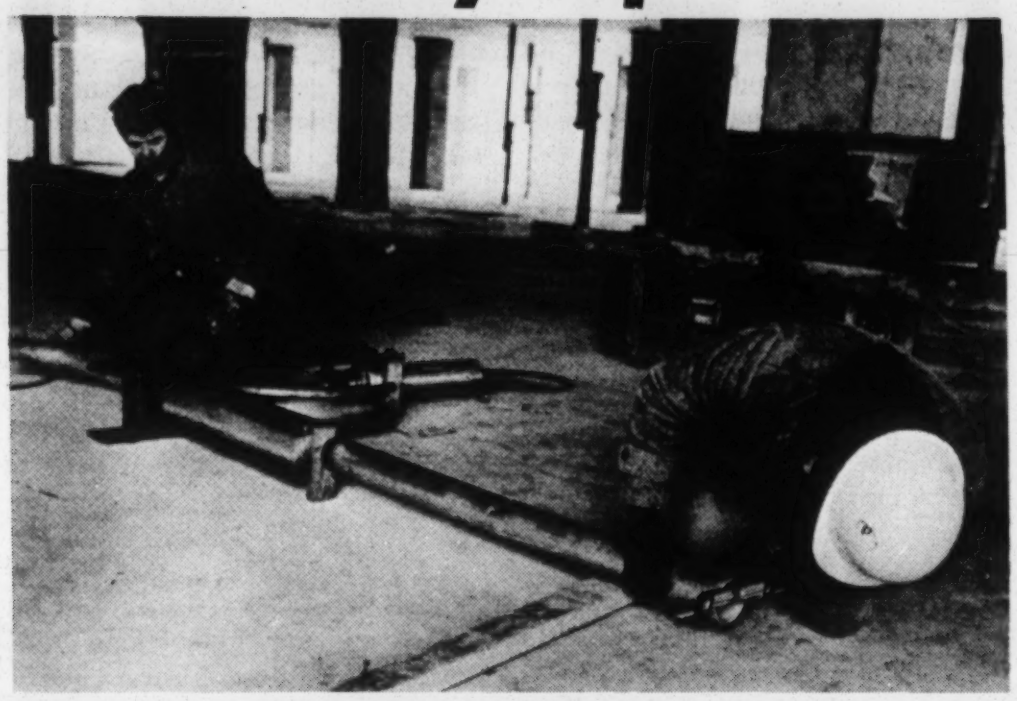
Atl. Bldg Trades

Plumbers On The Way Up



PIPEFITTER TACK WELDS pipe.

Plumbers and pipefitters are craftsmen who install pipe systems which carry water, steam, air and other liquids or gases needed for sanitation, industrial production or other uses.

Their number is expected to rise rapidly during the next decade. In addition to increased need for workers in the field, the amount of openings available will rise to replace pipefitters and plumbers who die, retire or transfer to other occupations.

Most plumbers and pipefitters are employed at construction sites by plumbing and pipefitting contractors. A substantial number of plumbers are employed by plumbing contractors doing repair, alteration and modernization.

Minimum Wage

The union hourly minimum wage averaged $5.73 and $5.70 on July 1, 1968, straight-time hourly benefits, excluding fringe benefits and payments to health, insurance and pension programs, for plumbers and pipefitters in 12 of the 68 cities selected to show wage information from various areas and regions of the country.

The work of plumbers and pipefitters is active and sometimes strenuous. They must stand for prolonged periods and occasionally work in cramped or uncomfortable positions because of the inaccessibility of many of the working places.

Apprenticeship

Most training authorities, including the joint labor-management apprenticeship committees for the plumbing and pipefitting industries, recommend a formal 5-year apprenticeship for plumbers or for pipefitters as the best way to learn all the aspects of the trades. A number of men in this field have acquired skills by working for several years with skilled craftsmen, by watching and receiving instruction from them.

Apprentices are usually required to be between the ages of 18 and 25 and in good physical condition. A high school education or its equivalent is generally recommended.

The apprenticeship program usually consists of 10,000 hours of on-the-job training, in addition to 144 hours of related classroom instruction annually. In the typical 5-year program the apprentice learns to use and care for their tools, equipment and the materials of the trade.

Further

For further information about plumber or pipefitter apprenticeships and work opportunities, inquiries should be directed to contractors, a local union of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry of the United States and Canada.

Other sources of information include: the nearest State apprenticeship agency or the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U. S. Department of Labor. In addition, the office of the State Employment Service may be a source of information about the Manpower Development and Training Act.

General information about the work of plumbers, pipefitters and sprinkler fitters may be obtained from:

National Association of Plumbing-Heating-Cooling Contractors
1016 20th Street North West
Washington, D. C. 20036

or

United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry of the United States And Canada
901 Massachusetts Ave. North West
Washington, D. C. 20001

Don't Give Up!

We are living in a time of much unemployment and uncertainty about the future. Not only have many workers lost their jobs because of the national business recession, but opportunities for young people to enter the world of work are more limited than they were two years ago or even last year.

No one knows for certain how long it may take the national economy to recover to the point where we will have full employment--which means a job for every willing and able worker, young and old, male or female. Business forecasts in some quarters are optimistic. Other sources take a dimmer view of the near future.

What To Do

In the face of such an uncertain business outlook, what should you do as a young man or woman hoping for a career that will bring adequate rewards in pay and in job satisfactions?

Finish high school, by all means, and get as much general education as you can along with acquiring whatever skills will help you eventually to find employment in the field of your choice. Then, if the general business climate has brightened by graduation times--as we hope it will--you will be able to be choosey about the kind of job you will take. And, if the economic situation continues bad, your education and vocational skills will give you an advantage in the keen competition for employment over those who dropped out.

A detailed survey by the Regional Plan Association indicates that the number of office jobs in the New York-New Jersey metropolitan region will double before the year 2000 and that this will require construction of additional office space equivalent to 300 Empire State Buildings. And right now, according to the Economic Development Council, at least 10,000 clerical positions in this city are going begging because employers can't find competent young people to fill them.

21 Per Cent Less Recruiting

On a higher level of education the College Placement Council has found that employers are doing 21 per cent less recruiting of 1971 college graduates than they did a year ago. The picture is spotty, with engineering graduates facing fewer job openings than business graduates. But the salaries being offered are as good, and in some cases higher, than they were last year.

All in all, the scene for this year's graduates, from high school or college, is not as grim as some reports have made it appear. And the better general education and vocational skills you can offer a prospective employer the better your chances will be.

Complete Your Education

Complete your schooling if you can. If you have already dropped out, you can qualify for a high school equivalency certificate by home study, or in classes conducted along with many free skills training courses that are given by a number of government agencies, employers and trade unions and by non-profit public service institutions.

Need For Laborers To Increase

New highways, dams, pipelines, water and sewer projects have steadily increased the need for construction laborers. Little formal training is required and union minimum wage rates averaged between $4.29 and $3.96 per hour on July 1, 1968.

A person acquires some basic skills once on the job, but good physical condition and the age of 18 are the only other qualifications.

All Types Of Projects

Construction laborers work on all types of buildings and construction projects. The work includes the loading and unloading of construction materials at the worksite and the shoveling and grading of earth. Laborers stack and carry materials, including small units of machinery and equipment, and do other work to aid the building craftsman.

Additional Job Openings

Employment of construction laborers is expected to increase slowly through the 1970's. Thousands of additional job openings will arise from the replacement of construction laborers who change occupations, retire or die.

The anticipated large increase in construction activity is expected to result in a growing demand for laborers. However, employment will be somewhat limited by the use of mechanical equipment.

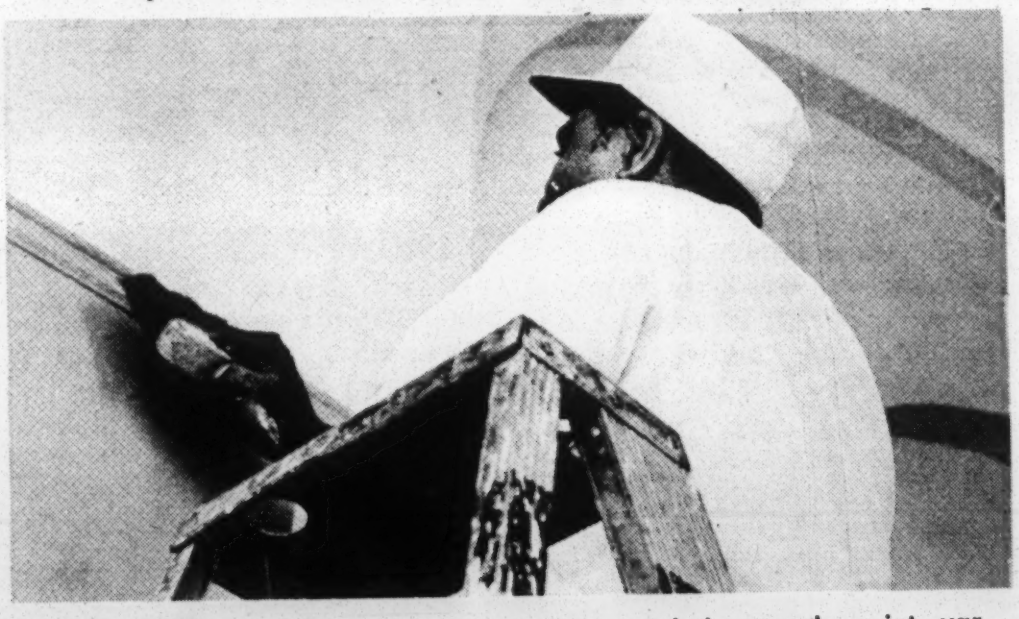
In New York the wages are especially high. The minimum hourly wage is a national high of $5.65.

Physically Strenuous

Construction work is physically strenuous. It requires bending, stooping, lifting, and other physical activity. Much of the work is obviously performed outdoors.

General information about the work of construction laborers may be obtained from:

Laborers International Union of North America
905 16th Street NW
Washington, D. C. 20006



PAINTERS PREPARE THE surfaces of structures and then apply paint, varnish, or other materials.

Apprenticeships Available

NEW YORK CITY -- A Plumbers Joint Apprenticeship Committee in Mt. Vernon is recruiting for 15 apprentices, State Industrial Commissioner Louis L. Levine said today

Applications -- which will be available until March 3 -- can be obtained at the office of Local Union No. 86, 27 Mt. Vernon Avenue, Mt. Vernon.

Further information can be obtained from the Apprentice Section, Division of Employment, New York State Department of Labor, 80 Centre Street, New York, New York 10013 or at the Apprenticeship Information Center, 255 West 54th Street, New York, New York 10019.

Construction Offers Top Wages

BRICKLAYERS (OR BRICKMASONS) are craftsmen who construct walls, partitions, fireplaces, chimneys, and other structures from brick.

The construction industry in New York, which includes a variety of trades and skilled crafts ranging from bricklayers and carpenters to plumbers, steamfitters, air conditioning mechanics and structural draftsmen, is at present training several thousand young men to qualify for careers of dignity with top union wages and the comfort and security of fringe benefits.

How Long Will Training Take

The training is acquired during apprenticeships, most of them varying in length from two to five years for the construction trades.

What Is The Pay Scale?

From the first day on, the learners are on a contractor's payroll, at $3 an hour or more in many instances, while working alongside experienced craftsman whom they serve as helper at the start. There are pay raises every six months under formulas agreed upon by employers and unions. Upon completion of the training period, which includes also classes in subjects related to their crafts, the apprentices are graduated to journeymen—proud workers who have not only mastered their craft — but gained maturity of judgment and a sense of responsibility that will stand them in good stead in all aspects of life.

Of all the apprentice programs in New York State and in this city, covering hundreds of different work classifications, more youths have chosen apprenticeships in the construction industry than in any other line of work. One reason is that wages are better than in many other so-called blue collar jobs and compare favorably with middle-level white collar types. An expert plumber-steamfitter, for instance, may with overtime bring home more money than a school principal. The man who handles one of the tall cranes on a highrise job earns more, at $16.10 an hour, than many an office executive. You must realize, however, that jobs at the top are not numerous.

What Are The Job Prospects In Construction?

In these changing times, building and construction continues to go ahead, regardless of the ups and downs of the national economy. When residential construction lags, contractors turn to their backlog of orders for office and industrial buildings. And when private projects go into low gear, there are government contracts for urban rehabilitation, new Federal buildings, bridges and highways.

Negative factors that will slow down the need for construction workers are new materials and new processes, such as pre-fabricated houses. All in all, there should be a moderate rise in the number of construction workers needed in the next decade.

What Kind Of Job Security Does The Construction Field Offer?

Apprentices are assured of continuity in training and employment. If the construction project to which an apprentice is assigned is completed, he is sent to another project. And when there isn't an immediate opening, he is paid a weekly stipend to attend training and classroom instruction.

How Many Apprentices Are There?

There are approximately 150,000 apprentices in the U. S. each year. There are, however, many more applicants than there are jobs.

Of 24,590 apprentices registered in all the State and Federally supervised programs in New York State as of last Dec. 30 (16,571 in State programs, 8,019 in Federal), more than 12,000 were in construction industry earn-and-learn courses. And about half of the construction industry apprentices, some 6,000, were in New York City. With an estimated 3,000 new apprentices expected to be accepted here, the number of construction apprentices in this city will probably rise to 7,000 this year, according to Frank J. Neher, regional director of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the U. S. Department of Labor.

What Does It Take To Be An Apprentice?

It takes determination, perseverance and work to go through an apprenticeship. None of the apprentice programs, says Mr. Neher, will welcome the youth who looks upon a trade apprenticeship "as a cop-out for a school drop-out."

"About half of all apprentices fail to complete the full program," Mr. Neher told The Light. "Some just haven't got the will to stay with anything for two or three or four years, whatever the requirement for the craft they chose. Some terminate their apprenticeship early to open a small business of their own. Some move out of New York."

What Are The Chances Of Getting Into An Apprenticeship Program?

When an apprentice drops out or when one completes the program and becomes a full-scale journeyman, an opening is created for a newcomer. **Some of the construction crafts have waiting lists of as long as a year.** In others, qualified applicants may get in much sooner. Announcement is made from time to time through the State Department of Labor of openings in specific programs, with deadlines for making applications and other pertinent information.

POWER SHOVEL OPERATOR delivers load to waiting truck.

CARPENTERS, THE LARGEST GROUP of building trades workers, are employed in almost every type of construction activity.

No announcements have been made so far for the new year.

The Joint Apprenticeship Committee of the Sheet Metal Industry of New York City took on 50 apprentices in January to begin four years of training in shops and on construction sites in this city and in formal classroom sessions. A new class of 50 will begin on July 1, but has already been filled.

What Kind Of Information Is Available?

The call for candidates, as issued last year, may serve as an example of the sort of information that is now available at the State Apprentice Information Center on West 54th Street concerning all the different apprentice programs.

The announcement described the duties of a sheet metal worker as follows:

"(He) fabricates, assembles, and installs sheet metal products and equipment used in ventilation and air conditioning, restaurant equipment, architectural sheet metal work, warm-air heating systems, sheet metal roofing and related industries. Selects gage and type of sheet metal to be fabricated. Locates and marks dimensions on the metal. Sets up and operates fabricating machines such as shears, brakes, bending rolls and punch and drill presses to form the metal. Sets up and operates soldering and welding equipment to join the sheet metal parts. Smooths seams, joints and other surfaces using files, buffers and grinders. Uses measuring instruments to inspect work and installation."

What Pay Rate Do Apprentices Receive?

The 1970 announcement listed the beginning pay of apprentices as $3.20 an hour, with increases of 40 cents every six months up to $6.40 an hour during the last six months of the apprenticeship, before attaining the journeyman scale of $8 an hour. It stated also: "After completing one year, apprentices receive welfare benefits (hospitalization, disability and medical), pension fund and vacation benefits."

What Are The Minimum Requirements?

It listed the following minimum requirements, with the age limit 18 through 23 years, except that an honorably discharged veteran's age limit

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OPENING OF THE Brooklyn office of the Department of Labor in July, 1963, in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn.

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can be extended by the number of years he served in the armed forces.

High school diploma or equivalency certificate is required. An aptitude test will be administered, and candidates will be examined by a physician to determine whether they are in physical condition to perform the required work. Applicants must pay a $10 fee when filing their applications.

The prerequisites, length of apprenticeship, wage scales and description of duties vary with the different trades. Of 255 different apprentice programs in the construction trades in this state, 153 require high school diploma or equivalency certificate, 78 require between six and 10th grade, and 24 programs have no educational requirement. Duration of apprenticeship runs from two years for lathers and structural ironworkers to five years for pipefitter, plumber and steamfitter, refrigeration and air-conditioning mechanic and electrician for the huge display signs.

Some programs require applicants to be citizens, or to have from one to three years residence in New York, and some bar applicants having a criminal record. Others have no such limitations. Information about these and other specifics is available without any charge at the Apprentice Information Center, where youths who find they lack one or more of the requirements are advised where they may obtain pre-employment training and help to enable them to pass the entrance requirements.

Which Construction Industries Have Apprentices?

Among the construction industry and allied trades available for apprentices are bricklayer, mason, plasterer, cement finisher, granite cutter, marble carver and cutter, stone mason, carpenter, millman, asbestos worker, pipe fitter, plumber, steamfitter, lead burner, metal and wire lather, wood lather, painter and decorator, painter, paperhanger, iron worker, ornamental ironworker, roofer, glazier, stain glass glazier, linoleum and resilient tile layer, soft tile and carpet layer, mosaic worker, terrazo worker, electrical lineman, electrician, sign electrician, electrical draftsman, architectural draftsman, structural draftsman, universal equipment operating engineer, grade and paving equipment operating engineer, and plant equipment repairman.

How Have The Construction Trades Changed?

The construction trades have come a long way up the social ladder as well as up the pay scale since the days when men dug the ditches with hand shovels instead of manipulating mechanical earth-moving monsters and other sophisticated equipment. The once lowly plumber is concerned today with new techniques in ecological conservation and preventing pollution of the nation's rivers.

Where Can I Get Information About The Various Apprentices?

The Apprenticeship Information Center, conducted by the New York State Department of Labor at 255 West 54th Street, is one of two repositories in this state (the other is in Buffalo) of all information about apprenticeships, the requirements for acceptance into the many different programs, pay scales, fringe benefits, nature of the job, where to make application for admittance, etc.

Application may be made also through the various participating unions, certain employers, employer-union councils, and organizations such as the N.A.A.C.P., the Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense League, Neighborhood Manpower Service Centers in the five boroughs, and through other advisory or recruiting services.

Your school guidance counselor would also have information about the various openings.

What Is The New York Plan?

The New York Plan is an equal opportunity proposition to allow 600 applicants to be accepted for apprenticeships. This plan would exclude the preferences given to sons and relatives of those already in the union. Those who are accepted for an apprenticeship would be accepted into the union after working a certain period of time.

Veterans Benefits Are Tax Exempt

Veterans benefits are generally exempt from taxation and need not be reported as income on income tax returns, the Veterans Administration announced today.

The VA said the only reportable item is interest earned on GI insurance dividends left on deposit or credit with the VA since this is considered earned income and a veterans' benefit.

GI insurance dividends themselves are not taxable, VA said, nor are proceeds from GI insurance policies.

Other major tax exempt benefits are compensation and pension, GI Bill and other educational assistance, subsistence payments to vocational rehabilitation trainees, and grants for homes or autos to severely disabled veterans.

Apprenticeship Programs Have Improved Greatly

There have been apprentices as far back in history as there have been skilled craftsmen, but the life of an apprentice has changed greatly— for the better within this century.

Throughout Europe and in colonial America, boys were indentured by their parents or by the masters of orphanages to craftsmen who agreed to teach them their trade. These boys, sometimes as young as ten years, were bound for long periods—often until they were 21—to the master craftsmen who paid them nothing or almost nothing and who fed them, often meagerly and poorly. Many youths were apprenticed to craftsmen or shop owners in cities distant from their parental homes.

Life for an apprentice, except for those fortunate enough to have a warm hearted master, was hard and dreary, with long hours of work, a hard cot to sleep on and little time between or the wherewithal for education or recreation.

A contract of indenture in Massachusetts, preserved from 1640, reads thus:

"Know all men that I, Thomas Millard, with the consent of Henry Wolcott of Windsor unto whose custody & care at whose charge I was brought over out of England into New England, doe bynd myself as an apprentise for eight yeares to serve William Pynchon of Springfield, his heires & assigns in all manner of lawful employment unto the full extent of eight yeares beginninge the 29 day of Sept. 1640 & the said William doth condition to find the said Thomas meat drinke & clothing fitting such an apprentise & at the end of his tyme one new sute of apparel & forty shillings in money."

As it turned out, young Thomas Millard never got the 40 shillings, the only cash payment provided for in the entire eight-year contract. The following statement was appended to the contract shortly before the eight years were up: "Thomas Millard by his own consent is released & discharged of Mr. Pynchons service this 22 of May 1648 being 4 months before his tyme comes out, in Consideration whereoff he loses the 40s in mony wch should have bin pd him, but Mr. Pynchon giveth him one New sute of Aparell he hath at present."

Apprentices Have Improved

In the three centuries since then the

Continued on Page 10

GUIDELINES

Men who build houses and roads have shaped our lives more than we realize. The ancient Romans built aqueducts which brought water into their homes; can you imagine what life would be like today if we had to walk down ten flights of stairs to get water? Tall buildings would be impossible without the invention of the elevator, of plumbing, of large panes of plate glass, of electric lighting, of the thousands of little conveniences which we take for granted.

From children's play with sand castles and toy dump-trucks, to skyscrapers and bridges, men have derived pleasure from the challenge of controlling nature's materials. This has developed into the nation's biggest industry, which provides 1 out of every 10 jobs. For every worker on a construction site, there are other workers who supply tools and materials, and still others in transportation and distribution industries.

Americans invented and developed a number of new techniques: the first elevator, the first steam shovel, the first skyscrapers. Other improvements such as power machinery, prefabricated finished units and new materials make the work easier, but the construction worker still needs to be husky and in good health. He usually has to stand or stoop for long periods of time outdoors, or indoors in unheated buildings.

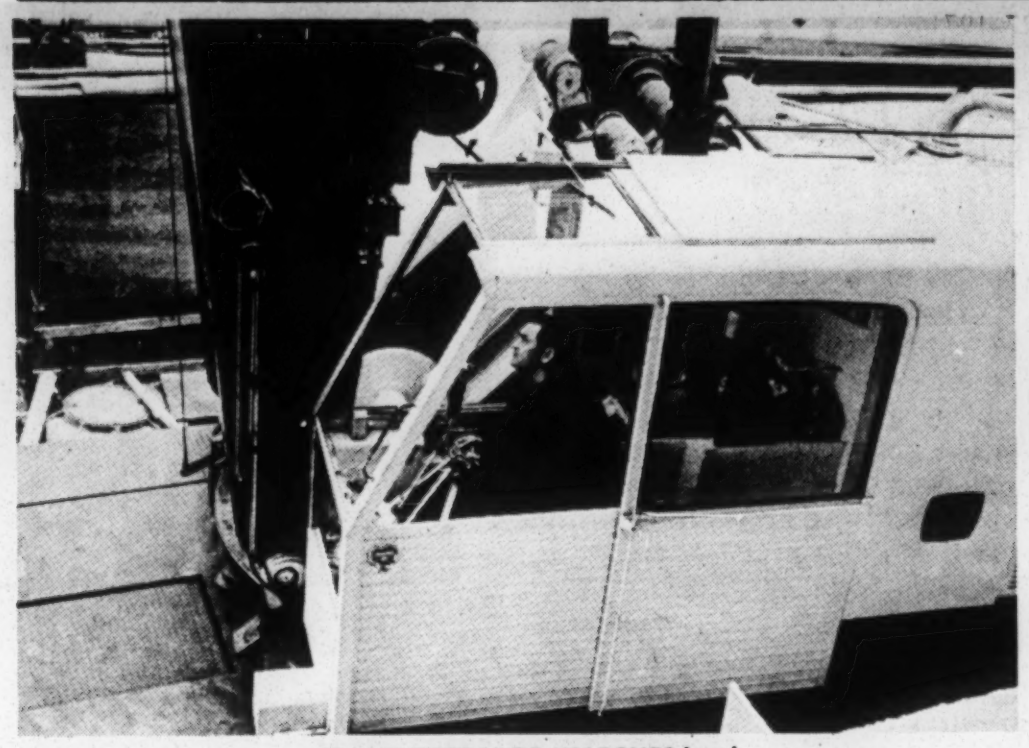
AVAILABLE to YOU. . .

THE NATIONAL APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM, a booklet explaining in non-technical language the national apprenticeship program, its aims and organization and how it operates, may be obtained free of charge by writing to the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., 20210, or to the nearest regional office listed in this pamphlet.

APPRENTICESHIP PAST AND PRESENT—A STORY OF APPRENTICESHIP IN THE SKILLED TRADES SINCE COLONIAL DAYS, a 31-page, illustrated, popularly written booklet describing the development of apprenticeship procedures and systems since Colonial days, may be obtained for 20 cents by writing to the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402.

Publications relating to apprenticeship in specific trades may be obtained on request, free of charge, by writing to the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., 20210.

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
Job outlook is good - housing of all kinds is needed	Work is seasonal, cuts into annual wages
Employment found in most localities	Jobs move from place to place
Hourly and weekly wages much better than for other manual workers	Accident rate is high, work is hard
Opportunities for over-time work and for self-employment	Bad weather causes delays
Good opportunities for those not planning to go to college.	Periods of unemployment between jobs



CRANE OPERATOR WATCHES load.

Jobs For Which Apprenticeship Training Is Available

Would you like to become an expert in a trade--to develop a skill that will command a good salary and a secure spot in the job world? One sure route is through apprenticeship training. Not the only way of course, but a good one with a big advantage: It is widely recognized by employers as an especially thorough training method. Besides this, the completion of an apprenticeship program makes entry level jobs easier to obtain; advancement faster.

Here is the list of occupations--selected from the Occupational Outlook Hand-book--for which you can train through apprenticeship programs.

Building trades

OCCUPATION (employment1966)	QUALIFICATIONS AND TRAINING	EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND TRENDS
Asbestos and insulating Workers (20,000)	Most learn through 4-year apprenticeship program.	Several hundred openings annually. Moderate employment increase.
Bricklayer (175,000)	Can be learned on the job, but 3-year apprenticeship is recommended.	Several thousand openings each year. Moderate rise in employment.
Carpenter (850,000)	Some learn skills informally on the job, but a 4-year apprenticeship recommended.	Slow increase in employment, but many openings each year in this very large occupation.
Cement Mason and Terrazzo Worker (55,000)	Can be learned on the job, but 3-year apprenticeship is recommended.	A few thousand openings yearly. Moderate increase in employment.
Electrician (Construction) (175,000)		Several thousand craftsmen will be required each year.
Floor Covering Installer (35,000)	Many learn skills on the job, but a 3-or 4-year apprenticeship recommended.	Several hundred openings yearly. Moderate increase in employment.
Lather (30,000)	At least a 2-year apprenticeship recommended, though many learn trade informally.	About 1,000 job openings annually. Moderate increase in employment.
Operating Engineer (Construction machinery operator) (275,000)	Many learn through informal training and experience, but a 3-year apprenticeship recommended.	Very favorable employment outlook. Rapid increase in employment.
Plasterer (50,000)	A 3- or 4-year apprenticeship recommended. Many learn through on-the-job experience.	A few thousand openings each year. Moderate increase in employment.
Plumber or Pipefitter (350,000)	A 5-year apprenticeship recommended, but many learn on the job. Trade or correspondence courses can be useful training aids.	Several thousand openings each year. Moderate increase in employment.
Roofer (60,000)	Many learn informally through on-the-job experience, but 3-year apprenticeship is recommended.	A few thousand openings annually. Moderate increase in employment.
Sheet-Metal Worker (55,000)	A 4-year apprenticeship recommended, though many learn through years of on-the-job experience. Trade or correspondence school	Moderate increase in employment. A few thousand openings annually.

Office, Construction Workers Will Be In Great Demand

High schools and colleges in the New York - New Jersey - Connecticut metropolitan area will be kept busy for the next several years preparing enough young men and women to meet the biggest demand ever for office workers at all levels if estimates newly announced by the Regional Plan Association are realized.

A detailed study of business and construction prospects in New York City and its ring of neighboring cities and suburbs has led the Association to predict that the number of office jobs in this region would double by the end of this century, requiring new office construction equivalent in space to 300 Empire State Buildings.

Office Construction Boom

The findings, made public on January 18, concluded that the predicted office construction boom "can be the instrument for saving our older cities with private investment." They indicated that Manhattan's central business district, which now has about half of all the office space within the metropolitan region, would get one-third of the new construction of the next 30 years.

The report said that the so-called "subcenters" around Manhattan — cities such as Newark, White Plains and Stamford — could attract companies to build office complexes there if they made their old downtowns more attractive to developers by building municipal parking garages and using urban renewal funds to clear slum sites for new office construction.

With New York still the national office headquarters for most major corporations and the showcase for their products, the limited area of Manhattan and its traffic and transportation problems make it necessary, according to the planners, for new companies and expanding older ones to seek office skyscrapers in Brooklyn and in the central business districts of neighboring cities.

40 Million Office Workers

The new offices will have to be staffed by thousands of workers having skills ranging from clerks, typists and stenographers to supervisors, managers, bank tellers and cashiers, salesmen, computer experts engineers and executives. The Regional Plan report said that fulfilling of those requirements would bring the number of office workers in the region, which had 16.8 million in 1964, to nearly 40 million by the year 2,000.

The anticipated immense increase in office jobs comes at a time when skilled office workers are already in short supply here. A survey by the Economic Development Council of New York City in November found that at least 10,000 clerical jobs in this city were going begging because businessmen and employment agencies could not find competent young people to fill them.

"Moving On Up"

About 60 youths, ranging in age from mid-teens to early 20's, sat in a basement room of the former Y.W.C.A. Annex on West 137th Street, waiting for the lights to dim so the movie would begin. Most of them were black, but there were also several Puerto Ricans, two Chinese and a youth with an Irish lilt.

"The film you're about to see is called 'Moving On Up in the Construction World,'" Gene Commander of the Harlem Teams for Self-Help, was saying. "There are good jobs at good pay in the construction trades, but you've probably heard how difficult it's been for minority groups to get into that industry.

Changes Have Been Made

"Well, there's been some changes made. This film, which is being shown in high schools through the city, will show you how you can now work up to those good-paying jobs and what you'll have to go through to get there."

Apprenticeship Program

The film opened on a scene of a young man being interviewed by a three-man panel of the Joint Apprenticeship Program. He wanted to get into the apprenticeship program of the steamfitters union. He gave his name as Jepsie Bright. Then, squaring his shoulders, he added, a bit louder:

"My national name is Akbar Ahmed Malakoon."

One of the union panelists, white, mentioned that at union meetings the members addressed one another as "brother."

"How do you feel about being called 'brother' by a white worker?" he asked the candidate.

"I don't mind it," was the rejoinder.

$3 An Hour To Start

The requirements of the steamfitter apprenticeship were explained. (The

Continued on Page 10

CONSTRUCTION CREW RELEASES concrete from bucket.

4-17-1971

Atl Bldg Trends [171]

Bayard Rustin Says:

Fletcher Undercuts Negroes With Union-Busting Campaign

AN ALLIANCE is now taking shape which, despite the professed intentions of some of its members, will set back the black struggle for economic advancement. It is an alliance between liberals who think they are helping blacks by hurting unions, and conservatives who want to appear to be helping blacks precisely in order to hurt unions.

The basis of agreement is to smash unions by using the open shop and other anti-union measures. The effect will be to irreparably harm blacks who depend upon unions for their economic security, all the "liberal" cant to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Nixon Administration, with its sophisticated brand of conservatism, provides the ideal setting for such an alliance to take shape. The Administration's policies, which have hurt both unions and blacks, have been vigorously denounced by the trade union and civil rights leadership.

In order not to lose votes as a result of its policy failures, the Administration has unleashed Agnew to win over "the worker," and it is trying to appeal to Negroes by attacking unions in the name of fighting union discrimination in the construction industry.

The most forthright expression of this "pro-black," anti-union posture was given by Assistant Labor Sec. Arthur A. Fletcher in a speech delivered last month before a meeting of open shop contractors. Mr. Fletcher had nothing but praise for "a President and an Attorney General who support a specific anti-discrimination program in this field."

There was no attempt to analyze why the President and the Attorney General—Attorney General Mitchell, that great friend of the Negro!—might be taking this course. Mr. Fletcher was interested only in proclaiming, with great exuberance, that the Administration had finally "whipped" the unions.

Mr. Fletcher, let us remember, was speaking to open shop contractors, people who don't care about the color of a worker's skin, as long as he's not in a union and does not have to be paid union wages.

The open shop contractors applauded his speech not because they like Negroes and are interested in their welfare, but because they don't like unions. They would hardly have applauded if Mr. Fletcher had called for full and equal participation of black workers in the building trades at union wage scales.

Mr. Fletcher warned the open shop contractors that they should not take advantage of the assault on unions by exploiting a new source of cheap black labor. "Too often in history," he said, "black people have been used as strikebreakers, only to be put aside by management, and discriminated against by employers, when they had served the purpose of breaking the union."

But the contractors applauded just the same because they've been around too long. They know full well that breaking unions and getting cheap labor go hand in hand, and that the appeals to higher motives are only icing on the cake. "It is your responsibility," Mr. Fletcher said, "to see that the civil rights movement is not perverted into an anti-labor, anti-worker movement."

IT IS SHOCKING that Mr. Fletcher could seriously make this appeal to open shop contractors who have never made any effort to hide their hostility to unions. They know what he doesn't know—that business is business, and that the objective of the businessman is not to fight for racial justice but to make money, and if that means cutting wages, then so be it. It is for this very reason that unions were formed in the first place.

What Mr. Fletcher did not tell the non-union contractors is that Negroes depend on unions even more than whites. According to a study just released by the U.S. Dept. of Commerce, "For Negro men working year-around full-time in blue-collar occupations, union members earned about 50 percent more than their nonunion counterparts." The ratio of union to nonunion wages for whites was a good deal lower.

It is one thing to call for full and equal opportunities for minority groups workers in the building trades. It is an entirely different matter to call for union busting, yet this is what Mr. Fletcher has done. I am sure he will not welcome the terrible consequences this will have for Negro workers, yet he (and the conservative Administration he represents) is following this course anyway.

One thing is clear: that when Mr. Fletcher spoke before the meeting of open shop contractors, his audience understood what he was saying better than he did himself. He said, "The fight is for racial justice," but they heard, "The fight is against unions." What they knew, and what Mr. Fletcher seems incapable of grasping, is that the fight against unions is ultimately a fight against blacks as well.

In Meeting Social Needs:

9-20-71

Labor Unit Expected To Back Fund Cutoff For Lag on Hiring Goals

HEW Secretary Terminates Pact Under Philadelphia Plan Held by Edgely, a Sheet-Metal Concern

9/20/71

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — The Labor Department is expected to speedily approve the first move by a federal agency to cut off federal funds for noncompliance with minority-hiring goals of the "Philadelphia Plan."

Elliott Richardson, Health, Education and Welfare Secretary, ordered terminated a contract under the Philadelphia Plan held by Edgely Air Products Inc., a Levittown, Pa., subcontractor doing sheet-metal work on a project at the University of Pennsylvania. He also barred the contractor from future federally supported contracts.

In signing the order, Mr. Richardson adopted the findings and conclusions of a federal hearing examiner, who last March held that Edgely Air Products had failed to satisfy the requirements of the Philadelphia Plan. The plan is the Nixon administration's controversial prototype effort to increase minority employment in the skilled building trades. It applies to government contractors in the Philadelphia area.

Under federal regulations, the Secretary's order doesn't become final until it has been approved by John Wilks, director of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance in the Labor Department. A spokesman for Mr. Wilks said Mr. Richardson's order probably will be approved shortly.

Edgely had a subcontract of $43,000 for sheet-metal work on the medical laboratory building of the University of Pennsylvania, a project partially financed by a HEW grant. The contractor was suspended from further work on the project in August 1970, when the government initially accused it of noncompliance with the Philadelphia Plan. At that time Edgely had completed about 85% of the work required by the contract.

A HEW spokesman said debarment from future federally supported projects is in effect until Edgely complies with Philadelphia Plan requirements.

In his order, Secretary Richardson said Edgely had failed to hire any minority employes at all or even make a "good-faith" effort to do so.

Leonard A. Nucero, Edgely's president, said he planned to appeal for a rehearing on the matter. If that fails, he said his business would be crippled as federal contracts are a large part of it. He asserted that Edgely isn't discriminating against minorities in hiring, nor has it. Mr. Nucero said the 14-year-old concern employs 10 persons and he is unwilling to lay off any of them to hire someone from a minority group. If the company could expand its payroll, he stated, he would make every effort to hire people from minorities.

Mr. Nucero also was quoted by the Associated Press as saying the Nixon administration had deliberately set up a test case involving Edgely. According to the AP, Mr. Nucero said he had offered, to put a black journeyman to work on the addition several months ago, but that HEW had refused the offer.

Mr. Richardson's order said, "Of course, the Philadelphia Plan doesn't require that any employe be fired. The plan does seek to expand the pool of labor available in a trade or industry." Consequently, the order said, "It is proper to require good-faith efforts even by a contractor who is ultimately unable to hire any minority workers. In the present case, as it happens, Edgely could have hired minority vacation replacements. Edgely's failure to do so or to make any effort to do so dooms its claim of good faith."

The Philadelphia Plan sets goals for hiring minority workers in six major areas—plumbers, electricians, sheet-metal workers, steam fitters, iron workers and elevator constructors.

Enforcement of the Philadelphia Plan is delegated by the Labor Department and various federal agencies.

Atl. Bldg. Trade

Head of New York Police Warns Against Bribery

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

NEW YORK — Police Commissioner Patrick Murphy said he is broadening his war on police corruption to take "dead aim" at businessmen and "otherwise law-abiding citizens who attempt to buy favors from police officers."

"Corrupt police officers are made, not born," he said in a speech to members of the New York Chamber of Commerce. "From now on we will vigorously pursue and arrest" anyone caught offering "gratuities or payoffs."

Policemen will no longer merely rebuff bribe attempts, he said, they have orders "to make arrests in every case." Mr. Murphy said the types of people "who as a matter of course" try to bribe policemen include not only crooks, gamblers, narcotics pushers and fences but also "hotel managers, restaurant owners, merchants, building superintendents . . . housing contractors who block traffic while unloading trucks . . . tow truck operators" and "the everyday motorist, who might even be the most flagrant of the violators."

11-9-71

Building Trades Local Sued by Pennsylvania Over Philadelphia Plan

Operating Engineers Accused of Bias in Hiring Blacks Under Federal Government Program

11/9/71

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

PHILADELPHIA—A 6,000-man construction trade union local that had been exempted from the so-called Philadelphia Plan for minority hiring was sued in federal district court here by Pennsylvania and a civil rights group on charges of discrimination.

The complaint charged that Local 542 of the International Union of Operating Engineers failed to hire and train adequate numbers of blacks under an "affirmative action" plan agreed to by the federal government in 1968. A year later, the local was exempted from the federal government's Philadelphia Plan setting minority hiring quotas for area contractors and construction trade unions.

State Attorney General J. Shane Creamer said that although Local 542 had told the federal government in 1968 it had 900 blacks enrolled in its membership, it later reported it had only 193. He also charged that $1 million of state money and $250,000 of federal money was used by the Operating Engineers Joint Apprenticeship and Training Committee to train blacks in obsolete skills and equipment.

Union officials couldn't be reached for comment. Mr. Creamer said the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission found earlier this year that there was probable cause to believe the union discriminated against blacks, but the U.S. Department of Justice hadn't pressed a suit or moved to intervene in the Pennsylvania action.

BUILDING TRADES

Blacks Due More Jobs

Atl. Const. 4/13/72

By NICK TAYLOR

The U.S. Department of Labor sees an increase of 1,500 minority workers in Atlanta construction trades over the next four years.

Henry A. Huettner, the Labor department's Southeastern regional director in Atlanta, made the prediction in a Wednesday address to the Hungry Club Forum.

Huettner said hiring goals under the "Atlanta Plan" can be met by contractors filling new and vacant job slots with one black for every white hired through May, 1975.

The Atlanta Plan was imposed by the Labor department last June to increase minority participation in 10 building trades in the Atlanta metropolitan area.

Huettner, covering a wide range of job-related topics in his Hungry Club talk, said, "The legal foundation for equal opportunity has been laid. Public attitudes have changed . . . to a surprising degree.

"It is now time for the nation to concentrate on economic progress for all."

Citing black educational progress during the 1960's, Heuttner said, "The task before this nation centers on jobs and income . . . a need for at least a reasonable amount of dollars and cents."

More money and more emphasis is being placed, Huettner said, on "giving blacks and other minorities a better shake in the job market."

The Labor department regional director said that minority apprentices in building trades training programs have increased from 8 per cent in 1969 to 17 per cent last year.

The federal government, Huettner said, has paced the job market in hiring blacks. Citing 17 per cent black employes in his department in the five-county metropolitan area, Huettner said, "Seventeen per cent is good, but not good enough."

He said that goals and timetables for minority hiring in industry should now be repalced by "across the board national goals for minority jobs and income.

"For a long time," Huettner said, "there has been a disparity between black and white employment" that has been running at more than two-to-one.

"We ought to get this ratio down to one-to-one, and I think we ought to set this as a target for the end of the decade," he continued. "It warrants our best national effort."

Huettner also called for eliminating the gap between black and white incomes by 1980 through job training, help to minority businesses, continued stress on employment and upgrading in public and private sector jobs.

Blacks Eye Militancy for Building Jobs

AH Bldg Via Trades

By PAUL DELANEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 27—Decades of failure to open up construction jobs to minorities have left a residue of bitterness, frustration, confusion and divisiveness.

So deep are the scars that growing numbers of blacks and other minorities feel that only direct action, such as physically closing down job sites, will lead to any substantial changes.

The quest for a solution to the problem has caused disunity and confusion in the black community, which compounds the problem. And those who believe that militancy is the only course point to the success of militant actions in several cities.

Interviews with nonwhite leaders in 12 cities in every section of the country disclose a feeling that cracking the construction industry—which mainly means the unions—is impossible without some kind of massive action by the minority communities and the Federal Government.

Sees Union Failure

"The unions are not going to do a damn thing about putting more blacks to work," said Lloyd X. Smith, director of the Atlanta Labor Education Advancement Program (LEAP), an Urban League project that is training 100 Negroes to pass tests of skill required by building trades unions. He reflected the mood of most of the blacks interviewed.

Generally, such feelings are found among both young and older negroes. There is some optimism, more among young blacks who are in training programs and who believe, or hope, that they will be placed in jobs when they complete their training. But most negroes feel that few trainees will wind up in the building trades.

"I am not hopeful," one Atlanta worker said. "If hope is based on past history, then hope is dead."

A black leader said: "The Atlanta Urban League is training 100 blacks just to take apprentice examinations, which doesn't assure them of getting jobs. "That's ridiculous in 1971. They should be training at least 1,000."

Mr. Smith said:

"No training program in the world can assure minorities they will get work—not if the unions don't want them. And the unions are fighing all the way."

Denied Union Cards

Tom Allen, a Negro pipefitter in Denver, summed up the frustration of minority workers about union attitudes.

"They [the unions] will send us to work as journeymen, but they won't give us cards," he said.

Mr. Allen is 29 years old, a soft-spoken father of four with 10 years' experience as a pipefitter. He said he learned his trade while in the Air Force. His experience includes supervisory jobs at Air Force bases in this country and overseas. But he said he and four other Negroes in Denver had been denied union cards.

"They say our applications are on file," he said. He noted that at least they were luckier than other Negroes who could not command journeyman scales.

Discussing the confusion in the black community, Joseph Debro, executive director of the National Association of Minority Contractors, said of public and private efforts to increase minority employment:

"The various job plans were created by a group consisting of one-third white contractors, one-third union representatives and one-third minority people, who don't know what they are doing in this industry and who are interested in civil rights, but who lack the knowledge of both the industry and bargaining methods."

Disunity in minority communities is widespread and has prevented concerted action. Some blacks said white unions and contractors took advantage of this situation, using it as an excuse for inaction.

One conflict in the black community involves Negro contractors who fear they may lose their already trained and skilled black workers. Herbert Williams, director of an organization of Negro contractors in Atlanta, said:

"I fear there would be a raping of black contractors. If all of a sudden white contractors and unions start looking for blacks, they would want the best trained men available. And these men are now working for black contractors."

Optimism that minority access to jobs would improve was expressed by Charles Bowser, director of the Philadelphia Urban Coalition.

Mr. Bowser said he believed that the Philadelphia Plan and other imposed programs would eventually compel the unions to accept minorities. The plan requires companies with Federal contracts to hire a percentage, varying from craft to craft, of nonwhites.

He said the coalition had put together a program to help 180 minority journeymen polish their skills so as to be acceptable to the unions.

Finds Big Leverage

"The Philadelphia Plan has great potential to put people to work," he said. "Without the plan, our program would mean nothing. But with the plan, the workers are needed to fill the quotas. The plan therefore has great leverage."

The problem of disunity within the black community is reflected in two recent events.

At a meeting in Chicago to unite Negro construction workers to push for more and better jobs, participants spent much time hurling invectives at each other. The dispute was chiefly over tactics—confrontation vs. negotiation.

And in Pittsburg, Calif., two white pickets shut down a housing construction site. Except for the pickets, all those involved in the situation were black—it was a black community. The contractor was Negro and so were the laborers who closed the site by honoring the picket line. The trouble started when the black contractor refused to hire workers from an all-white union hiring hall.

"This is what the system and the plans have done to us," Mr. Smith complained. "It has us fighting each other over crumbs."

See Need For Militancy

Hence the belief that militant action is necessary before meaningful change will take place. Believers in the more militant stance range from youthful workers to leaders of established groups.

They include Andrew G. Freeman, director of the Philadelphia Urban League; Noah Robinson, director of the Breadbasket Commercial Association of Chicago, the community economic development arm of Operation Breadbasket; Lonnie King, president of the Atlanta branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Mr. Smith of the Atlanta Urban League.

Indeed, more militancy has been evident of late. Twenty-eight men were arrested last Monday at a construction site in Manhattan. The men were demonstrating for more employment of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. In the last two years, violent demonstrations and confrontations have occurred across the country, sometimes resulting in plans to hire more mnorities.

Plans were agreed upon in Chicago after street gangs shut down sites on the South Side; in Seattle, after demonstrators sat in on the runway of the Seattle-Tacoma Airport, and in Pittsburgh, after mass marches every Monday for several weeks.

Urges Confrontation

"The only way to get blacks in those jobs is through direct confrontation," said Mr. Freman, a nattily dressed, small-framed man whose soft, calm voice belies his belief in confrontation.

Mr. Robinson was more blunt.

"You have to use muscle; there's no other way to do it," he said during an interview in Chicago. "There's got to be a threat of mobilization by the community to force the industry to act. For unions and management to give in voluntarily would go against their grain.

"But we have a unique situation in Chicago, where threat and threats of force are common. We've got a strike force organized, a lot of people ready for action.

"We [breadbasket] negotiate for the community. We are the 'Moral Mafia,' We are the 'Economic Mau Mau.' We have interjected ourselves in the bargaining process, making it tripartite."

Mr. Robinson's organization was instrumental earlier this month in obtaining agreement with companies bidding on a proposed 44-story Federal office building that would assure the use of Negro workers as well as providing at least $20-million worth of work for black subcontractors.

Promised a Fight

In pushing for the agreement, Mr. Robinson sent letters to the companies that read in part: "We will in no uncertain terms fight you. You can be damn sure of that. We will fight you either through the courts or in the streets with demonstrations."

He has been accused of "racial blackmail," and one Chicago newspaper said in an editorial: "There is an unpleasant suggestion of arm-twisting in a threat by B.C.A. leader Noah Robinson that construction sites will be picketed this summer if minority hiring is not satisfactory."

In Atlanta, Mr. Smith expressed little faith in governmental programs and plans to place minorities in jobs, mainly because such programs usually need union concurrence.

"The Federal Government wants you to make love to your enemy," he said. "Plans and programs therefore are designed not to succeed. If the Atlanta black community decided to launch an all-out battle there would be some changes.

"For example, imagine how many sites would be tied up if black bricklayers, lathers and carpenters refused to work until the other trades took in blacks. You wouldn't need to beat heads, just don't go to work."

Limited Response

Mr. Robinson said in Chicago: "You can look at the construction from O'Hare Airport all the way downtown to the Loop and you can vividly see the problem. Few if any blacks are on those jobs.

"We want some of those jobs, especially the ones in the black community. We've got to get those guys off the street corners and into jobs.

"How are they surviving? They'll steal before they'll starve. They'll hit those same whites, who come into the ghetto to work, in the head and take their paychecks on Friday. That's how serious the problem is."

AH. Community Relations Com.

Friendship Center Review Conducted by HUD
August, 1968
8% Complete

Rogers Construction Company

1 Superintendent

2 Carpenter Foremen

1 Carpenter

1 Front End Loader Operator

1 Labor Foreman

12 Laborers

Of this Number: 1 Non-white Carpenter

7 Non-white Laborers

Stasco Plumbing

1 Superintendent

1 Plumber

2 Plumber Helpers

1 Laborer

Of this Number: 1 Non-white Plumber Helper

1 Non-white Laborer

McLendon Electric (Local #613)

2 Electricians (Both White)

Friendship Center Apartments

FHA Project 061-55037-NP

Atlanta Housing Authority Project R-11

Developer - The Celotex Corporation

Sponsor - Friendship Baptist Church, Samuel W. Williams, Pastor

Construction Financing - The First National Bank of Atlanta

Smith and Polychrone - Architects and Engineers

Rogers Construction Company, Inc. - General Contractor

Edward J. Daugherty - Landscape Architect

J. I. Kislak Mortgage Corporation of Florida, Permanent Financing

(Note: Information taken from sign at project location)

Atl. Community Rels Com

Friendship Baptist Church

ESTABLISHED 1868

MITCHELL AT HAYNES STREETS, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30313

THE REVEREND SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS
PASTOR
RESIDENCE: 755-2325

CHURCH OFFICE: 688-0206

February 2, 1970

Mr. Robert J. Butler
Area Manpower Representative
881 Peachtree Street, NE, Rm. 118
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Representative Butler:

I am in receipt of your letter dated January 28, 1970, in which you express some nervous concern about the appearance of the North Georgia Building and Construction Trades Council-AFL-CIO. I am always pleased to have people like yourself express themselves as you have done, for it reveals very much, and I am glad to have the revelation. I think you know that I know as well as you do that the Commission is not a police agency and, therefore, does not have any authority to force anyone to do anything. It does have the duty, however, to expose bigotry and hypocrisy in the area of human relations. And I would hope that you, too, would be dedicated to such exposure.

I think you are not too young to know that the labor unions have, through the years, discriminated against Black workmen and particularly is this true in the crafts. When you talk about alienation, I cannot, to save my life, figure out what that means. For what else can alienation mean if it is not deliberate and continued discrimination against Black workmen. This is the alienation Black people have been having to fight in this country since 1619. And for somebody to talk now about and I quote, "if we continue to alienate those groups who are willing to cooperate voluntarily by appearing and informing the Commission of their activities, the Commission will have very few return visits and very little cooperation and support, and in turn move our goals further away," is in my judgment insulting and almost vulgar.

You refer in your first paragraph to a letter which you say came from the Commission, I suppose you intended to say the letter came from the Executive Director of the Commission for the Commission, itself, did not send a letter giving an hour to anybody. Mr. Butler, I am a little surprised at your reaction because you know as well as I know that what the union came to present was a "snow job."

Perhaps, some white people are unable to recognize a "run around" in discrimination for they have been giving Black people the "run around" for so long. But Black people have suffered the indignity and indecency perpetrated upon them by so called "well-meaning" white people, they can smell the "run around" one mile away.

I am sure you sense my impatience with the kind of approach which you suggest in your letter. I want to make it crystal clear that I am impatient with it, and I think we had better get the record straight. As long as I am on the Commission either as chairman or as a member, I shall not sit idly by and hold my peace when the labor unions or any other group present themselves in a manner as evasive as was done last Tuesday night by your group. I will not hold my peace, Mr. Butler, because as a Black man, I have absolutely nothing to lose except my integrity if I keep quite.

I think some of us are determined that bigotry must be confronted head on whether it is self-righteous labor unions, bigoted politicians, or hypocritical church groups. I would hope, Mr. Butler, that we could engage you in our commitment to the eradication of racial bigotry in our society, and I hope that your commitment is a true commitment and not one which is the traditional "begging for time" one.

I have spoken with a great deal of passion and perhaps some persons would re-think this and say it differently, but I want you and the members of the Commission and everybody to know how deeply I feel about this and, therefore, my best efforts will always be devoted to disclosure and eradication of every vestige of discrimination wherever I confront it. I think the members of the Commission are also commited to this, and I would like to think you still are, but your letter does not convince me that you are, and I cannot accept your position nor that of the labor union which you represent. Your position and theirs are morally indefensible and do not ever expect me to lend my support to it.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Samuel W. Williams

Samuel W. Williams, Chairman
Community Relations Commission

SWW:r

cc: All Commission Members
Mayor Sam Massell
Vice-Mayor Maynard Jackson
Mr. Nat Welch

Atlanta Community Relations Commission

Dr. Samuel W. Williams, Chairman

Vice Mayor Sam Massell, Jr., Ex-Officio

COMMISSION MEMBERS
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Mr. R. Byron Attridge
Mrs. Sara Baker
Miss Helen Bullard
Mr. R. J. Butler
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Mr. Charles Hart
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Mr. L. D. Simon
Mrs. Mary Stephens
Dr. J. Randolph Taylor
Rev. J. A. Wilborn

Mr. William McGee, Ex-Officio
Atlanta Youth Congress

Mr. Nat Welch
Executive Director

CITY OF ATLANTA
COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMISSION
MEMORIAL DRIVE ANNEX BLDG.
121 MEMORIAL DRIVE, S. W.
522-4463

Agenda For Racial Harmony

10-Point Individual Plan Illustrates Ways to Help

By NAT WELCH

The foremost problem America faces at home is the urban crisis. Regardless of where I make that statement in Atlanta, few disagree with it. The urban crisis is real. It is more than deteriorating buildings and open spaces. It is a human condition.

Atlanta is known as a progressive city. It has attained a favorable national reputation because its people have been willing to change, especially in regard to race relations. The city is now faced with the challenge of improving on that reputation or falling away from it.

Human relations must be improved between white people and black people—not only on a group basis but as an individual. An individual usually has a feeling of good will toward his fellow-man but has little knowledge of what helpful role he can perform to make it a visible reality.

Here are 10 specific suggestions:

BE INFORMED on what is happening in regard to local urban problems.

READ THE Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. We need to understand more about the problems. This is one of the most important presidential Commission reports ever made. If you can't wade through the several-hundred page paper back edition, an excellent 30-page digest is available.

* * *

TAKE A tour of some of our economically depressed areas and let the local residents tell what *they* are doing to improve their lot. These tours are sponsored by Economic Opportunity Atlanta for individuals and groups. Arrangements can be made by calling Mrs. Mary Lou Mitchell at 525-4262.

VISIT THE Hungry Club at the Butler Street YMCA. This is probably the most stimulating luncheon club in the city. Speakers since the first of the year have included Mayor Ivan Allen, former Gov. Carl Sanders, Julian Bond, local NAACP President Lonnie King, Dr. John Letson, SCLC's Andrew Young and Donald Hollowell.

* * *

DRIVE THROUGH some of the upper income Negro residential areas as Collier Heights and Peyton Forest in the Cascade area. You will see that Atlanta has a substantial number of middle and upper income Negroes who take pride in home ownership just as any other comparable group.

* * *

ENCOURAGE YOUR business or professional organization to expand its Negro membership. The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce took the initial step some ten years ago. This way lawyers get to know lawyers and teachers get to know teachers as persons and prejudice fades.

* * *

LEARN TO pronounce the word "Negro" correctly. The word is pronounced "kneegrow." This is difficult for a white Southerner who has grown up saying "Nigra." If you can't pronounce it correctly, just say black since both are acceptable. The term "colored person" is old hat. Proper titles are also very important.

VISIT ANOTHER church. Four members of the Commu-

nity Relations Commission are outstanding ministers. They are the Rev. Sam Williams, pastor of the Friendship Baptist Church; Rabbi Jacob Rothschild of the Temple; Dr. R. E. Lee, pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer; and Dr. John Randolph Taylor, minister of the Central Presbyterian Church. Visitors are welcomed as in other Atlanta churches.

ATTEND A lecture or concert at the Atlanta University Center, Emory University, Georgia State or one of Atlanta's several other institutions of higher learning. Become exposed to some new ideas and new people.

The two most interesting lectures my wife and I heard last year were those of John K. Galbraith and Walter Heller at the Atlanta University Center. And when the Atlanta Symphony was doing a special series at Spellman College, a friend remarked, "They might as well be playing at Dahlonega as far as most Atlantans are concerned."

JOIN AN inter-racial discussion group. This small movement was started last year by Dr. and Mrs. Joseph A. Wilber. Four white couples and four Negro couples meet once a month for an evening of discussion. The host selects the subject which might be a community problem or a personal prejudice.

One participant remarked, "These are pretty frank discussions. After three or four sessions, you don't look on each other as white or black but as individuals." There are now over 100 persons in Atlanta involved. After a year the group splits up into two or three groups.

THE PLACE to start improving human relations is where you are—your neighborhood, your school, your church, your business and the organizations with which you are affiliated. If a person is treated with genuine dignity and respect, he will respond in kind. If treatment is second class, this is what can be expected in return.

A homemaker can start by paying domestic help the minimum wage of $1.60 and seeing that the employe's quarterly social security form is filed.

* * *

WHAT ELSE can be done?

One institution that needs to be revived in Atlanta is the neighborhood organization or group. We have lost the "neighborhood cohesiveness" that is so important.

White middle and upper income neighborhood groups tend to become defensive mechanisms to insulate the neighborhood from the rest of the city. In so doing we tend to develop sterile neighborhoods. The neighborhood needs to relate to the city.

The disadvantaged neighborhoods are making substantial progress by strengthening their neighborhood groups through local leadership with the help of EOA, Model Cities, and the Community Relations Commission.

* * *

THE GRANT Park area is an encouraging example. It was selected by CRC as the area in which to initiate their 1969 Town Hall meeting program. The usual procedure is, first, a meeting with the citizens to get their ideas on what their problems are and, then, a follow-up meeting in which City Hall officials report on actions taken in response to the citizens.

The first meeting was on a cold March night with a rather slim crowd at the Jerome Jones School in Grant Park. The public officials almost outnumbered the citizens. The crowd tripled at the follow-up meeting held recently. A total of five aldermen, two state representatives, eight city department officials and five members of CRC participated in these two meetings.

* * *

THE CALIBER of leadership shown by the Grant Park citizens impressed me tremendously. Both white and black citizens and white and black elected officials showed dignity and respect for one another and an earnest desire to move on with solving the community problems at hand.

Cecil Alexander, head of the Mayor's Housing Resources Committee, has stated, "Atlanta no longer has the choice of beng a white or a black city. The choice is either to be a black city or an integrated city."

These two Town Hall meetings produced strong evidence that the citizens . . . white and black . . . have made their choice. Grant Park is their home and they are going to stay there and build a great community again. Model Cities, assisted by CRC, is making a valuable contribution in helping develop this indigenous leadership.

* * *

LET US hope that as other neighborhoods move into transition, they will follow the example of the resurging leadership in Grant Park.

This article was written at the request of the editorial staff of the Atlanta Journal and was published on its editorial page. The Community Relations Commission believes that this 10-point Plan is worthy of wide distribution in the Atlanta community and has made available this reprint for use by civic, church and service organizations.

Dr. Samuel W. Williams, Chairman
Community Relations Commission

About the Forum Writer

MR. WELCH is executive director of the Atlanta Community Relations Commission which is charged with the responsibility of fostering mutual understanding and improvement in human relations.

He wrote this article for The Atlanta Journal.

THE JOURNAL FORUM

The Atlanta Journal

Saturday, May 17, 1969

Please make

a copy and

mail for

Weldon

Marvin

from me.

✓ 9/25/69

"The following appeared in the Florence (South Carolina) Morning News, March 14, 1969, Page 1:"

City Democrats Elect First Negro Chairman

The City Democrats Party elected its first Negro chairman in Modern-day history Thursday night during an "organizational" meeting which also set primary dates and candidate filing fees to set the stage for the May 6 Municipal Election.

Named as chairman to succeed attorney Jack Nettles was Negro attorney William W. Bennett. Bennett was named to the post after he and Nettles had been paired in a runoff, receiving 19 votes each in the first election while C. Carter Byrd, former vice chairman, received two votes.

In the runoff, Bennett claimed 24 votes with Nettles receiving 19. However, Nettles, on a request to the attending persons at the meeting by Bennett, was elected co-chairman for the city party.

Bennett also asked for a vice chairman and Negro Jerry M. Keith was elected without opposition.

N. W. (Nat) Rosenfield was reelected secretary-treasurer.

The meeting was off to a fast start, but bogged down in technicalities several times during the meeting. And at one point, new Chairman Bennett called a recess to organize procedures before moving forward with the intended business.

During a meeting of officers and elected executive committeemen after the "organizational" session, the primary dates and filing fees for the two City Council seats which will be up for grabs in the May 6 General Municipal Election (Posts now held by Democrat Weston Patterson and Republican Dennis D. O'Brian will be open.)

It was decided to open filing books Saturday at the office of Rosenfield at 243 North Dargan Street and close them March 21, which is next Friday. The filing fee was set at $350.

The committee decided to hold the first primary on April 1 and hold any runnoff needed on April 8.

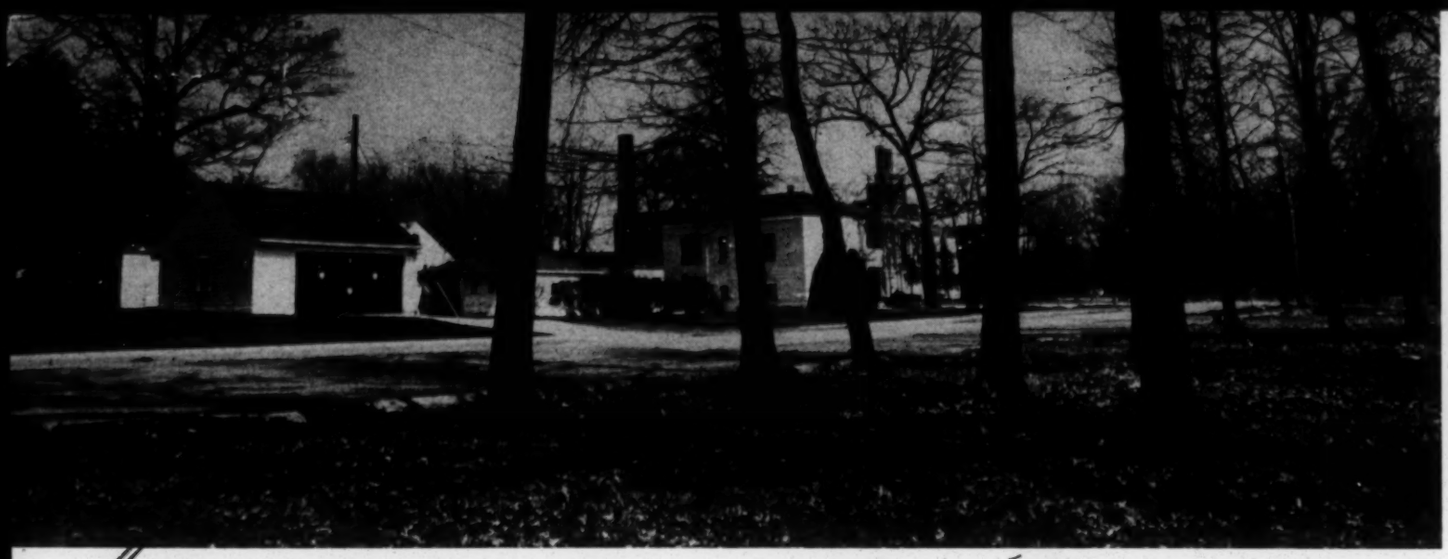
The committee also decided to raise the fee for poll workers from $10 to $15 for primary days.

Named during the regular session as executive committeemen were Rev. Jasper Smith of Ward 1, J. O. Smith of Ward 2, Mordecai Johnson of Ward 3, Robert Bryant of Ward 4, Mrs. J.F. Middleton, Jr. of Ward 5,

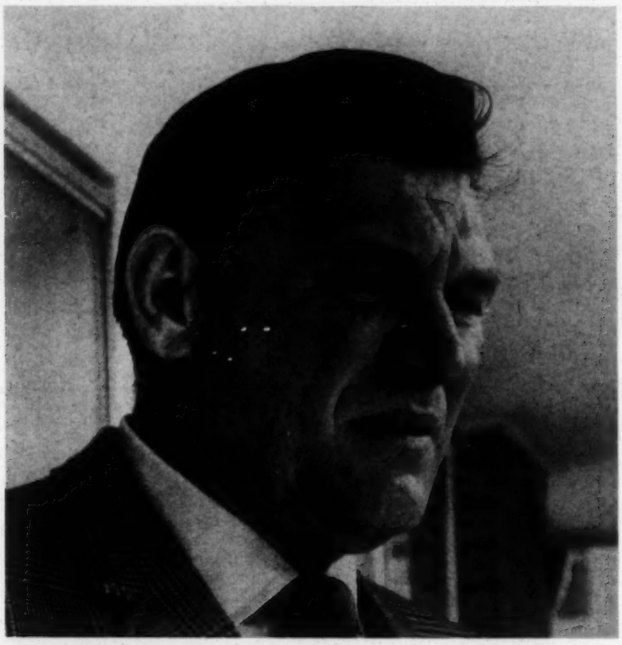
Mrs. F. Looper of Ward 6, Mrs. Robert Herring of Ward 7, Ralph Moore of Ward 8 and Paul Hayes of Ward 9.

The session, attended by 44 persons with slightly more that half of them Negroes, started somewhat smoothly, but ran into organizational difficulty when it could not be decided without much discussion as to whether those attending would vote on matters as meeting delegates or to divide into nine wards and have delegates from each ward cast votes. It was finally decided to allow those in attendance to vote.'

After election of officers, the meeting ran into difficulty again on election of executive committeemen. A motion to elect them during the meeting with all voting rather than elect them by seperate precinct meetings was passed after considerable discussion.



Glen Park is mainly white, middle-income steelworkers living in homes like this.



Against mayor, Joseph Zimmerman, a local Democrat, says Hatcher administration gives poor service to Glen Park.

For mayor, Pauline Schwegel organizes informal meetings between Hatcher and residents of Glen Park section.

Hatcher of Gary faces a revolt

Residents in Glen Park, predominantly white section of city accuse Negro mayor of neglecting them, plan to secede. Pro-Hatcher forces, charging racism, try to halt rebellion

Since his election in November, 1967, Negro Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, Indiana has lured more federal money to his city than all past administrations combined. He has cracked down hard on organized crime, and even his harshest critics grudgingly acknowledge the drive's success. And Hatcher, a 35-year-old lawyer, has been instrumental in getting U. S. Steel Corp., by far the city's largest employer, to play a bigger role in helping Gary solve its problems.

But for a growing number of people in Glen Park, an overwhelmingly white, residential section of the city, such accomplishments haven't been enough. From Glen Park comes a challenge to the Hatcher administration—"A challenge," says city councilman Eugene Kirtland, "to the Administration's ineptness to run a bi-racial city like this."

Supported by Kirtland and many other Glen Park residents, a movement is currently afoot to "disannex" Glen Park from Gary. In effect, Glen Park would secede. ("Disannexation" is the term employed because the city of Gary, founded in 1906, annexed the Glen Park area in 1910.)

If the movement is successful, Hatcher stands to lose 20% of his population and probably a larger percentage of his tax base, since Glen Park certainly seems to be Gary's most affluent area.

Race? Proponents of disannexation claim their motives are purely eco-

nomic. Kirtland, for instance, says that Hatcher steered federal funds into Gary's decaying inner city area while Glen Park residents complained that municipal services, such as garbage collection and road repairs, were poor. The complaints, he says, went unheeded. "Glen Park residents simply are not enjoying the upswing of the surrounding community in building, new development, and shopping centers," the councilman laments.

Those opposing disannexation, however, claim the real issue is racism—against Negroes in general and Hatcher in particular. In fact, support among Glen Park residents for disannexation didn't begin gathering steam until late last year, when Hatcher moved to rezone large, vacant sections of the predominantly white area for public housing.

With a population of 40,000 in its 5-sq.-mi. area, Glen Park gave Democrat Hatcher only 9% of its vote in the Gary mayoral election 17 months ago. Many of the area's residents, says Leigh Plummer, editor of the weekly Glen Park Herald, had fled racially changing inner-city areas. Now, they feel threatened again by Hatcher's low-income housing proposals.

By 1971. Disannexation, then incorporation as a new city, is a tough legal process—made tougher by quirks in Indiana law. To disannex from Gary, proponents must gather signatures of at least 51% of the lot owners in the area. The petition then would be presented to Gary's Board of Public Works for a vote. If the board failed to approve the petition, the next step probably would be to the courts.

However, Indiana law requires a minimum 3-mi. buffer zone between incorporated areas. A bill abolishing the regulation was passed in both houses of the state legislature in its session earlier this year. However, the bill literally vanished as it was being taken to the governor's office for signature. A grand jury is looking into the disappearance. Since the Indiana legislature holds only one 61-day session every two years, Glen Park now must wait until 1971 to incorporate, even if disannexation takes effect earlier.

Hatcher klatsch. Meanwhile, Hatcher and a small group of Glen Park residents are trying to undercut the movement before it goes much further. Taking the lead is Mrs. Pauline Schwegel, 61-year-old chairman of the Glen Park Information Committee. "There is no economic argument for disannexation," she emphasizes. "Of course, we don't get OEO[Office of Economic Opportunity] and federal funds in Glen Park. We don't need them; the inner city does."

Mrs. Schwegel has organized informal kaffee klatsches between Glen Park residents and Hatcher to explain the impact of disannexation. "What most people don't understand yet," she says, "is how much this version of the Berlin Wall would cost. We'd have to set up our own fire department, scavenger service, planning and zoning commission, and local government." And while Glen Park waited to incorporate, it would be governed by Lake County, which currently is able to assign only a single patrol car to the area.

Countercharge. Hatcher sees disannexation as a move "toward disunity at a time when we should be doing all we can to unify our city." But the differences between Glen Park and the rest of Gary are dramatic. Glen Park is primarily white, middle-income steelworkers; the remainder of Gary—about 140,000 people—is mostly black with decayed ghettos and a high inner city unemployment rate. Glen Park also is physically separated from Gary by an interstate highway and by the polluted Little Calumet River.

The nature of Hatcher's election—won without the regular party organization's support—did little to bring the two sections of the city together. Negroes, about 55% of Gary's population, were united behind him; whites overwhelmingly opposed him.

Such factors indicate, at least to Hatcher backers, that the motivation for disannexation is racially tinted. The issue is non-negotiable, says Hatcher aide Ray Wilde. "Those favoring disannexation have never presented a list of grievances to us, they have never talked to us. But they seem very upset that Mayor Hatcher spends OEO and poverty funds where the poverty is. It all points to a thinly veiled case of racism."

Mayor moves. Joseph Zimmerman, a Democratic party precinct worker and a staunch advocate of disannexation, denies such allegations. "We know we can't keep the colored out of here, and we're not trying to. But we want our streets fixed and our garbage picked up without it being necessary to get a petition for it every time. We think we can do the job better by setting up as an independent community."

This week, Hatcher announced his plans to ask the Gary city council for approval to sell $1.4-million in bonds. The money will go toward major equipment purchases for police, fire, and general services—all functions that many Glen Parkers contend they can more effectively provide for themselves, if disannexed.

"People began testing Mayor Hatcher the day he walked into office," says Mrs. Schwegel. "The disannexation drive is just another incident of racial nit-picking."

Lawsuits gush from oil disaster

Government's right to issue offshore drilling regulations faces first court test following costly California blowout

A torrent of lawsuits has resulted from the blowout of a Union Oil Co. of California drillhole in the Santa Barbara Channel last Jan. 28. They were expected; estimated cost of the disaster could top $2-bilion. But until last week the right of the federal government to issue offshore drilling regulations had never been challenged in the courts.

Now Pauley Petroleum, Inc., and five other independent oil companies are doing just that. In the U. S. Court of Claims in Washington, they are directly attacking the tightened offshore drilling regulations issued by Interior Secretary Walter Hickel in February.

They challenge the order making drilling companies liable for pollution resulting from their operations. They charge that the new rules make it "economically and practically impossible" for them to work their federal leases profitably in the Santa Barbara Channel. They also assert that Hickel's order changing the regulations is unconstitutional, in that their right to drill (they say) has been taken from them for public purposes without just compensation.

As a result, they claim $230.8-million in damages from the federal government—their valuation of more than $73-million in lease bonus payments, plus exploration costs and anticipated profits.

Joining Pauley as plaintiffs in the suit are J. M. Huber Corp., Husky Oil Co. of Delaware (subsidiary of Husky Oil, Ltd.), Colorado Oil & Gas Corp. (subsidiary of Colorado Interstate Corp.), Mesa Petroleum Co., and McCulloch Oil Corp. of California.

State suit. In California, the state is suing the federal government for $500-million damages in pollution leakage from Union Oil's federal lease. The case will go to the courts if the U. S. does not reply before August, the time allowed by statute.

file → Black Elected Officials

July 6, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO: MW

FROM: EV

I would very much welcome having a copy of the list of Negroes elected to city and county offices. Thanks.

You're welcome!
MW

STATE LEGISLATORS

Name	Position	Address
Leroy Johnson	Senator	953 Hunter Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30314
Horace T. Ward	Senator	859½ Hunter Street Atlanta, Georgia 30314
Albert Thompson	Representative	24½ East 10th Street Columbus, Georgia 31901
William H. Alexander	Representative	859½ Hunter Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30314
Benjamin D. Brown	Representative	196 Napoleon Drive, S. E. Atlanta, Georgia 30314
Julian Bond	Representative	823 Drummond Street, S. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30314
J. C. Daugherty	Representative	941 Jett Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30314
The Rev. J. D. Grier	Representative	596 Glen Iris Drive, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton	Representative	582 University Place Atlanta, Georgia 30314
John Hood	Representative	State Capitol Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Richard Dent	Representative	1127 Gwinnett Street Augusta, Georgia 30901
A. W. Willis	Assemblyman	588 Vance Avenue Memphis, Tenn. 38126
Dorothy Brown	Representative	1109 18th Avenue North Nashville, Tenn. 37208
M. G. Blakemore	Assemblyman	1404 South Nashville, Tenn. 37212
Russell Sugarmon	Assemblyman	588 Vance Avenue Memphis, Tenn. 38126

Name	Position	Address
J. O. Patterson, Jr.	Assemblyman	224 South Wellington Street Memphis, Tenn. 38126
Robert J. Booker	Assemblyman	1515 Wilder Place, S. E. Knoxville, Tenn. 37915
Miss Barbara Jordan	Senator	5303 Lyons Avenue Houston, Texas 77020
Curtis Graves	Assemblyman	5624 Market Street Houston, Texas 77020
Joseph E. Lockridge	Assemblyman	4510 South Oakland Dallas, Texas 75215

CITY OFFICIALS

Name	Position	Address
K. L. Buford, The Rev.	Councilman	107 N. Church Street Tuskegee, Alabama 36083
Stanley H. Smith	Councilman	305 Bibb Street Tuskegee, Alabama 36083
Dr. T. S. Williams	Councilman	Tuskegee, Alabama
Clyde Foster	Mayor	Triana, Alabama
David Barnes	Councilman	Triana, Alabama
Mrs. Jessie J. Bennie	Councilman	Triana, Alabama
Joe L. Fletcher	Councilman	Triana, Alabama
William Griffin	Councilman	Triana, Alabama
The Rev. James D. Alexander	City Council	West Helena, Arkansas
Dr. R. Frank Bryant	City Council	Pine Bluff, Arkansas
Mrs. M. Athalie Range	Councilman	6015 N. W. 7th Avenue Miami, Florida 33127
James Huger	Councilman	Bethune Cookmand College Daytona Beach, Florida 32017
F. Malcolm Cunningham	Councilman	600 Rosemary Aveneu West Palm Beach, Fla. 33401
William Blackshear	City Commission	Vero Beach, Fla.
Robert Scott	City Council	Lawtey, Fla.
Boisy Waiters	City Commission	Dania, Fla.

Name		Position	Address
B. L. Dent	✓	Councilman	1117 Gwinett Street Augusta, Georgia 30901
The Rev. C. S. Hamilton	✓	Councilman	1224 Gwinnett Street Augusta, Georgia 30901
Q. V. Williamson	✓	Alderman	Atlanta, Georgia
David C. Albert	✓	City Council	Augusta, Georgia
Cooper, Moses	✓	City Council	Hilton Township, (Sorcuan Cty.
Peter Smith	✓	? Mayor Pro Tem	Grand Coteau, Louisiana
Felton J. Capel	✓	Councilman	1025 W. New Hampshire Avenue Southern Pines, N. C. 28387
Carl H. Russell	✓	Councilman	822 North Ridge Avenue Winston Salem, N. C. 27101
John S. Stewart	✓	Councilman	Mutual Savings & Loan Assn. Durham, N. C. 27706
The Rev. E. B. Turner	✓	Councilman	City Hall Lumberton, N. C. 28358
John W. Winters	✓	Councilman	507 E. Martin St. Raleigh, N. C. 27601
Fred Alexander	✓	Councilman	City Hall, 600 E. Trade Charlotte, N. C. 28202
J. Ely Reid	✓	Councilman	Main Street Winton, North Carolina 27986
C. C. Ross	✓	City Council	Southern Pines, N. C.
Mansfield Douglas	✓	Councilman	1802 Beech Avemue Nashville, Tenn. 37203

Name	Position	Address
John L. Driver	Councilman	1018 35th Ave., N. Nashville, Tenn. 37209
Robert E. Lilliard	Councilman	1031 Stahlman Bldg Third and Union Nashville, Tenn. 37201
Harold M. Love	Councilman	2516 Buchanan Nashville, Tenn. 37201
Robert Scales	Councilman	320 E. State Murfreesboro, Tenn 37130
Z. Alexander Looby	City Council	Nashville, Tenn.
Scott E. Johnson	Councilman	716 Tenth Street Huntsville, Texas 77340
John Miles Jr.	Councilman	302 S. Alamo Street Hearne, Texas 77859
Dr. G. H. Radford	Councilman	917 South 10th Street Waco, Texas 76706
I. W. Brown	Councilman	Brown Mortuary-Highway 31 Malakoff, Texas 75148
The Rev. S. H. James	Councilman	430 N. Pine Street San Antonio, Texas 78202
Arthur Guidry	City Council	City Hall Fort Arthur, Texas 77640
Dr. Edwind W. Guinn	Councilman	5304 Ramey Ft. Worth, Texas
B. A. Cephas	Councilman	537 N. 2nd Street Richmond, Va. 23219
The Rev. Lawrence A. Davies	Councilman	1205 Cardwell St. 801 Sophia St. Fredericksburg, Va. 22401

Name		Position	Address
H. E. Fauntleroy	✓	Councilman	901 Wilcox Street Petersburg, Va. 23704
Henry L. Marsh, III	✓	Councilman	3211 Q Street Richmond, Va. 23223
Winfred Mundle	✓	Councilman	2815 Edgewood Avenue Richmond, Va. 23222
Ernest Gains	✓	Councilman	234 Virginia Avenue Tappahannock, Va. 22560
Joseph Owens	✓	Councilman	25 Mars Street Petersburg, Va. 23804
Embria Byrd	✓	City Council	Royal Port, Va.
Oliver Fortune	✓	City Council	Royal Port, Va.
James W. Holley	✓	City Council	Portsmouth, Va.
John Wilmer Porter	✓	City Council	Dumfries, Va.
Moses Cooper	✓	City Council	Screven County, Georgia
MRS. Mary Singletan		City Council (V.P.)	Jacksonville, Fla.
Mrs. Sallye B. Mathis		City Pardon Bd.	Jacksonville, Fla.

COUNTY OFFICIALS

Name	Position	Address
Lucius Amerson	County Sheriff	P. O. Box 1265 Tuskegee, Ala. 36083
L. A. Locklair	County Tax Collector	1600 Montgomery Road Tuskegee, Ala. 36083
Harold W. Webb	Board of Revenue	102 Chambliss Tuskegee, Ala. 36083
James R. Weatherly	County Coroner Sumter County	York, Ala. 36925
William C. Allen	Justice of the Peace	Macon County, Ala.
William C. Childs	Justice of the Peace	Macon County, Ala.
The Rev. V. A. Edwards	Board of Revenue	Macon County, Ala.
~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~
James A. Smith	County Commissioner	c/o Mr. Robert Ingram 743 Burnett Street Sparta, Georgia
Earl Baggs	County Commissioner	Route 1 Riceboro, Georgia 31323
J. Henry Curry	County Commissioner	Route 2 Townsend, Ga. 31331
~~James H. Jones~~	~~County Commissioner~~	~~Hancock County, Ga.~~
~~[illegible]~~		
Booker T. Washington	Board of Director	Beaufort County RFD Yemasee, S. C. 29945
LeRoy Browne	Board of Directors	c/o Mr. Hyland Davis 2309 Duke Street Beaufort, S. C. 29902

Name	Position	Address
Dave Jones	Beaufort County Board of Directors	c/o Mr. Hyland Davis 2309 Duke Street Beaufort, S. C. 29902
Paul Murray	Williamsburg County Road Commission	Route 1, Box 198 Salters, S. C. 29590
Gladys Allen	County Court	Fayette County, Tenn.
Herbert Bonner	County Court	Fayette County, Tenn.
William Hazlitt	County Court	Fayette County, Tenn.
Sherman Perry	County Court	Fayette County, Tenn.
Mrs. Geraldine Johnson	County Court	Fayette County, Tenn.
Charlie Minor	County Court	Fayette County, Tenn.
Cooper Parks	County Court	Fayette County, Tenn.
H. T. Lockhard	County Court	Shelby County, Tenn.
Jesse Turner	County Court	Shelby County, Tenn.
The Rev. Robert Richards	County Court	Hamilton County, Tenn.

SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

Name	Address
Peter J. Kirksey, The Rev.	Route 1, Box 19 - Boligee, Ala. 35443
Dr. Charles Gomillion	308 Bibb St. - Tuskegee, Ala. 36083
Mrs. Elizabeth H. Richardson	308-C Auburn St. - Tuskegee, Ala. 36083
Arthur H. Miller	1813 Collegiate Circle, Pine Bluff, Ark. 71601
Mrs. Mabel Allen	Eudora District, Ark.
Alex Brown	Plum Bayou-Tucker, Ark.
Mabon Gladney	Lakeview District, Ark.
DeArthur Grice	Linwood District, Ark.
Maleada Thomas	Jefferson County, Ark.
Dr. Morris A. Jackson	Little Rock, Ark.
T. E. Patterson	Little Rock, Ark.
Walter M. Jackson	Vero Beach, Fla.
Robert T. Ingram	743 Burnett St., Sparta, Ga. 31087
Dr. Horace E. Tate	201 Ashby St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30314
Dr. Rufus Clement	Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga. 30314
Francis Joseph Atlas	Hood Lane Road, Lake Providence, La. 71254
Alvin White, Jr.	P. O. 37, St. Francisville, La. 70775
Raymond Minor	P. O. 37, St. Francisville, La. 70775
J. W. Holmes	Iberville Parish, La.
Robert Williams	Church Hill, Mississippi 39055
Howard Hunter	Hertford County, N. C.
Blair T. Hunt	Shelby County, Tenn.
Albert Lockard	Lauderdale,County, Tenn.

Name	Address
Asberry Butler	4100 Lyons Avenue, Houston, Texas 77020
Mrs. Hattie Mae White	2209 Southmore, Houston, Texas 77004
William M. Cooper	Hampton, Va.
Dr. Thomas H. Henderson	Richmond, Va.
Charles B. Hutchenson	Lynchburg, Va.
David L. Muckler	Portsmouth, Va.
Dr. Waldo Scott	Newport News, Va.
Dr. Emmett J. Conrad	Dallas, Texas

Mrs. Hattie Sims	Magistrate Gadsden Precinct Richland County	Route 1, Box 95 Hopkins, S. C. 29061
Joseph Stroy	Magistrate Richland County	Route 2, Box 242 Hopkins, S. C. 29061
Moses Riddick	Board of Supervisors	2333 Norfolk Road Suffolk, Va. 23434
Floyd Carter	Bd of Supervisors of Charles County	Ruthville, Virginia 23147
Thomas R. Williams	Bd. of Supervisors New Kent County	New Kent, Virginia 23124
Dan Nixon	Magistrate 9th District	Haywood County, Tenn.
A. D. Powell	Magistrate 9th District	Haywood County, Tenn.

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE

OF

BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

DECEMBER 11-14, 1968

DINKLER PLAZA HOTEL

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

AGENDA

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11

2:00 p.m.—REGISTRATION—Lobby

7:00 p.m.—RECEPTION—Dinkler A
COURTESY OF THE COCA-COLA COMPANY ATLANTA

8:00 p.m.—OPENING DINNER—DINKLER B

Presiding:
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

Welcome:
Q. V. Williamson
Board of Alderman, Atlanta

Leroy Johnson
State Senate, Georgia

Introduction of Speaker:
Benjamin Brown
House of Representatives, Georgia

Keynote Address:
Julian Bond
House of Representatives, Georgia

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12

7:30-8:30 a.m.
—Breakfast—Dinkler B

9:00 a.m.—GENERAL SESSION—
DINKLER ROOF

Presiding:
William H. Alexander
House of Representatives, Georgia

Welcome:
Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor of Atlanta

Address:
"From Subject and Victim to Citizen and Public Official: An Historical Overview of the Negro and the Southern Political Process."
Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook
Professor of Political Science
Duke University

Panelists:
- Lawrence T. Guyot, Jr.
  Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
- Miss Barbara Jordan
  State Senate, Texas
- Dr. C. G. Gomillion
  Board of Education
  Tuskegee, Alabama
- Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
  City Council
  Norfolk, Virginia

12:30 p.m.—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:
Jesse Hill, Jr.
Actuary, Atlanta Life Insurance Company.

Address:
Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
President
Metropolitan Applied Research Center
New York City

2:00-5:00 p.m.
—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

I—School Board Members—Plaza B, Lobby Floor
Convener: Miss Jean Fairfax
NAACP Legal Defense Fund

II—City Officials—Roof, 14th Floor
Convener: John Feild
U. S. Conference of Mayors

III—County Officials—Panel Room, Mezzanine Floor
Convener: James Gibson
Potomac Institute

IV—Law Enforcement Officials—Sky Room, 14th Floor
Convener: Julius Chambers
Attorney-at-Law

V—State Legislators—Room 370
Convener: Horace T. Ward
State Senate, Georgia

6:00 p.m.—DINNER—PLAZA B

7:15 p.m.—Buses Depart

8:00 p.m.—PUBLIC FORUM
Davage Auditorium, Clark College

Presiding:
Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College

Welcome:
James Mays
President
Clark College Student Government Association

Introduction:
M. Carl Holman
Vice-President
The Urban Coalition

Address:
Richard Gordon Hatcher
Mayor
Gary, Indiana

Panelists:
- Robert G. Clark
  Mississippi House of Representatives
- Henry L. Marsh, III
  City Council, Richmond, Virginia
- John McCown
  County Commissioner
  Hancock County, Georgia
- J. C. Daugherty
  Georgia House of Representatives

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13

7:30-8:30 a.m.
—Breakfast—Dinkler B

9:00 a.m.—GENERAL SESSION—
DINKLER ROOF

"Revenue and Taxation and the Elected Official"

Presiding:

John S. Stewart
City Council, Durham, North Carolina

Panelists:

- Alfred M. Pelham
  Chairman of the Board
  Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company
  Former Controller of the City of Detroit
- Gerald A. Lamb
  Treasurer
  State of Connecticut
- Theodore A. Jones
  Director
  Department of Revenue
  State of Illinois

11:30 a.m.—"Everyman's Guide to Federal Programs"

Richard Boone
Executive Director
Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty

12:30 p.m.—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:

Donald L. Hollowell
Regional Director
Equal Employment Opportunities Commission

12:30 p.m.—SPECIAL GUESTS:

- Charles Evers, Mississippi
- Maynard Jackson, Georgia
- A. W. Willis, Tennessee
- George A. Payton, South Carolina
- Reginald A. Hawkins, North Carolina.

2:00-5:00 p.m.
—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

7:00 p.m.—RECEPTION—AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL

(Corner of Spring & Carnegie Way)

COURTESY OF THE ATLANTA INQUIRER AND H. J. RUSSELL & CO., ATLANTA

8:00 p.m.—BANQUET—AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL

Presiding:

John H. Weeeler
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Welcome:

Sam Massell, Jr.
Vice-Mayor of Atlanta

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Address:

Ramsey Clark
Attorney General of
The United States

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14

7:30-8:30 a.m.
—Breakfast—Dinkler B

9:00 a.m. —CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS E. Via

12:00 Noon—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

Introduction of Speaker:

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
House of Representatives, Georgia

Address:

Mrs. Shirley Chisholm
Congresswoman-Elect
12th Congressional District
New York

ADJOURNMENT

WORKSHOP CONSULTANTS

I. School Board Members

Mrs. Sara Mitchell, member, Atlanta Board of Education

T. E. Patterson, member, Little Rock Board of Education; Executive Secretary, Arkansas Teachers Association

Paul Rilling, Regional Civil Rights Director, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Horace E. Tate, member, Atlanta Board of Education; Executive Secretary, Georgia Teachers Education Association

William Turner, NAACP Legal Defense Fund

II. City Officials

William Allison, Deputy Administrator, Economic Opportunity Atlanta

Earl Metzger, Assistant to Regional Administrator for Model Cities Program

William Page, Regional Director, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Moreland Smith, Director, Urban Planning, Southern Regional Council

Robert Smith, Executive Director, Low Income Housing Corporation, Durham, North Carolina

Roger Wilkins, Director, Community Relations Service, Department of Justice

III. County Officials

Richard Boone, Executive Director, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty

Clarence Coleman, Southern Regional Director, National Urban League

George Esser, Executive Director, North Carolina Fund

Dr. Mack Jones, Department of Political Science, Atlanta University

John Lewis, Director, Community Organization, Southern Regional Council

William Suttles, Regional Director, Southeastern Regional Office, Office of Economic Opportunity

Mrs. Barbara Whittaker, Community Services Coordinator, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

IV. Law Enforcement Officials

Fred Banks, NAACP Legal Defense Fund

Mrs. Taunya Banks, Director, Tougaloo College Service Center for Elected Officials

John Boone, Director, Project on the Administration of Justice, Southern Regional Council

Niles Douglas, Attorney-at-Law

Robert Fitzpatrick, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

Charles Morgan, Director of Southern Regional Office, American Civil Liberties Union

V. State Legislators

Dr. J. David Paletz, Professor Political Science, Duke University.

Mervyn M. Dymally, State Senator, California

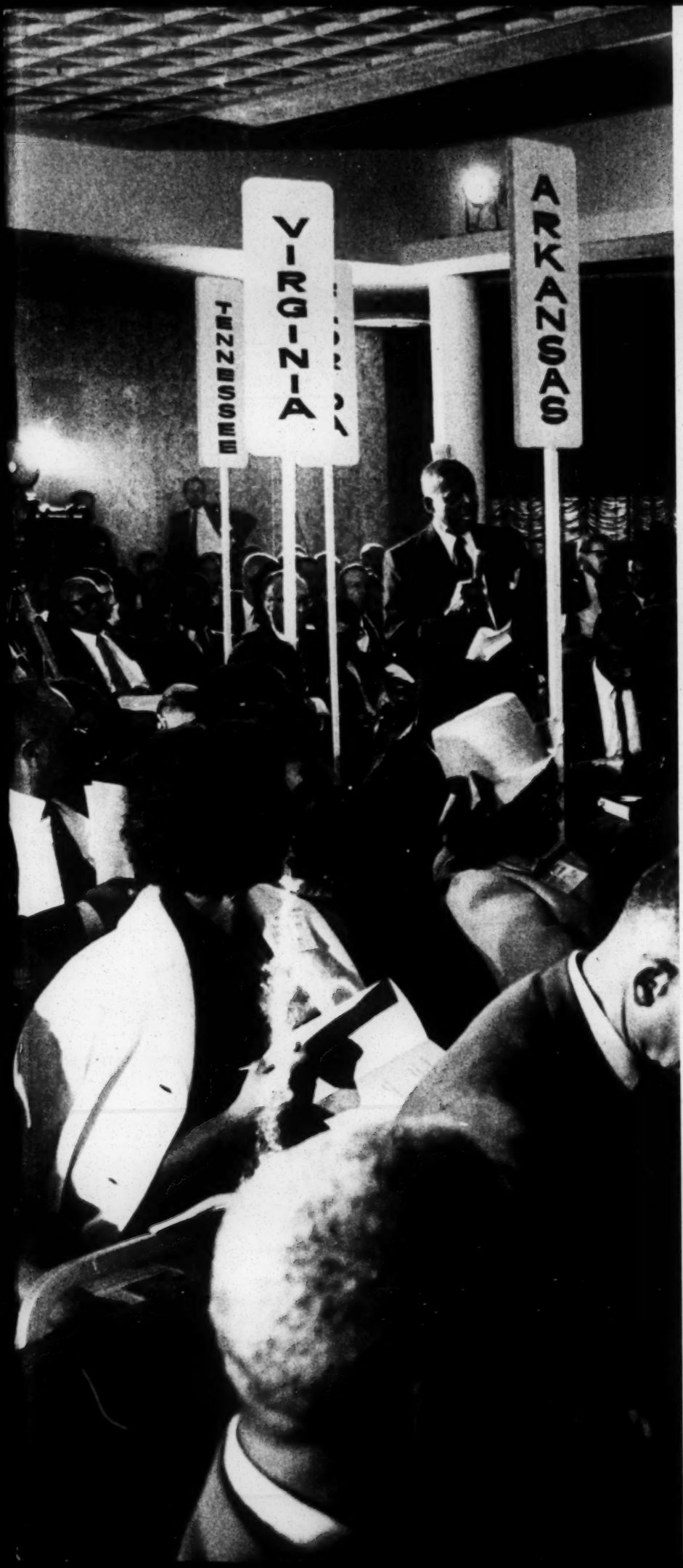
Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense Fund

Bill Greene, Assemblyman, California

Dr. Jewel Prestage, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Southern University

Emory Via, Director, Labor Education, Southern Regional Council

Voter Education Project
of the
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303



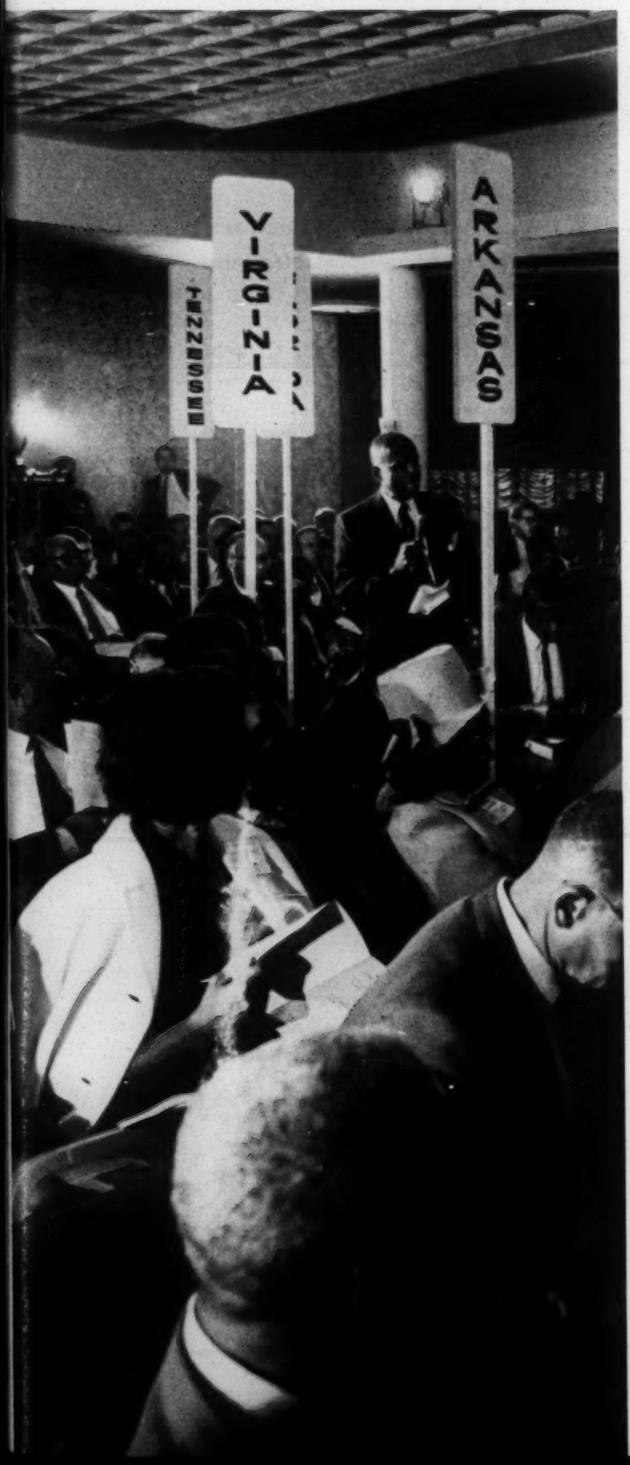
CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

DEC. 11-14, 1968

DINKLER HOTEL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Sponsored by
The Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia



PREFACE

Late in 1967 and early in 1968, as it became apparent that the number of black elected officials in the South was growing rapidly and would continue to do so in the months ahead, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council conceived the idea of a southwide conference for these officials. Most—indeed, almost all—had been elected in the middle '60s as black voter registration advanced markedly.

Being closely associated with the dramatic registration increases of the '60s, VEP felt an obligation to the officials who had been elected largely as a result of these voter gains. Most of the officials had little political experience—or, indeed, previous contact with the political process—and giving assistance to these officials is an important part of VEP's broad goal of extending political participation. Moveover, it was felt that a regional meeting would be a means of bolstering the spirits of black officials, many of whom serve in extremely trying circumstances, and motivating prospective black officials throughout the South.

A number of foundations were approached with requests to supply special funds for such a conference. Almost all responded not only with approval, but also with enthusiasm. Arrangements then went forward to bring all the black elected officials to Atlanta for a four-day conference, with all expenses to be paid by VEP. The Rev. John Morris, former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, was employed to coordinate the conference.

It was decided that a variety of workshops would be held for the elected officials, in addition to general sessions (see conference agenda, Page 2). A date subsequent to the November 5 general election was picked so that officials then elected could be invited to the conference. (It was determined that only *elected* officials would be invited, since the list of appointed black officials is even larger and more varied than the list of elected officials.)

Of approximately 385 Negroes holding elected positions in the South in late 1968, nearly 200 attended the conference, which was the first of its kind ever held in the South. The Voter Education Project is grateful to the foundations and to the individuals who contributed in countless ways to the success of the conference. The results of the program planning described above are presented in these conference proceedings.

MARVIN WALL
Director of Research
Voter Education Project

AGENDA

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

DECEMBER 11-14, 1968, DINKLER PLAZA HOTEL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11

2:00 p.m.—REGISTRATION—Lobby
7:00 p.m.—RECEPTION—Dinkler A
COURTESY OF THE COCA-COLA COMPANY ATLANTA
8:00 p.m.—OPENING DINNER—DINKLER B
Presiding:
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project
Welcome:
Q. V. Williamson
Board of Aldermen, Atlanta
Leroy Johnson
State Senate, Georgia
Introduction of Speaker:
Benjamin Brown
House of Representatives, Georgia
Keynote Address:
Julian Bond
House of Representatives, Georgia

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12

7:30-8:30 a.m.—Breakfast—Dinkler B
9:00 a.m.—GENERAL SESSION—DINKLER ROOF
Presiding:
William H. Alexander
House of Representatives, Georgia
Address:
"From Subject and Victim to Citizen and Public Official: An Historical Overview of the Negro and the Southern Political Process."
Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook
Professor of Political Science
Duke University
Panelists:
- Lawrence T. Guyot, Jr.
  Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
- Dr. C. G. Gomillion
  Board of Education
  Tuskegee, Alabama
- Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
  City Council
  Norfolk, Virginia

12:30 p.m.—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B
Presiding:
Jesse Hill, Jr.
Actuary, Atlanta Life Insurance Company
Address:
Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta

2:00-5:00 p.m.—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

I—School Board Members—Plaza B, Lobby Floor
Convener: Miss Jean Fairfax
NAACP Legal Defense Fund
Recorder: Mrs. Susan Morgan
Southern Regional Council

II—City Officials—Roof, 14th Floor
Convener: John Feild
U. S. Conference of Mayors
Recorder: Lee J. Price
American Jewish Committee

III—County Officials—Panel Room, Mezzanine Floor
Convener: James Gibson
United Presbyterian Church
Potomac Institute
Recorder: Warren Pritchard
Southern Regional Council

IV—Law Enforcement Officials—Sky Room, 14th Floor
Convener: Julius Chambers
Attorney-at-Law
Recorder: Mrs. Taunya Banks

V—State Legislators—Room 370
Convener: Horace T. Ward
State Senate, Georgia
Recorder: Rev. J. Oscar McCloud

6:00 p.m.—DINNER—PLAZA B
7:15 p.m.—Buses Depart
8:00 p.m.—PUBLIC FORUM
Davage Auditorium, Clark College
Presiding:
Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
Welcome:
James Mays
President
Clark College Student Government Association
Address:
Richard Gordon Hatcher
Mayor
Gary, Indiana
Panelists:
- Robert G. Clark
  Mississippi House of Representatives
- Henry L. Marsh, III
  City Council, Richmond, Virginia
- John McCown
  County Commissioner
  Hancock County, Georgia

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13

7:30-8:00 a.m.—Breakfast—Dinkler B

8:00 a.m.—GENERAL SESSION—
DINKLER ROOF

"Revenue and Taxation and the Elected Official"

Presiding:

John S. Stewart
City Council, Durham, North Carolina

Panelists:

- Alfred M. Pelham
  Chairman of the Board
  Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company
  Former Controller of the City of Detroit
- Gerald A. Lamb
  Treasurer
  State of Connecticut
- Theodore A. Jones
  Director
  Department of Revenue
  State of Illinois

11:30 a.m.—"Everyman's Guide to Federal Programs"

Richard Boone
Executive Director
Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty

12:30 p.m.—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:

Donald L. Hollowell
Regional Director
Equal Employment Opportunities Commission

Special Guests:

- Maynard Jackson, Georgia
- A. W. Willis, Tennessee
- Reginald A. Hawkins, North Carolina
- Mrs. Eva Clayton, North Carolina

2:00-5:00 p.m.—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

7:00 p.m.—RECEPTION—AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL

COURTESY OF THE ATLANTA INQUIRER AND H. J. RUSSELL & CO., ATLANTA

8:00 p.m.—BANQUET—AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL

Welcome:

Sam Massell, Jr.
Vice-Mayor of Atlanta

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Address:

Ramsey Clark
Attorney General of
The United States

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14

7:30-8:30 a.m.—Breakfast—Dinkler B

9:00 a.m.—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

12:00 Noon—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

Adoption of Conference Statement

Introduction of Speaker:

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
House of Representatives, Georgia

Address:

Mrs. Shirley Chisholm
Congresswoman
12th Congressional District
New York

ADJOURNMENT

WORKSHOP CONSULTANTS

I. School Board Members
- Mrs. Sara Mitchell, member, Atlanta Board of Education
- T. E. Patterson, member, Little Rock Board of Education; Executive Secretary, Arkansas Teachers Association
- Paul Rilling, Regional Civil Rights Director, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
- Horace E. Tate, member, Atlanta Board of Education; Executive Secretary, Georgia Teachers Education Association
- William Turner, NAACP Legal Defense Fund
- Dr. Samuel Trusty, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

II. City Officials
- William Allison, Deputy Administrator, Economic Opportunity Atlanta
- William Page, Regional Director, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
- Moreland Smith, Director, Urban Planning, Southern Regional Council
- Michael Janis, Model Cities, Department of Housing and Urban Development
- Donald Webster, Intergroup Relations Advisor, Department of Housing and Urban Development
- Robert Smith, Executive Director, Low Income Housing Corporation, Durham, North Carolina

III. County Officials
- Richard Boone, Executive Director, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
- Clarence Coleman, Southern Regional Director, National Urban League
- George Esser, Executive Director, North Carolina Fund
- Dr. Mack Jones, Department of Political Science, Atlanta University
- John Lewis, Director, Community Organization, Southern Regional Council
- Hugh Saussy
  Southeastern Regional Office, Office of Economic Opportunity

IV. Law Enforcement Officials
- Fred Banks, NAACP Legal Defense Fund
- Mrs. Taunya Banks, Director, Tougaloo College Service Center for Elected Officials
- John Boone, Director, Project on the Administration of Justice, Southern Regional Council

V. State Legislators
- Dr. J. David Paletz, Professor of Political Science, Duke University
- Mervyn M. Dymally, State Senator, California Legal Defense Fund
- Bill Greene, Assemblyman, California
- Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP
- Dr. Jewel Prestage, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Southern University
- Emory Via, Director, Labor Education, Southern Regional Council

SOUTH
CAROLINA
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'...A More Just Society...'

The Rev. John Morris, *coordinator of the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials and an Episcopal priest, delivered the invocation at the opening dinner Dec. 11. The Rev. Mr. Morris was in charge of planning the program and making arrangements for the conference. He is a founder and former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.*

ALMIGHTY GOD, Who hast given us this good land for our heritage and helped us to begin to turn back the forces of oppression and injustice;

BEHOLD NOW Thy people who have gathered here in the pursuit of greater service of their fellow man. Grant that these days may be both profitable in helping us build a more just society and a witness to the spirit of free men.

THOU WHO are Lord of Lords and King of Kings, hidden and yet on every side, preserve from self-serving ambition those to whom the authority of government is entrusted; but, rather, give them an untiring zeal to see that Thy will is done and all men are free before they rest.

AS WE MEET we also honor the memory of thy servant, Martin, whose vision of a beloved community still beckons, and whose death reminds us of the sacrifice of many who have gone before.

FOR his love and for Thine we are grateful; and for our fellowship here and the food of which we are about to partake.

BLESSED ART THOU, Lord of the harvest, who bringest forth bread from the wheat fields and wine from the vineyard. Keep us in Thy love for ever and ever.

AMEN.

'...A Rapidly Growing List...'

Text of opening remarks by **Vernon E. Jordan Jr.,** *director of the Voter Education Project, Dec. 11.*

Three years ago, just after passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Southern Regional Council compiled a list of elected Negro officeholders in the South. The list totaled just over 70 names.

Today, counting some 80 black candidates elected for the first time in the Nov. 5 general election, the list totals over 380 names. The roster thus is more than five times as large today as it was just three years ago.

This dramatic increase is one of the more significant developments in Southern politics today. Not even the fact that five Southern states gave George Wallace his only electoral votes can overshadow the deepening involvement of black Southerners in the region's political process.

It is true, of course, that most of these officials were elected by predominantly black voting lists and are a result of heavy increases in Negro registration. Indeed, many represent all-black districts—as do, for example, the mayors and councilmen in all-black towns. Nevertheless there are some black officeholders—notably several of the legislators—who represent districts in which large numbers of white voters live. In any event, the list of black officeholders is growing very rapidly and will continue to do so in the months ahead.

This rapid growth in the number of Negro officeholders poses a new issue for Negroes in the South—a welcome issue, but an issue nevertheless. That issue is how to make these new officeholders as effective as possible in filling their offices. Like politicians of all races, black officeholders must be able to produce in behalf of their constituents. But Negro officeholders face several additional problems.

Black voters often feel that officeholders should produce instantly, almost magically, all those benefits and services that had been denied down through the years by callous white officials. Usually—almost always—this is impossible.

In many cases the Negro officeholder finds himself serving Negroes who live outside his district but have no spokesman. Thus a Negro legislator—to use that office as an example—might find himself speaking on some issues for all the Negroes in the state.

The Negro officeholder is being observed closely by both races. Some of the watching eyes are friendly, but many are hostile. Often the new Negro officeholder will be measured by yardsticks far more exacting than those applied to his white predecessors. The difficulty that Julian Bond had in claiming his seat in the Georgia Legislature stands as an example of the sort of roadblocks that can be thrown in the way of black elected officials.

Finally, most of the newly elected black officials carry a heavy burden of political inexperience. Historically, the white political structure of the South has deliberately and systematically denied blacks the opportunity to gain experience in the political process.

This is the sort of practical problems we will be dealing with these four days at the first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials. We will not solve all the problems at one conference. But we hope to establish, at this conference, some machinery for dealing with the problems on a continuing basis in the future, as the number of black elected officials continues to grow.

'...An Attack on All of Us...'

Rep. Julian Bond *of Atlanta opened the four-day Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials with a keynote speech Dec. 11 at a dinner. Rep. Bond, refused his seat by the Georgia House of Representatives because of his opposition to the war in Vietnam, was elected three times before he was seated by order of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1967. The 28-year-old legislator's name was placed before the 1968 Democratic National Convention as a nominee for vice president.*

It is difficult to know what to say to an audience like this one. We come from so many different backgrounds, we hold so many different jobs, we have so many different ambitions. All that we have in common is the fact that we are politicians, we are black, and we are very largely elected by black constituencies.

Those last two facts are the most important—our race and the race of people whom we represent, the people who have chosen us to make important decisions for them.

Without knowing what kinds of people have selected you, let me tell you something about the people I am proud and privileged to represent in the Georgia General Assembly—the citizens of the 111th House district of Fulton County.

They are almost all black—nearly 85 per cent of them. They are nearly all poor—their average yearly income per family is $2,500. They have trouble finding work—unemployment in my district runs between 30 and 40 per cent. They are poorly educated—on the average they completed only the sixth grade. Most of the men have trouble finding work, and so the labor force in my district is predominantly female. You all know the kind of work poorly educated black women do—day work, domestic service, cleaning someone else's kitchen, caring for someone else's children.

Incidentally, the white citizens of my district share the same condition; but unfortunately for them, most of them think that somehow the color of their skin makes their small amount of money go further, or that their whiteness makes their poor sixth grade education better than the one my black constituents have.

But the point of all these statistics is simply to demonstrate that my constituents are probably very much like yours—they are poor and black, and they depend on government, very largely—their city and county and state governments and their federal governments—to help them do the things they are unable to do themselves. That is why they have chosen you to represent them, because they still retain some faith in the power of the democratic process to solve people's problems.

I am very much afraid that for the next several years they are in for some disappointments.

If your constituents are like mine—and like most other black Americans—they voted very heavily for Vice President Humphrey. They wanted him to be President. They may have had some other first choice, but that was denied them by an assassin in Los Angeles. They may even, like I did, have had a second choice; but that was denied them by democracy in Chicago. So therefore they voted for Mr. Humphrey. He represented warmth, while one can only find coldness in the iciness we now hear described as the "new" Nixon.

So while we were voting one way, the rest of the country voted another. They chose a man who said he didn't expect to get black votes and therefore never sought them out; they chose a man who said he was publicly for open housing but privately against it, and they chose a man who says the federal government is enforcing the 1954 Supreme Court decision too swiftly.

They chose a man who has tremendous power to set a positive or a negative future for black Americans.

—He perhaps may choose five new Supreme Court justices and therefore may determine the nature of the decisions that Court makes in civil rights cases over the rest of this century.

—He will certainly choose a new attorney general and a new head of the civil rights division of the Department of Justice and will decide how vigorously—or whether at all—they enforce the legislation that affects us most vitally.

—He is going to name the staff and set the budget for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. He will determine how these agencies respond when they are asked to deal with our problems.

He will have a great deal to say about the nature of the 92nd Congress.

Now those are not the kinds of decisions one wants to leave to a man whose closest advisers include Strom Thurmond.

But we are faced, now that the election has passed, with being ruled by a man who was not the choice of 90 per cent of us, with being ruled by a man who has

yet to demonstrate that he has any concern for the poor or the black. We will be ruled by a man who says he wants to rebuild our slums with black capitalism, which can only mean exchanging the race of the people who have been exploiting us. Faced with that kind of government over the next four years, the way that all of us act from now until 1972 is going to be very important.

We face these next four years a Congress that is more conservative than the last one, and we face a nation that has grown tired of the demands of the black and the poor. We are in a position worse off, relatively speaking, than our position has been over the past several years.

You all know the statistics that show more black people working, more living in decent homes, more getting an education, more earning more money. There is another set of figures that shows we make less money now—more in comparison with what we used to make, but less in comparison with white people. We are moving out of poverty, but while white poverty in America has decreased 27 per cent, black poverty has decreased only 3 per cent.

The most frightening figure is this one. The infant mortality rate for blacks—compared with whites—in 1940, 28 years ago, was 70 per cent higher. In other words, our babies died 70 per cent faster 28 years ago than white babies did. There has been some change, however—in 1962, just six short years ago, the figure was 90 per cent.

Now in addition to these kinds of problems, we face involvement in a problem of national proportions, a problem that affects every American, black and white. That problem is America's imperial war in Vietnam. The difference, black and white, is that it affects us more.

It feeds on our community. It takes our sons and fathers and brothers and uncles to fight and die in it in greater proportion than it takes any other group of Americans. Is that because we are braver, or because we love fighting more than anyone else, or because we are greater patriots? I think not. I think it is because young black men find the Army uniform and three square meals a day more attractive than they find life in Harlem, or Watts, or the Delta of Mississippi or the bayous of Louisiana. And so the war takes them. It sends them 8,000 miles away from their homes, telling them they are defending freedom, the kind of freedom they often find lacking in the communities they leave behind.

The war places many of them in an integrated situation for the first time—a front-line foxhole, next to some white boy. America has not yet discovered how to get that kind of integration at home.

Most of us are spectators to the war. We watch the young black man and the white boy on television, often in living color, as they burn down the huts of some poor Vietnamese village, and realize the two of them could not live on the same block in most American villages. We may realize further that if the young black boy is lucky enough to survive the war without being killed, he may come home and may become so frustrated at the discrimination and racism he meets in the land of his birth that he may burn down some American village—using, of course, the skills and the techniques he learned while defending America's freedom overseas.

Now I have heard some black politicians say that the war didn't affect them, that it was a foreign policy matter, and that we ought not say anything about it, that it wasn't our business. Well, let me say that any time you live in a country that is willing to pay $500,000 for every enemy soldier it kills, and only $50.75 for every poor person in the war on poverty, then that is your business.

Every time you find yourself living in a country that tells you violence is all right when it results in death and destruction for some little brown people 8,000 miles away but not when it is done by black people here at home, then it is your business.

Every time your government tells you that the trouble in Vietnam is caused by outside agitators from the North, think back to George Wallace and Marvin Griffin telling you that you would be happy and satisfied if it wasn't for the outside agitators from the American North.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is everyone's business.

So we have to make it our business to tackle some of the evils of 20th Century Americanism—racism and militarism. We could begin to do that by making our own communities strong and by controlling the goods and services and the institutions of our communities. For a long time we've only had the church. That was the only thing that was ours and ours alone. But I hope in the future that we'll begin to widen our sights and say to ourselves that if it operates in a community of black people, black people have got to control it. That means the businesses and it means the schools and it may mean the police as well.

I was in New York City on Monday, and I went to Intermediate School No. 201, one of the Harlem schools that is controlled and run by the people of Harlem. I spoke to a class of eighth graders, and in my speech, I mentioned some great people who have come from Georgia; and with Roy Hamilton and Ray Charles and James Brown and Otis Redding and Gladys Knight and the Pips, I mentioned the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. Now you may not think that eighth graders ought to be taught about Ray Charles or James Brown, and I'd agree with you; and you might think that Elijah Muhammad might not be a proper subject for an eighth grade class either, but they knew who he was. One eighth-grader told me, "Elijah Muhammed taught racist doctrines, and that's why Malcolm X left the Muslims." Another told me, "The Honorable Elijah Muhammad is the leader of the Nation of Islam and the Messenger of Allah."

Now I submit to you, that's a wonderful thing. Not that one child agrees with Mr. Muhammad and another does not, but that both know about him, and both know he is a part of our peculiar history in the United States. That, I think, is what it means when black people control their community.

Additionally, I think we've got to be aware of and suspicious of attempts to turn us against our own interests. Take Mr. Nixon's Black Capitalism, for instance. (Now before any one of you begins to think I'm against capitalism, let me correct you. But I think we'd all admit that if it had not been for white capitalism, none of us would ever have been sold into slavery.) As Mr. Nixon explains it, Black Capitalism means that General

Motors will be given tax credits to come into my community to set up a factory that will hire and train black people. Now that is wonderful, but it's not Black Capitalism by any stretch of the imagination. That is white capitalism once again coming into the black community and taking the only thing we have to offer, which is our labor.

Instead, we ought to become interested in—now here's a terrible, dirty word—community socialism. We ought to be interested in the kind of economic development in our communities that will not only give us jobs but will give the community the profit as well. A minister in Philadelphia, the Rev. Leon Sullivan, the man who began the idea that became Operation Breadbasket, has a project like that working now. Mr. Nixon has seen it, and we ought to hope that he gets the message.

We are additionally going to have to look around us for the kinds of people we can join forces with. It would be nice if we could go it alone. I am sure there is not a single person here who hasn't said to himself, at one time or another, I wish I could just get away from all this. But we can't, and our numbers are so small nationally that we have got to find the kinds of people who can help us. Those we used to depend on have deserted us.

Organized labor used to call itself our friend, but you saw where labor was in the 1968 presidential election.

White liberals and moderates used to help us, but this terrible war has attracted nearly all their attention.

So we have got to try to find new friends, while we hope the old ones will come home. We naturally ought to look to the other colored minorities—the Mexican-Americans and the Puerto Ricans and the American Indians. If we could get some kind, any kind of response from the heavy shield of racism that blinds poor white people, they would be our natural allies too.

In the future, we will have to beware of the kinds of coalitions like the one that has existed in this city for so long. That coalition put all of us together with some of the white people—the moderates and the liberals. It worked out fine while it was intended to maintain order; but since the blacks began to demand justice, the coalition is beginning to show some signs of wear. And now they want to expand the city limits to cut our numbers down.

So we have to always be on the lookout for any other forces in American political society that can help us. We ought not to turn anyone down. If your house is on fire, and a man runs up with a bucket of water, don't ask him where he got it or who he is. Just make sure it's not gasoline and then pour it on.

Finally, although we need fast action, we have to move with care. We are living in strange times. For the first time in the last eight years, the forces of conservatism have won a national election. For the first time since 1948, we have had a presidential candidate who appealed to racism. This year the hillbilly Hitler from Alabama won nine million votes. In 1972 he will be back again, and we must be ready for him.

We live in an era in which the next Vice-President of the United States makes jokes about Polacks and Japs—you know that any man who does that will also joke about Wops and Spics and Niggers. We live in an era in which a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives has said we ought to reopen the concentration camps that the Japanese were put in during the Second World War; but this time they don't want to put the Japanese in them, they intend them for us.

In an era like that, we ought to consider that an attack on one of us is really an attack on all of us.

We ought to remember what a German minister had to say when someone asked him what he did to stop Hitler from coming to power. He said: "When they came for the Jews, I did not cry out because I was not a Jew. When they came for the Catholics, I did not cry out because I was not a Catholic. When they came for the union leaders, I did not cry out because I was not a union leader. But when they knocked on my door, then and only then did I think of screaming; but there was no one around to hear my screams."

In closing, let me say one final thing. I have believed that we are and will be a great people because we come from a great people. We have great heroes. But a people with a limited view of their own past will have a limited future. So let me close by reading to you two short pieces that come from our past. One comes from a man who was, I believe, our greatest hero, Frederick Douglass. His words of 100 years ago ought still apply to us today. One comes from a man like us, a black politician, who was thrown out of the Georgia House of Representatives 100 years ago.

Frederick Douglass:

> "He who would be free must strike the first blow. You know that liberty given is never so precious as liberty sought for and fought for. The man who is outraged is the man who must make the first outcry. Depend on it: men will not care much for a people who do not care for themselves. Men will organize to prevent cruelty to animals, for they are dumb creatures and cannot speak for themselves; but we are men, and men must speak for themselves or we shall not be spoken for at all. We hold it self-evident that no class or color should be the exclusive ruler of this country. If

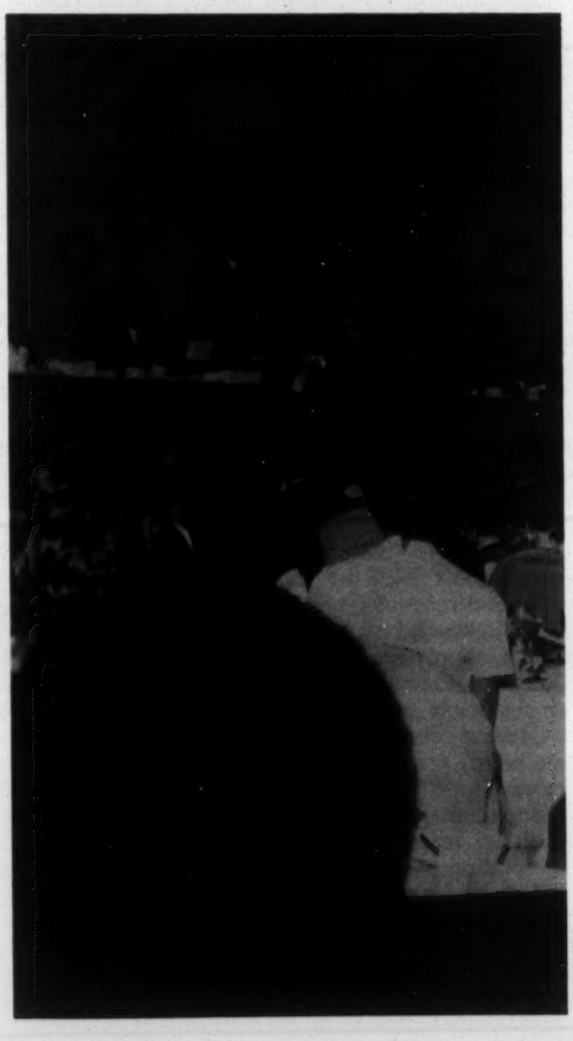
there is such a ruling class, there must, of course, be a subject class; and when that condition is established, the government of the people, by the people and for the people shall perish from the earth."

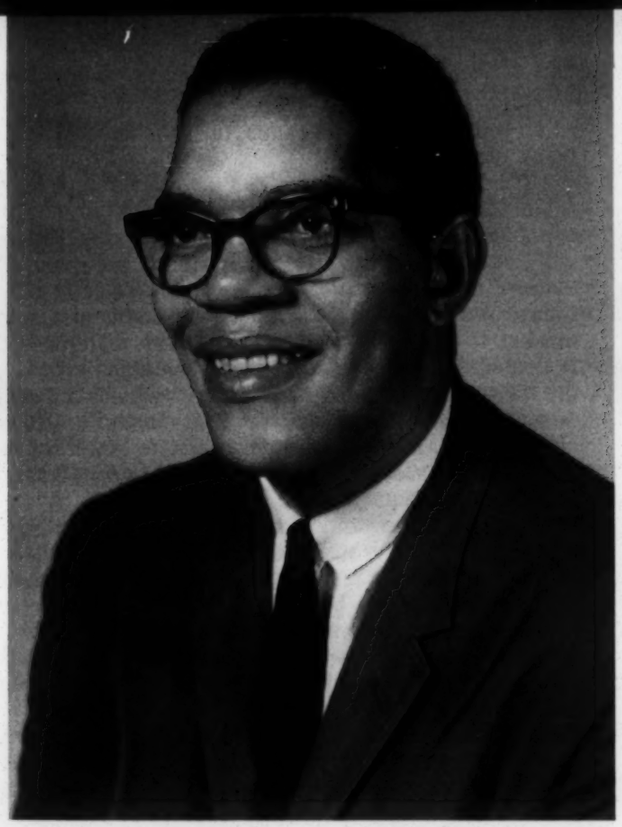
Henry McNeill Turner.

"Even though we are not white, we have accomplished much. We have pioneered a civilization. We have built up your country. We have worked in your field and have garnered your harvest for 250 years. Do we ask for compensation for the sweat our fathers bore for you—for the tears you have caused, the hearts you have broken and the blood you have spilled? Do we ask retaliation? We ask it not. We are willing to let the dead past bury the dead. But we ask you now for our rights. You have all the elements of superiority on your side—you have our money and your own, you have our education and your own. You have our land and your own. We are strangers in the land of our birth; without money, without education, without aid, without a rook to cover us while we live, nor clay to cover us when we die. It is extraordinary that a race such as yours, professing gallantry and chivalry and education and superiority, living in a land where Bibles are read and where Gospel truths are spoken and where courts of justice are presumed to exist—it is extraordinary that with all these advantages on your side, you can still make war on the defenseless black man.

"The great question is this: Am I a man? If I am such, I claim the rights of man. You may expel us, but I believe firmly that one day you will repent it. The black man cannot protect a country if the country cannot protect him, and if tomorrow, a war would arise, I would not raise a musket to defend a country where my manhood is denied. The fashionable way in Georgia is for the white man to sit at ease while the black man does the work, but I will say this much to the colored men of Georgia: never lift a finger or raise a hand in defense of Georgia unless Georgia acknowledges that you are men and invests you with the rights pertaining to manhood. You may expel us by your votes today; but while you do it, remember that there is a just God in Heaven, whose all-seeing eye beholds alike the acts of the oppressor and the oppressed, and who despite the machinations of the wicked, never fails to vindicate the cause of justice and the sanctity of his own handiwork."

Let me suggest that those two men were men, real men. Their words are 100 years old, but their thoughts and ideas are as fresh as tomorrow. If each of us can approach his job with one half the fire and fervor that those two men did, then we will have vindicated the trust our constituents put in us.





'...The Key to Southern Liberation...'

Dr. Samuel D. Cook, *professor of political science at Duke University, gave "an historical sketch of the Negro in the Southern political process" at the opening session Dec. 12. His talk was followed by a panel-audience discussion. Dr. Cook is chairman of the Voter Education Project's Advisory Committee.*

Just as politics "makes strange bedfellows," it begets baffling meanings, events, and experiences. It sometimes makes realities of illusions and illusions of realities. Politics can enslave "the high and the mighty" even as they celebrate the delights of power and privilege. There is a politics of deception, but there are also deceptions of politics, including brutal self-deceptions. The history of Southern politics is a grim reminder and prophetic warning of the perils of politics of fear, negativism, memory, separation, and brutally irrational collective egoism and pride.

The historic position of the Negro in the Southern political system is an awfully strange phenomenon, full of paradox and irony, simplicity and complexity, mystery and meaning, public injustice and poetic justice. Strange as it may seem, the black man's influence on Southern political systems, structures, events, and public policies has been profound, central, and universal. Somehow, the harsh and startling truth is that the Negro is the key to Southern politics. Take him out of the equation and the politics of Southern history does not, in substance, make sense; it is, clearly, beyond the realm of rational intelligibility. Put him in the key role and the tawdry pieces, like a symphony, fall into their proper places and perspectives.

Though, in essence, powerless, helpless, and victimized, the black man, because of the tyranny of racism over the mind of the white South, has been able, without intention or knowledge, to dominate Southern political and governmental life. Essentially outside the political arena, his presence in Dixie largely determined the content, style, rhetoric, direction, and issues inside the Southern political process. How paradoxical and ironic!

Driven by a paranoic fear of black control or "domination," the political thought and practices of the South produced by way of the back door (how symbolic!) that very "black domination" it most feared and sought so desperately to avoid. Slaves tyrannized masters; subjects tyrannized citizens; those who monopolized the structure and process of power fell victim to the very men against whom, above all, their terrible power was directed. Whites fell into the trap they had so cleverly and determinedly made for blacks: absolute dominion.

The very presence of the Negro exercised a dominating influence on the public philosophy and life of the South. The heart of Southern history has been informed and inspired by memories and anticipations, hopes and fears, beliefs and doubts, cocksure complacency and blinding restlessness issuing from the troubling and universal presence of Negroes. Unwittingly, the Negro has exercised tyrannical power over the Southern political process. Just as he was victimized by the albatross of racism, so was the white man. With all his awesome and unlimited power, the white man of the South was powerless—psychologically, emotionally, intellectually, spiritually, culturally, economically, and politically—to shake off the tyrannical influence of the black man. The black man has been the Southern white man's "hang-up." The Negro, like a fearsome ghost, has haunted and driven the white man. The white South's actions and reactions, plans and counter-plans, contemplative flights and manipulative processes were, in large measure, simply echoes and reflections of the agonized, agonizing, and fearsome presence of politically alienated and powerless black men. Deep and irrational fears can enslave even the most powerful. The Southern white man's genius—political and otherwise—has been exhausted in "the race problem." Southern politics is, at bottom, the politics of fear, and the object of fear is the black man.

The changes that have occurred on the Southern political scene—symbolized by your election to positions of power and responsibility—are indeed radical, but the most radical ones are yet to come. The key to Southern liberation is black liberation—liberation from the cancer of racism. When black men are fully free,

the South will be fully free. It will overcome its legacy of national alienation, poverty, illiteracy, economic colonialism, cultural and ideological isolation, and tragic and self-defeating enslavement to the tyranny of the past and the seething despair of a collective existence born of entrapment to the paralysis of memory. Freed from the heavy yoke of racism, the South—and, on a deeper level, the nation as well—will take wings.

I. The Nature of Politics

Politics, shorn of its non-essentials, is a struggle for power and for the values associated with, and derived from, the possession of power. Politics, said Max Weber, "means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state."[1] Political institutions and activities are, essentially, power relations. Power is the ability to get things done, to influence others, to create the desired consequences or conditions.[2] It is the capacity to manipulate and control the world of men as well as the realm of nature in accordance with one's interests and desires.

"Political power is social power focused on the state. It involves control of other men for the purpose of influencing the behavior of the state, its legislative, administrative and judicial activities."[3] Political power determines the authoritative allocation or distribution of public benefits. It involves public decision-making in terms of form and substance, personnel and policy, input and output, privileges and privations, punishment and reward, protection and exploitation, enrichment and impoverishment. Accordingly, the stakes of politics are indeed high and precious. The political system determines who gets what, when, and how. The fruits of political power are many and varied. Public services—from physical protection to street lighting, sewage and garbage disposal—taxation, opportunities for education, enjoyment, employment and other life chances, and related bread-and-butter decisions are largely political matters. Ultimately, politics has profound bearing on the quality and destiny of human life and culture.

Politics is, therefore, a high and honorable calling. It is no better and no worse than other honorable professions. Because of the nature of their office and responsibilities, what political leaders do, in terms of virtues and defects, successes and failures, devotion to public good and pursuit of self-serving ends, is more glaring, visible, and dramatic than that of most men and women. The public properly expects high standards from politicians. After all, they are supposed to be the servants and guardians of the public interest.

The political system and the people who manage its operations have great responsibilities and opportunities for public service. Conflict and disagreement, owing both to human nature and to the scarcity of goods or objects of satisfaction, are an inherent part of the human scene. Politics is peculiarly the arena of conflict, tension, clash, and competitive pursuit for the satisfaction of desires and the achievement of advantage and privilege. It is an eternal battleground of pressure and counter-pressure, demand and counter-demand, pushing and shoving.

As Miller asserts,

> Politics . . . is about disagreement or conflict; and political activity is that which is intended to bring about or resist change, in the face of possible resistance . . . . Political activity . . . arises out of disagreement, and it is concerned with the use of government to resolve conflict in the direction of change or in the prevention of change. It is about policy and position.[4]

Conflict is at the heart of politics. Herein lies perhaps the most creative power and responsibility of political life. Politics is concerned with the adjustment, regulation, accommodation, management, and resolution of conflict growing out of competitive desires, needs, interests, and preferences. It has been well said that "politics is the most inclusive process by which social conflict is regulated in a community."[5] The quality of the political system and the character of political leaders are best determined by how they deal with conflict. The response of the political system to the stubborn reality, power, and persistence of conflict discloses its viability, character, and worth. A political system is creative or destructive in accordance with the pattern and quality of its response to the basic problems and dimensions of human conflict.

Race, in its many manifestations, has been the chief source and expression of conflict and tension in Southern political life. The response of the political system has been destructive and sterile rather than creative and imaginative. Radically absent were creative encounters and responsible responses. The fundamental dimensions and human realities of the situation were never faced; indeed, a premium was placed on not facing them. Methods of political sidestepping were endlessly elaborated and faithfully implemented. Exclusion, oppression, suppression, and victimization of blacks were the chief methods and techniques of the South in dealing with racial conflict and tension. They prevailed.

Regulation, adjustment, accommodation, and resolution of conflicting interest were accomplished by the ruthless mobilization and brutal application of "White Power." The idea of shared power and mutuality of political respect was totally lacking. Conflict communication, participation, and representation were not only irrelevant; they were viewed as dangerous subversion of law, order, justice, and the common good. Issues, therefore, were never confronted, and hence their resolution was made an obvious impossibility. The system not only fostered but celebrated and glorified collective hypocrisy, conceit, egoism, and dishonesty. Majestic principles were invoked to justify the reduction of black men to the status of subject and victim of the political process. Lip-service was dutifully paid to democracy even as Negroes were systematically excluded from the experience of every element of citizenship.

II. Southern Politics and the Tyranny of Racism

A. Black Men As Subject, Issue, and Victim

To understand the depth and power of racism over the Southern political process, it first is necessary to grasp what politics has meant to the South. In a way unique to America, politics has been dear to the heart of Southerners; they have loved it with a passion. It has been a source of profound meaning, attachment, value and fulfillment. If racism was the South's first love, politics was its second. The Southern love of

politics, Cash insisted, is inseparable from its love of rhetoric and oratory.[6]

He went on to say that,

> Thus the politics of the Old South was a theater for the play of the purely personal, the purely romantic, and the purely hedonistic. It was an arena wherein one great champion confronted another or a dozen, and sought to outdo them in rhetoric and splendid gesturing. It swept back the loneliness of the land, it brought men together under torches, it filled them with the contagious power of the crowd, it unleashed emotion and set it leaping and dancing, it caught the very meanest man up out of his own tiny legend into the gorgeous fabric of the legend of this or that great hero.[7]

Besides, politics in the South has been a form of entertainment, relaxation, and escape from the painful burdens of life. All this must be understood in terms of the region's legacy of poverty, misery, illiteracy, disease, national alienation, and tragedy. Politics has been precious to the Southern collective experience.

Politics provided a psychological and emotional outlet from the soil, which was both a prison and a shrine, a curse and a blessing.

Atlanta Constitution columnist Celestine Sibley perceived the heart of matter:

> If there had been anywhere else to go, any other form of public entertainment, it's possible the rural Southerner wouldn't have developed such a marked taste for oratory and barbecue. Having little enough to divert them, however, at 'lay-by time,' when there was nothing to do in the fields except let the crops grow, and the summer protracted meeting had run its course, a political rally at the county seat was a welcome event. Men of all ages from bearded grandpas to shirt-tail boys saddled up horses, hitched the mule to the wagon or set out afoot to hear such spellbinders as fiery Bob Toombs, Little Alec Stephens, Tom Watson and, in later years, Ol' Gene Talmadge . . . . You have but to read some of the old speeches to realize that politics . . . was better than any road show.[8]

No wonder the South produced so many colorful political figures. One thinks of "Kingfish" Huey Long—"Every Man a King"; "Ma" Ferguson—elected governor to serve as proxy for her husband, barred from office by an earlier impeachment and indictment; Ol' Gene Talmadge—displaying his red galluses, appealing to the "wool-hat" boys, and insisting that he didn't want any votes from any county big enough to have street car tracks; "Kissing Big Jim" Folsom; Georgia's two or three governors at the same time; Cotton Ed Smith discoursing with great eloquence on the virtues of Southern womanhood; Lester Maddox, in the early days of his campaign for the governorship, proclaiming his opposition to school consolidation on the ground that it would prevent some nice little girl from being chosen school queen; George Wallace standing in the "schoolhouse door" in symbolic defiance of the whole majesty and power of the United States government. Behind all the comedy was a serious commitment to political life. It satisfied deep needs.

"The South has always been a great land for politicians. This isn't mere happen-so. It results from the character of the people and the nature of their life."[9] Politics in the Old South was something sacred, some-

thing of a religion, perhaps a substitute for, or an extension of, religious experience, rituals, and symbols. The South, according to Dabbs, "tended to replace religion with politics, and to make politics, religion, and the moral life one."[10] He goes on to speak of the "Southern tendency to keep questions in the political realm and to prevent them from becoming moral and religious."[11]

Accordingly, the oppressed status of the Negro in Southern political life represented his victimization and exploitation by something precious and sacred to white Southerners. Deep beliefs and commitments were involved. The region's first and second loves were united in political and governmental institutions and processes to the detriment of black humanity. Politics was, "so to speak," said Cash, "the temple wherein men entered to participate in the mysteries of the common brotherhood of white men, to partake of the holy sacrament of Southern loyalty and hate."[12] Thus racist demagogues, with all their oratory and manipulative skill and power, provided to whites not only enjoyment and entertainment but enrichment, satisfaction, meaning, and fulfillment at the heavy expense of black men. Negroes were excluded from, and victimized by, the Southern political process with a passion that partook of the "sacred."

The raping of Negroes by the Southern political process was, therefore, born of and nurtured by the search for meaning as well as the will-to-power. There was, in fact, a marriage of the will-to-meaning and the will-to-power. Psychological and spiritual components combined. The domination and control of black men satisfied not only the egoistic ambitions, imperialistic aims, and aggressive inclinations of whites; they also satisfied certain spiritual and moral impulses as well. It may sound strange, but the white South gave the political process a moral, spiritual, and religious interpretation. It was also viewed as a commanding agency of organic social cohesion and unity. The Negro was caught up in the throes of a variety of convergent forces and values. A racist public order issued from, and pointed to, more fundamental concerns of the moral, social and religious sphere. The intensity, persistence, and evangelical character of the political persecution of black Southerners is beyond rational comprehension unless linked to perception of certain ultimate concerns.

A broad perspective is essential in order to understand the constant preoccupation with the presence of the Negro and the expenditure of endless energy as well as moral, rational, and political resources to keep him in a state of oppression. The South felt it necessary to make the alienation and domination of Negroes ab-

solute and total—and even that did not produce satisfaction. The desire for security against a weak and black minority was insatiable; the hunger and thirst were beyond satisfaction. It was not enough to make black men powerless; they had to be humiliated and consistently and brutally reminded, in the public forum and in the boondocks, of the contempt and scorn in which they were held. They were easy targets and victims of political evangelism, and the peril of their presence had to be denounced with fervor and earnest dedication.

What's more, the white South could never shake off the feeling of the mysterious and perilous presence of the Negro. Serious threat of "black domination" was always lurking in the background. Negro strength would, according to the perceptions and fears of whites, somehow break through the stone walls and steel barriers of oppressive laws, caste, and custom. Danger was omnipresent; black invasion of sacred white temples was always an immediate possibility. Watching had to be constant; new walls of protection had to be built; new devices for the detection of rebellion had to be invented.

There was, on the ultimate level, a feeling of the powerlessness of power to prevent attempts at social and political change. Prevalent was the paranoic syndrome of a secret but powerful conspiracy against the Southern "way of life." The white man never felt secure. He was haunted by an inner doubt and fear that he had not done enough to maintain the political enslavement of the black man. Complete disfranchisement of blacks did not bring serenity and confidence to whites. Doubt still lurked. Black men were still viewed as a threat, a problem, a nightmare.

Perhaps subconsciously, the feeling that the Negro would rise was substituted for the sorry myth that the Confederate South would rise again. It is strange, but power does not necessarily produce security, and absolute power, if it were possible, would not inevitably bring about absolute security. Ironically, black men, in their powerlessness, exercised tremendous power over whites, who monopolized the process and substance of power; relegated to subjects, black men informed and inspired the basic political philosophy and practices of white citizens. There is an element of mystery in all this, but there is also a core of meaning.

Southern politics has been primarily the politics of race. Racism has presided over perhaps every major aspect of the political life of the region, if the situation is viewed in large terms—in the pre-Civil War era, the Civil War itself, the Confederacy, the Democratic split in 1860, Reconstruction, the Redemption, the establishment of various restrictive voting laws, the Black Codes, the rise and perpetuation of the one-party system,[13] the birth and death of Populism,[14] the Dixiecrat movement, the numerous independent electors exercises, the Wallace movement, and so forth. Alexander Heard asserts, "Southern concern over the Negro is the most deeply rooted source of political contention in American politics."[15]

In his classic study, *Southern Politics,* V. O. Key observed:

> In its grand outlines the politics of the South revolves around the position of the Negro. It is at times interpreted as a politics of cotton, a politics of free trade, as a politics of agrarian poverty, or as a politics of planter, and plutocrat. Although such interpretations have a superficial validity, in the last analysis the major peculiarities of Southern politics go back to the Negro. Whatever phase of the Southern political process one seeks to understand, sooner or later the trail of inquiry leads to the Negro.[16]

The "Southern bloc" in the Congress exists only in reference to the race issue. After analyzing Southern voting behavior in the Senate, Key concluded that "on the race question, and on that question alone, does a genuine Southern solidarity exist. On other questions Southern Democrats split and Southern solidarity becomes a matter of degree." [17] After examining Southern voting behavior in the House, Key concluded: "Thus the inference to be drawn from House behavior is similar to that deductible from Senate voting: Southern attitude toward the Negro provides the bedrock of Southern sectionalism."[18] The celebrated Southern doctrine of states' rights—from its initial formulation to the present—is, at bottom, an ideological weapon, political imperative, and respectable camouflage for a free hand in the management of race relations. It has no consistent and meaningful application elsewhere. The South "has not stood consistently for states-rights, except on issues associated with slavery and the Negro question."[19]

Somehow, then, the Negro has, unwittingly, exercised a curious tyranny over the mind of the white South. Of the centrality and universality of Negro influence, it has been well said that the

> fundamental determinant of Southernism has been the presence of the Negro in large numbers relative to the whites, and resulting white supremacy doctrines and patterns of behavior. A South divorced from the problem of race would not have been a Solid South; a South preoccupied with race problems became a Solid South.[20]

It is of timely relevance to note that racism, fearing that, in a system of competitive party politics Negroes would hold the balance of power, is chiefly responsible for the historic one-party system in the South. "The South is a one-party area," commented Rossiter nearly a decade ago, "primarily because of the Negro."[21] Perhaps the crowning irony of Southern political history and process is that the party of Lincoln—which, owing to its image of association with the rights and aspirations of Negroes, was for nearly a century reduced to impotence in the South—must attribute a large part, though, of course, not all, of its modern rebirth and success to racism.[22]

Significantly, the pervasive influence of the Negro on the political process of the South has not been as a political agent and participant but as a political issue and object.[23] It has been, in other words, his function as a subject, not citizen. Essentially outside the political process and system, the Negro has been the chief source of animation, dynamism, inspiration, strategy, style, issues, and direction.[24] Southern politicization and political socialization issued from, in large measure, the very presence of the black man. The heart of Southern political socialization is the proposition that the governing process is the business of whites only. The Negro, in this view, is only subject—not citizen; a tool to be manipulated, not a political agent to be reckoned with and whose demands are to be responded to. "A democratic citizen," it has been well said, "speaks the language of demands."[25]

B. Consequences of the Tyranny of Racism on Southern Politics

Owing to the tyranny of racism, the Southern political system and process have been built on exclusivist rather than inclusivist principles and ideals. Interpretations of democracy, equality, justice, progress, and other moral ideals that inspire and inform the Southern political process were provincial and made in a manner to deny that very exclusiveness. The principles of democracy, in this framework, were not violated but, on the contrary, affirmed and institutionalized with religious fidelity. As Louis Hartz observed, "One of the crucial factors in the solidarity of the South was a democratic spirit enhanced by the slavery on which it rested."[26]

Some spokesmen of the Old South saw in Greek democracy their model and inspiration. Democracy for whites only was idealized. "The dominance of all white men over the Negro created a sense of brotherhood not unlike the Greek concept of democracy."[27] But even as Athens was invoked, fidelity to the American Creed was proclaimed. "The proslavery argument was so cleverly combined with American ideals that servitude appeared the very condition of democracy."[28] The very slavery of blacks was viewed as a basis of the freedom, equality , citizenship, culture, civilization, and humanity of whites.[29]

Ante-bellum political philosophy, attitudes, public policy, and vision have been continuous and productive of some awesome fruits. The Old South mothered the legacy that whites are born to rule and Negroes to obey, that the governing process is the business alone of whites. Because of slavery, said Tocqueville, "the citizen of the Southern states becomes a sort of domestic dictator from infancy; the first notion he acquires in life is that he is born to command, and the first habit which he contracts is that of ruling without resistance."[30] The operation of the particularistic version of democracy spawned an institutionalized negation of the ideal of the universality of participation inherent in the democratic process. It has meant not only the total alienation of Negroes from, but, even worse, their victimization and exploitation by, the Southern political process.

Down through the years, Southern public life has adhered to the principle of racist exclusivity. Even progressive and reform movements, weak at best, have espoused the ideology of racism. In his monumental *Origins of the New South,* C. Vann Woodward has a chapter whose title is: "Progressivism—For Whites Only." He maintains, "Southern progressivism generally was progressivism for white men only," and notes the "paradoxical combination of white supremacy and pregressivism."[31]

Self-defeating for whites have been the consequences of the centrality of racism in the total political culture. If it emasculated blacks, it produced the sterility of whites. Low electoral and other forms of citizen participation, a one-party system, (or, rather, a no-party system), a primitive political culture, diversion of energies and imagination from the real and vital issues of regional growth and development, alienation from the mainstream of the public life of the nation, vast restrictions on freedom of choice, archaic political, governmental, and constitutional structures, fertile soil for demagogues, tragic illusions, romance with negativism, and wild-eyed and futile adventures, and an inability to perceive the ultimate dignity, vitality and creative and higher possibilities of political life are all, in great measure, the product of racist-dominated politics. Great visions have been vitiated and buried because of racism. There is deep pathos here. The "tragedy of the South," says Dean Acheson, "has been that racism has corrupted an otherwise respectable strain of protest and experimentation in the search for economic equality, dating back to Jefferson, Mason, Randolph, and Jackson."[32]

Worthy of emphasis is the low level of electoral participation. Voting is only one aspect of political consciousness and involvement, but it is crucial. The record of the whole country is a terrible commentary on our public life,[33] but the South's record is the most depressing.[34] "By any standard," said Key, "precious few Southerners exercise the rights of citizens in a democracy."[35] Many reasons may be adduced, but they are all related, in the end, perhaps, to the "Negro problem."[36] Restrictions on Negro suffrage were vast and constituted "the most impressive systems of obstacles between the voter and the ballot box known to the democratic world."[37]

But restrictions on Negro suffrage took their toll on whites as well, both directly and indirectly, resulting in a small segment of the white population monopolizing the governing process. Indirect limitations on white voters flowed from the quality of the whole political system—the lack of competitive politics, the absence of issues and choices beyond personalities and self-serving factions, the hegemony of routine, and the sheer weight of the cumbersome mechanics of registration and voting. Direct restrictions on whites proceeded from laws aimed at Negroes but also militated against whites of low socio-economic and educational background and status. Laws directed against Negroes almost invariably affected some white voters.[38] The poll tax, for example, Key held, "insofar as it has deterred voting, has operated primarily to keep whites away from the polls,"[39] because Negroes could be kept from the polls by other means. Besides, the landed aristocrats and Bourbons held no special love for "poor whites." Thus, ironically, in the Southern political system certain whites have been victimized by the mythology and practice of the politics of white supremacy. In fact, "in sheer quantity nonvoting whites outnumber the voteless Negroes of the South as a whole."[40] In terms of substantive pub-

lic policy, the region's legacy of poverty, low per capita income, disease, illiteracy, and undevelopment of resources—human and natural—is a pathetic reminder of the depth and persistence of human folly. In every major crisis of the South, its leadership has defaulted. It has misled.

III. The Day and Night of Reconstruction

With legal emancipation and ratification of the Civil War amendments, the hope and expectation prevailed that former slaves would become, in reality as well as in theory, citizens and therefore full and equal participants in the Southern political process. Hopes, among the four million freedmen and their friends and allies, soared. Expectations and aspirations took wing. Reconstruction got under way.

Obviously, the new freedmen had no political experience or civic education. What is less well-known—and this tells us much about the character of the whole American political tradition as regards black men—is that even free Negroes, before the Civil War, had been, on the whole systematically excluded from the processes of politics. "Prior to the Civil War, Negroes had the right to vote in only four Northern states—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and Vermont. One Southern state, North Carolina, for a period allowed freed slaves to vote."[40] The voting laws of New York had discriminated against free Negroes.[41] When the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870, Negroes could vote in only seven Northern states.[42] "During the period between the Philadelphia conventions of 1787 and 1865, only Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts permitted Negroes to vote on equal terms with whites. All others, at some time, have barred Negro Americans from the suffrage."[43]

Despite the tragically scarred legacy of slavery, Southern resentment and hostility, political chaos, and partisan wrangling for the advantages of power and privilege, Negroes plunged deeply into the muddy waters of Southern politics. They registered and voted in large numbers. They filled significant elective and appointive offices. They were familiar figures at state constitutional conventions, in state legislatures, and in local positions of responsibility. Between 1869 and 1880, 16 black men served in Congress from the South—two of whom, Hiram R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, represented Mississippi in the Senate. By 1895, 21 Negroes, representing eight states, had served in the House of Representatives.

Many myths have been created and perpetuated about "Negro domination" during Reconstruction—powerful myths that have been used to justify the political oppression and degradation of black men. The facts, however, are quite different. As John Hope Franklin observed,

> No group has attracted more attention or has had its role more misrepresented by contemporaries and by posterity than Southern Negroes during Radical Reconstruction. The period has been described as one of Negro rule, as one of gross perfidy with the Negro as the central figure, since the reins of misgovernment were supposedly held by black militiamen. Negroes were not in control of the state governments at any time anywhere in the South. They held public office and, at times, played important parts in the public life of their respective states. But it would be stretching a point to say that their roles were dominant, and it would be hopelessly distorting the picture to suggest that they ruled the South. It was in South Carolina that they had the greatest numerical strength. In the first legislature there were eighty-seven Negroes and forty whites. From the outset, however, whites controlled the state senate and in 1874 the lower house as well. At all times the governor was white. There were two Negro lieutenant governors. . . .[44]

Negro public officials, during Reconstruction, were neither better nor worse than their white counterparts. Both virtues and defects, both successes and failures were shared. Black men made real contributions.[45] A major contribution was to the establishment of public education for both races. "It is fair to say," asserted DuBois, "that the Negro carpetbag governments established the public schools of the South."[46]

The hopes of Reconstruction were dashed for a variety of reasons. The failure of the national government to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, partisan calculations, Southern determination to make the political process the exclusive prerogative of whites, the low economic, social, and educational status of blacks and other forces conspired to end the experiment in shared power and responsibility. With the withdrawal of federal troops, the Negro was abandoned to his enemies. White power was restored with vengeance. Force, violence, economic pressure, psychological coercion, and various "legal" devices were employed to reduce black men, once more, to the status of subject and victim. Virtual slavery returned.

IV. Conclusion: Citizen at Last?

"The citizen, unlike the subject, is an active partici-

pant in the political input process—the process by which political decisions are made."[47] Is the Negro, at long last, a free, equal participant in the Southern political process? The answer is clearly in the negative. The input must be increased; the output even more so. Changes in public philosophy and policy must come.

While it is true that the Negro still is part subject, it is also true that, because of numerous changes in the political landscape, he is much nearer the shore of political equality than at any previous time. He now has a toehold in the Southern political process. He can, on the whole, vote. Negroes are, in increasing numbers, elected to public office. A handful hold appointive positions in state and local governments. Black men are beginning to participate in the conduct of party affairs. A new day has dawned in the political and governmental life of the region. Because of pressure, barriers continue to fall. Because of increased participation, black men are developing a fund of public experience and increasing their political confidence and skill.

Negroes can help redeem the past of the Southern political process. They can be liberating and redemptive agents. Just as the Negro was the key to Southern political enslavement, he is the key to Southern political emancipation. The Southern genius has been exhausted in the "race problem." Black men, working with whites of reason, good will, and a sense of justice, can largely free the South from the chains and illusions of the past. The chief problem is racism.

Freed from the prison of racism, the South will be freed from the heavy yoke of deceit, hypocrisy, negativism, obstructionism, and provincialism. It will be freed from the vain illusion of the possibility of the restoration of a public order "gone with the wind." It will be freed of the exhausting and painful efforts to maintain a closed corporation. It will be freed from enslavement to the past and to memory. Freed of the Atlas burden of racism, the Southern political process will be able to say, ironically, with Martin Luther King: "Free at last."

FOOTNOTES

1. "Politics as a Vocation," in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1946), p. 78.
2. See Bertrand Russell, *Power: A New Social Analysis* (London, 1938), p. 35.
3. Franz Neumann, *The Democratic and the Authoritarian State* (Glencoe, 1957), p. 3.
4. J. B. D. Miller, *The Nature of Politics* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 14, 16.
5. Dan Nimmo and Thomas D. Ungs, *American Political Patterns* (Boston, 1967), p. 11.
6. W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South*, Vintage ed. (New York, 1941), pp. 53-54.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.
8. *Peachtree Street, U.S.A.* (Garden City, New York, 1963), pp. 75-76.
9. James M. Dabbs, *Who Speaks for the South?* (New York, 1964), p. 189.
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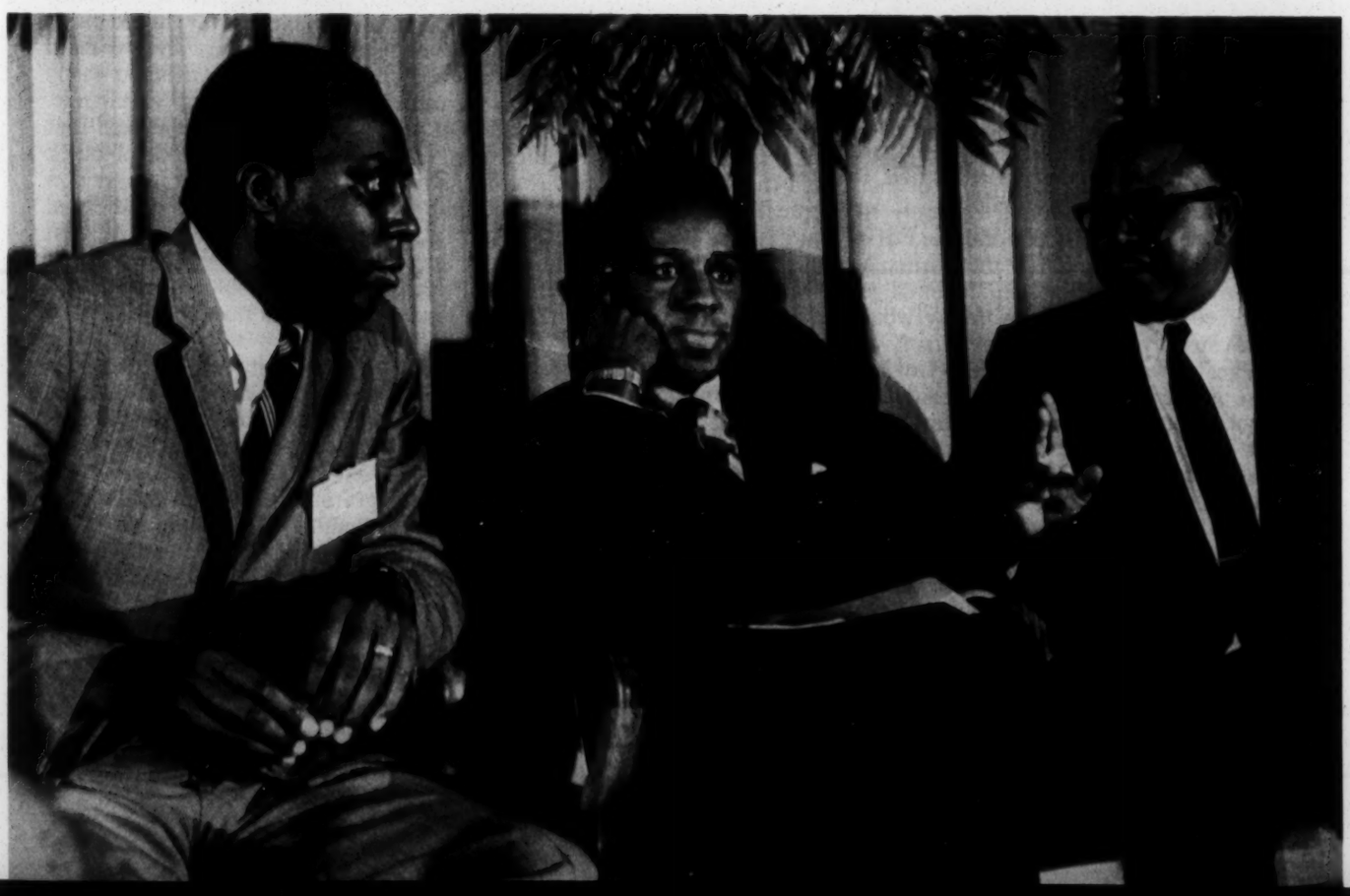


'...Real Kind of Revolution...'

Dr. Vivian Henderson, *president of Clark College in Atlanta, was luncheon speaker Dec. 12th. Dr. Henderson is author of a Southern Regional Council study on "The Economic Status of Negroes" and is co-author of several books, including "The Advancing South: Manpower Prospects and Problems" and "Jobs and Color: Negro Employment in Tennessee State Government." He is a member of the VEP Advisory Committee and the SRC executive committee.*

I am interested in discussing with you what I believe to be a very important set of background phenomena in terms of the South. This audience, by virtue of its structure and the structure of its agenda and its program, obviously is interested in the South. Subsequently I'd like to try to pinpoint some kind of strategy for black elected officials.

Now I won't be too successful here, because I'm not a political scientist and I'm not a political figure. But I've had some experience in the practical field of trying to arouse a community and particularly to help organize Negro political groups for the purpose of effecting a sophisticated kind of strategy (I use the word sophistication without apology here.)—a sophisticated kind of strategy that would enable us to know something about what we ought to do under a variety of conditions involving political participation.

We hear a lot of talk about the revolutions of today. And, of course, to me, when we talk in terms of revolution, we think in terms of violence, physical upheaval—and of course there is some of that. But I think the politics of the South and certainly the representation here today manifests the real kind of revolution that is going on in this country and particularly in the South.

Any person with minimum intelligence would sense the fact that what is here today would not have been here three years ago. Any person with minimum intelligence would recognize the fact that what we have here is a conglomeration of personalities from varying black groups representing different kinds of interests but all currently having one thing in common—and that is, being black and, at the same time, trying to pursue, like a people, the best life and the good life within the framework of a democratic society. It is this kind of a revolution that doesn't get enough attention in the public press and in the media. It is usually the soapbox orator who gets the attention.

The issues facing the South today emerged from traditional and persistent problems. This is so with regard to race relations, and it is also the case with regard to the broader of politics—of economics, education and leadership. On the other hand, I do think that the forces which condition and shape these issues are of recent vintage. The forces of urbanization, the forces of technological change, mobility of labor and capital and the swiftness with which such forces play havoc with the lives of many people—this is certainly of a new origin.

As Southerners and as people interested in working in Southern politics, it is important for us to recognize the two faces of the South. The concept of the old order—the only face the South exhibited—was that of a rural and backward South. Now I see that there are at least two faces today. One is the face of Southern cities and metropolitan areas, smaller towns with an urban mentality—plagued, to be sure, with the systems and traditional problems and images, but trying to carry the South into the mainstream of American and rural life, and yet encumbered with problems ushered in by the forces of urbanization and technological change. This is the face that we recognize. This is the face that is represented here in this conference—a face of black men and women struggling to emancipate the region from its traditional backwardness and its traditional images. One gentleman from Portsmouth, Va., last night said to me that the South will rise again, but it will be rising with the leadership of black people and rising with a new kind of image and not in terms of the old kind of image.

But we can not suggest that with all the progress that apparently is being made that there is a continuance of that second face. And that is of the old order—the face of racism, segregation, discrimination, anti-unionism, down with the federal government, preservation of the status quo, agrarianism, and a Communist under every rock and stone. It is the face of rural-dominated legislatures, ultra-conservative representatives in the U. S. Congress, low-wage industry, the faces of George Wallace and Lester Maddox, and the faces of hungry children and poverty as established by recent reports. These are the forces or the issues that black elected officials must recognize.

At the same time I recognize the fact that many of America's problems today are not regional in character.

Certainly they do not carry the regional thrust of a few years ago.

We know, for example, that the South's problems, like the nation's problems, are basically urban problems. Only a few years ago the South's problems were mostly rural, and those of the rest of the nation were basically urban. Race relations problems were a few years ago confined to the South because overwhelming proportions of black Americans lived in the South. But today the problems of Southern job-seekers, income recipients, housing tenants, school children, the problems of those who pursue welfare rights and quality education, the problems of those who seek health improvement and relief from hunger and malnutrition—they have only limited differences in the South than those Americans in other regions.

The solutions certainly have lost some of their regional character. Since World War II Southern progress economically, politically and socially and in race relations has been directly tied to national programs, national policy and national trends. It is for this reason that I question the whole concept of grants to states and the whole concept of the reversal to states' rights. Recent economic gains in the South and improvements in employment and so forth, these have been directly tied to the national force of economic and political power.

It may appear irrelevant for a conference of this sort to deal with problems of people in the South in a regional context at this point in our history. But the South does have problems peculiar to the region. Its politics, its economics, its race relations and its history—these are all peculiar to the region.

One of the great differences between the South and other regions today is what I believe to be a realistic kind of opportunity—an opportunity for the South, even at this late hour, to avoid the mistakes of the North in favor of building up in its society a generating force of participation by all its citizens. To me this is the great significance of the conference here today. One of the great challenges to black elected officials is recognition of a role that the Negro elected official must play in building up a society capitalizing upon the fact that there may be an opportunity here for the South not to make the mistake of the North and build into rigidity a housing segregation, etc. that the North is plagued with today.

While the South's history is laden with scars of demogogic politics—agrarianism, demeaning race relations and a history of the severest kinds of racial dualism and hate—it is also a history of black and white poverty existing side-by-side and a peculiarity of less-than-rigid distribution of population by race, within cities and within rural areas. Strange as it may seem, the data will suggest that urbanization, for example, has not developed in the South as it has in other regions. In spite of the farm mechanization and the displacement of many people from farms by farm mechanization, the technology is still relatively novel in its impact on Southern non-agricultural industry.

We began by talking about the region, the place that's being represented here. It has made several strides in the areas of unemployment, per capita income and the like. It has made great strides in the area of politics. (As I understand, there are 385 black elected officials in the states that represented the Old Confederacy, the highest degree of concentration of legally elected public officials than anywhere else in the nation. I would say we need more. The most important thing is for the black elected officials who are in office today to recognize this goal and help to get others to be a part of this participation.) There are several things that have influenced this kind of progress. One has been the development of national policy to promote full employment to combat poverty, and so forth. Two, the part of national policy to combat racial discrimination and segregation through schools and hospitals and employment and voter registration and voting.

It's on this second point that I am concerned. I have yet to see in the South, in spite of the positions of our black elected officials, the kind of initiation of public policy legislation which really brings the problem and the solution from the national level to some of our local and state levels. It seems to me that we have just about gotten what we are going to get from national policy; and if the Cabinet that was appointed last night is any criteria, then I'm quite sure that we have gotten just about all we are going to get for the next few years. It means, in other words, that rather than being passive as elected officials and responding and reacting to legislation introduced by others, the great challenge we have for the black elected officials today is to take the initiative and introduce this legislation formulating the public policy, pushing it, riding it, and making these policies known to their constituents.

Number three is the forces of the redistribution of the Negro population. Now these and other kinds of things and work will continue to influence public change and they will continue to influence public employment.

Now let me just mention one thing here which I think is extraordinarily important and which I think we live with every day and which I think is the kind of a thing which we can get our hands on pretty quickly in terms of effecting public policy for ourselves. I mentioned population redistribution. I also mentioned that the South has had what I call less-than-rigid distribution of the population by race, particularly when it comes to housing. Now I didn't say there was no segregation in housing—I didn't say that. I simply said it was less than rigid. This is a very serious problem. Local, regional political leadership must deal with it. Now cities like Houston with its third ward and fifth ward, Atlanta with its Southwest section—these have long had rather rigid housing segregation. But most Southern rural towns and rural areas and urban areas have not been rigid in this respect.

Through urban renewal and construction of new expressways, more and more citizens now in the South have built—have in fact planned and engineered development of—racial ghettos and race lines in terms of housing and citizenry. The negative aspects of this passage, in my judgment, will far outweigh any positive impact that has been proved. Consequently, whereas school desegregation could have been dealt with as easy to come by in many areas of the South, insofar as residential patterns were concerned, it is more and more repeated by concentration of public housing, housing developments and single-family dwellings in racial enclaves and racial ghettos. Any elected official who sits

up and watches this go by without trying to do something relative to it has missed the boat, and I believe this is only one example of the kind of problem we face in urban circles and in smaller rural farms. And to it black elected officials must address themselves.

Negroes are going to continue to move to the urban areas. It is projected that by 1975, 72 per cent of the Southern brothers and sisters will be in urban cities and towns.

The rise of racial ghettos in the Southern region should be a matter of concern to all of us. And yet I recognize that two parts of this most of us have been able to capitalize on on one hand—and how it hurts us on the other hand. For example, many of you here would not have been elected to public office had it not been for the racial ghetto. And I recognize the power of politics within the racial ghetto. This is an educated kind of opportunity. It presents a greater kind of opportunity for greater political participation. And indeed it represents perhaps a new kind of opportunity for political leadership in our cities, including mayors of cities and towns. But it also means on the positive side the things that black elected officials recognize as the cities become more concentrated with the brothers and sisters: that the problems of poverty and progress are mounting. We must understand that issues will become more important to the brothers and sisters than personality. This will become more important then to the black constituency as they feel the pressures that must accompany the higher degree of concentration of people in a small area.

In sum, at this point what I'm trying to say is that we in this region know the South has made a lot of gains, and they've made them on all sides. Then we know that civil rights gains have benefitted all black Americans one way or another. But despite these gains in the South and despite the gains and improvements among Negro Americans, there are several things I want to cite just to keep you reminded of the fact that we've got a long way to go before we reach the kind of parity with the larger part of the population that we ought to have.

The South continues to be the most depressed area in the economy. Per capita income, for example, in the region is less than three-fourths that of the rest of the nation. Eighty-five per cent of the 200 most poverty-stricken counties in the United States are located in the South. And I don't have to add that these are heavily populated by black people.

A recent report by the Citizens Board of Inquiry indicated that 242 of the 256 counties in the country which were in the hunger count were located in 13 Southern states. And these are the very states and counties, I might add, where congressmen and senators work most effectively to block policies designed to feed the hungry and to alleviate the poverty—while they also promote agriculture and other policies to lower the amount of production and drive people off the farms and out of rural areas to the cities so they can fill their pockets with $13,000 worth of payments from the taxpayers' pockets in Soil Bank and other kinds of payments designed to promote agricultural development. You know who I am talking about from the state of Mississippi, Sunflower County, who gets $13,000 a month not to produce while people are going starving right there in his county.

I'm saying here that these issues cannot be dealt with just on the basis of personality. We must come to grips with the hard issues that affect the people's stomachs, their lives, their schooling, their health and their liberties of life. The kind of thing I've just described, incidentally, is what some people call free enterprise for the poor and socialism for the rich. It was what was said about Mr. Nixon's Black Capitalism.

Negroes in the South—in Atlanta, Birmingham, places like Sunflower County, Issaquena County—on the average only earn 43 per cent of what Negroes in the North earn. Whites in the South, on the other hand, earn about 75 per cent of what whites in the North earn. The region continues to lag in education, and Negroes bear the brunt of that lag. Negroes in the South still constitute the largest and most depressed group of the nation's population.

Finally, many elements of traditional race relations persist in the South. And there are many industries and plants with all-white work forces, and these are the rule rather than the exception. We find it in our banks and our insurance companies and in communications and in radio, television and newspapers.

We've heard a great deal about the urban crisis—the crisis of our cities. One of the most obvious consequences of the concentration of black Americans in central cities is the increased difficulty in taking them out of poverty.

I would argue at this point that the thing that black elected officials must take seriously is the development of a carefully conceived body of political strategy for the Negro electorate in the South. Colleges and universities have failed miserably in providing that body of strategy, the framework of the strategy for black elected officials. But somebody is going to have to do that.

Political fortunes that have come to Negroes up to this point have come in spite of themselves more than because of political astuteness. Now, I don't mean to be indicting people—I am indicting myself as well. But I suspect that it is because of the terror of the racial ghetto, more than political astuteness, that we have been able to come by some of the political fortunes that are manifested by the group assembled here today. And while most of this strategy is applicable to all races, strategy in different situations can evolve from general principles.

For example, politics among Negroes in Atlanta is almost wholly—and I would say about 99.9 per cent—oriented toward personality. Now, a certain amount of politics is always going to play a role. In my view, Atlanta desperately needs issue-oriented politics. Anybody who knows the city of Atlanta knows what personalities do here.

The issues are clear. They are found in the poverty of our black people. They are found in our manpower inadequacies. They are found in the quality of our ghetto schools. They are found in the related services to the poor. The issues are found in the inadequacy of the grievance procedures, in the inability of people to reach certain aspects of the city government. The issues are found in the lack of consumer protection and programs. They are found in the nth degree. The issues are found in the destitution of families and children.

That brings us to the future.

We must re-examine the strategy of racial blocs. I'm not too sure but that in the near future we can rely upon racial solidarity. Now we may have a slight difference of view here, but we can rely on racial solidarity as a vehicle to accomplish our goals. This is particularly true as the two-party system in the South gains strength. That doesn't mean for a moment that I'm saying tomorrow we're going to come together when it comes to a political issue involving race. I don't think we can. But how about someone to enlighten us to the possibilities of the two-party structure and legitimate two-party structures to provide settings for the ways to proceed on racial issues? I think this strategy will have to work. I feel that the question of issues, personality politics and coalition politics also must deal with the question of the role of racial blocs. I'm simply citing this as a matter that has to be dealt with.

I was very interested in the Cabinet and the appointments made by President-elect Richard Nixon as I was visiting last night in Washington. It was said earlier that if these appointments are any criteria of what is to come, then Negroes really must come to grips with the question of strategy, because we may be in for a period of standstill in politics, insofar as national leadership is concerned. Mr. Nixon appointed a Cabinet with no Negroes, no members of the Jewish faith, no ethnic representation, and obviously pretty close to the white Anglo-Saxon principle.

The only appeal that I heard regarding the brothers and sisters by the incoming administration has been the call for black capitalism. I have studied Black Capitalism. I'm not really too sure what Mr. Nixon is asking with his Black Capitalism, but I can assure him and I can assure you and I can assure everybody else that even Black Capitalism would be of little use to the masses of New York who need help. For we want and I want all the black businesses, everybody I can get. I want all the black entrepreneurs. I want them in Harlem and I want them on Fifth Avenue in New York City, not just on Hunter and Auburn Streets in Atlanta, but at Five Points. It is an illusion to think that this approach (Black Capitalism) will transform the lives of the millions of black brothers and sisters whose lives need transforming and restitution to a reasonably normal standard of living.

I was very interested in the new representative from Mississippi, Mr. Robert Clark. He said what has happened is that Mr. Nixon did not go into the Negro community, he did not campaign, he did not seek the Negro vote, he made no effort to get it; he made it by his attitude. He said what this meant to him, if I read it correctly, is that Negroes are left out and they will be left out of what's going to happen.

Now I hope we're all wrong on this—and obviously we are not trying to prejudge completely. But the fact is that we're going to talk about political strategy on the national scene. The brothers and sisters have had to depend upon the national scene to effect the policies and the things by which we could get things done at the local scene. If we lose a hold on the national scene, if they sort of look at us as being on the periphery and not an integral part of the pursuit of the mainstream, then we've got to really re-think the strategy. And I don't think this can be done on an ad hoc basis. I don't think this can be done with people going in so many different ways. Perhaps it becomes incumbent on those who are assembled here to try to come up with the kind of things that might have meaning in this respect.

It seems to me that most political strategy—and the strategy that has caused the dynamics in urban and rural life contrary to where we thought we were just about five years ago—must continue to recognize the dynamics of race relations as a continuing and central factor in the life and order and growth and development of our people. Racial attitudes and practices continue to be factors conditioning one-third to one-half the population. Now, I say that because of the second point I want to make about this strategy: It seems to me that we must keep in mind that we are not at the point where we can abandon racial and color consciousness under the facade of color blindness. Even some of the black brothers and sisters who got elected to office right here say, I'm going to represent all of the people. That's fine. You just keep in mind that those who elected you 99 per cent of the time were black.

Secondly, you must keep in mind the fact that you must be responsive to and responsible to a color-conscious society. And it seems to me that for any black elected official to go around and say "I'm elected by all the people" without also adding "I'm going to give some special attention to the black brothers and sisters," he's going on the wrong track. I say this hoping at the same time we continue to pursue with all dignity a color-blind society.

Even the white elected officials now are always talking about, "I want to pursue this without regard to race, creed or color." Now you know that too many injustices have been heaped upon the black brothers and sisters under a color-conscious institution of racial segregation for us to expect the consequences of those injustices to be erased under a scheme of color blindness. And I've been so careful of telling you of color consciousness as a political strategy, and it must necessarily underride the strategy of Negro elected officials.

Now, I'm not a black nationalist. I'm not a Black Power advocate according to the rhetoric and slogans that you hear now. I want to be sure to be clear on that. But I am arguing here that for the forseeable future color consciousness must be part of our political strategy and our urban strategy.

What we have found in the last few years in the lives of black people appears to be a conflict in goals in race relations. And that conflict revolves around survival of racial separatism as a goal, as a philosophy and as a strategy vis-à-vis racial integration. Objectives concentrating on the development of economic and political power among black people are objectives that aren't new.

We started a group in Madison some years ago called Eagleton County Independent Political Party, and one of the first things we did back there was say it would be all Negro. That was in 1961. And we said to our white friends, we've got a role for you but not right now. The point is, there was nothing new about the building of economic and political power for the Negro. We developed a high sense of black self-respect. These were all verbal objectives.

But this does not mean building black racism. This does not mean that we have got to build hate. This does

not mean that we have got to go off trying to build, as a matter of strategy, separate societies. What it does say to me is that Negro life and institutions need to be strengthened, not for separatism but for the purpose of achieving intelligent integration and maximizing contributions to the total of our pluralistic and multi-racial and democratic society. Indeed, as W. E. B. DuBois said many years ago, only when black people and white people, and black institutions and white institutions, can accept one another and interact with one another and be interwoven as part of each other's operation, respecting each other for his worth as an individual and not on the basis of color, will democracy in this country be subjected to a true test and have its opportunity to be achieved.

It is desirable that black institutions be strengthened, but not for the purpose of establishing some mystique called Black Power or for the purpose of creating black racism. They should be strengthened for the purpose of achieving a rightful place in a pluralistic society, a rightful place in a multi-racial society. You see, I'm going to have my cake and eat it too. Not only am I unwilling to abandon the goals associated with racial integration—at the same time, I reject the idea of apartheid. I also am not in favor of abandoning Negro institutions; because I believe pursuit of a democratic and interracial society is the only one that counts, and it will not be achieved without strong Negro institutions as part of that society.

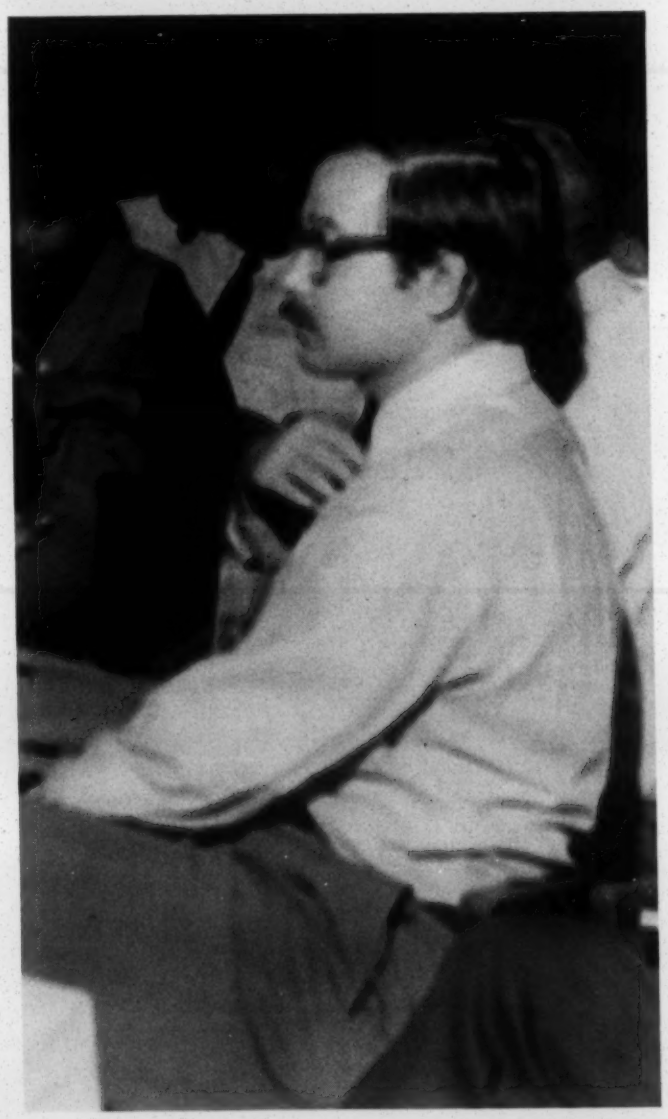
I would caution those who call for even a limited separatism that this is a dangerous course. Yet somehow this still has a relevance in pursuit.

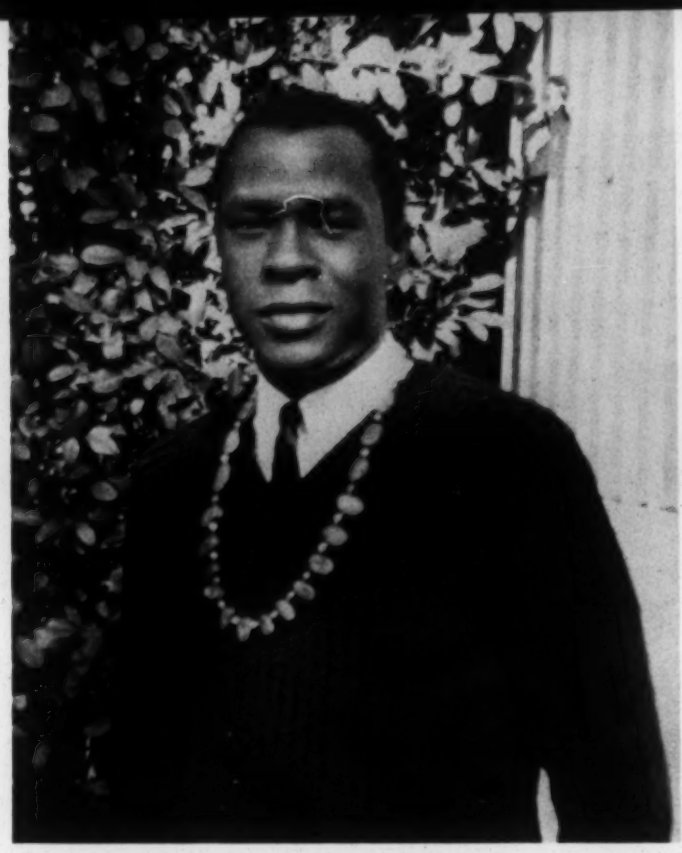
I am deeply disturbed as a president of a college over our failure to work effectively in servicing black elected officials. I have received in my office on several occasions requests from elected officials throughout the South asking for help in developing policy positions, examining the literature, examining bills, trying to help them get through to commissioners; and I have been at a loss as to how I could effectively do this within the amount of time that I have had. And yet for some reason or other I have been able to stay up at night and do some of these things to help the brothers and sisters.

We've started at Clark College what we call the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy. We received a grant the other day for almost $200,000 to develop this center, and it has several projects. The idea is to provide some services to the brothers and sisters. Hopefully that service center and the others that are going to be established in various places in the South will be able to provide a resource whereby the black elected officials and others might call to get the kind of help they need in order to be effective in the kinds of things I've been trying to describe.

I'm going to close by simply repeating a prayer Dr. Martin Luther King used to offer on many occasions, because I think it says much about what I've tried to say here. He said: "Lord, we ain't what we've got to be, we ain't what we want to be, we ain't what we are going to be; but thank God, we ain't what we used to be."

CONFERENCE





'...America's Last Hope...'

James Mays, *president of the student body at Clark College, welcomed Mayor Richard Hatcher to the college campus when he spoke at a public forum there Dec. 12. Hatcher is mayor of Mays' hometown, Gary, Ind.*

Perhaps one of the tragedies of the masses of black people in the United States today is the lack of information concerning the history of their black leaders. Going through a Negro history book recently, I was amazed at the things about black politicians during the Reconstruction following the Civil War that I had never heard of. For instance, how many of us knew that at one time a black man was governor of the state of Louisiana or that from 1870 to 1901, 22 Negroes served in the Congress of the United States or of the many, many black people who served in their respective state legislatures?

All of this occurred during what we call the "old" Reconstruction, but now we speak of the "new" Reconstruction in which we are currently involved. But the sad fact is that even though we are involved in a type of political reconstruction, some of us as black students (perhaps because we so seldom see the face of a black politician in the news) still do not seem to want to become involved in the world of politics. In fact, it now seems fashionable to be as anti-government as possible. If there is a new political reconstruction going on among black people, most black students don't seem to be aware of it, or if they are aware of it, they appear to want no part of it.

Being interested in law and politics myself, I have often tried to analyze this disinterest manifested by students I associate with. After a little discussion, the answer is quite apparent. The first question a student wants to ask when you ask him if he is aware of the "new" political reconstruction is: "What happened to the old one?" And when you answer this question for him, you begin to realize from where the roots of this political disenchantment have stemmed.

Checking the Negro history book again, we read:

> The downfall of the Negro-white governments of the South was inevitable since Negroes had few guns, little land, and less government protection. Organized violence was the main weapon of those who sought to restore the old order. Masked night riders such as the Ku Klux Klan sprang up everywhere to terrorize Negro voters and their white supporters. The main Klan targets were Negro officials, teachers, and successful farmers. In 1875, a tall, muscular Negro farmer had stood before Senator George Boutwell of Massachusetts and demanded that something be done about the continued murder of his people. He was considering killing the Klan leaders responsible, saying, "We could do it in a night." "No," answered the Senator, "We intend to protect you." The promise was never kept. For the black man and for the South the result was tragedy. The torch of democracy that had burned brightly for a short while was extinguished. And Southerners would live from that day until this in the darkness of tyranny, poverty, and ignorance.

This information was taken from a book called *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History.*

This little passage only tells part of the story of why, as I have learned, black students are disenchanted with the political system, per se.

Some of you are probably thinking: "Why don't you remind them that the Ku Klux Klan no longer carries on its reign of terror?" If I did, they would answer: "Maybe not, but there are so many more subtle ways of keeping the black man in his place that we still see politics executed from the black frame of reference as being futile." Then they would go on: "Witness what Georgia tried to do to Julian Bond, and look at what Congress did to Adam Clayton Powell—and to take it even closer to home, notice what they tried to do to your own Mayor Hatcher during his campaign."

The question, gentlemen, is this: Is this really a "new" reconstruction or is this the same *old* reconstruction with the same *old* ending, but with different variations? My fellow students have their doubts; and I don't blame them as I, too, to some degree, have my own doubts.

But if what is happening in the realm of politics for

black people today is not a fraud, then it is up to you as our spokesmen and leaders to make this crystal clear. There is no one, I repeat, no one, who can do this for you.

When Stokely Carmichael stood here where I'm standing yesterday and told an auditorium-packed audience that the only answer to our problem in this country is for us to get our guns, I wondered if it was already too late. For many students, it is. For others of us, we're saying: "O.K., America, we're willing to give you one last chance. We're foolish enough to believe that this time you may possibly allow us to grow into and of your political system." For almost all of us, this is America's last and final chance.

As we go into our new presidential administration, I can already feel the wheels of the "new" reconstruction grinding to a halt. No black man was appointed to the new Cabinet. Maybe this is nothing to become alarmed about, but many of us seem to hear Stokely's words more and more clearly each time we face this type of setback.

What this means, gentlemen, is that you have your hands full. From a student's point of view, you are America's last hope. I do not believe that I can overemphasize that point. What you accomplish while you are in office will inevitably determine the destiny of this country.

'...Power of the People...'

Richard Gordon Hatcher, *completing his first year as mayor of Gary, Ind., spoke Dec. 12 at a public forum at Clark College. The 34-year-old attorney and former city councilman is one of two black mayors of major U.S. cities. A native of Indiana and one of 13 children of a Michigan City factory worker, Hatcher was graduated from Indiana University and Valparaiso University School of Law.*

When Stokely Carmichael shouted "Black Power, Black Power" in that Mississippi schoolyard, he performed the mythic function that some poet must always perform at the proper moment in history. He gave voice, he gave a name to a development in the life of Black America which was happening anyway and which needed naming so we could talk about it and think about it. I say he named it, rather than created it, because the movement towards Black Power, under other names, has had a long and honorable past. If it has become the dominant tone of our emotions and thoughts in the last two or three years, that is only because, like the proverbial snowball, the accretion of time and frustration has turned incipience into actuality, has made of the snowball an avalanche. I want, today, to look at these two words, "black" and "power," from the vantage point of a man who has had some connection with both words.

It is beyond dispute that I am black—I am too abashed to add "and beautiful," though it is tempting—and it is also a fact that I have held, for a year now, a position of at least a modicum of power. It is a good time, then, as the first year of my administration as mayor of Gary draws to a close, to examine what black power has meant to me.

My blackness has been the dominant fact of life's experience, as it is the dominant fact of the life of every black man in America, and perhaps in the world. James Baldwin, with his usual brilliance and cogency, describes the condition in his famous essay, "Stranger in the Village," in which he discusses his experience as a black man in a little Swiss village:

> For this village, even were it incomparably more remote and incredibly more primitive, is the West, the West onto which I have been so strangely grafted. These people cannot be, from the point of view of power, strangers anywhere in the world; they have made the modern world, in effect, even if they do not know it. The most illiterate among them is related, in a way that I am not, to Dante, Shakespeare, Michelangelo, Aeschylus, Da Vinci, Rembrandt, and Racine; the Cathedral at Chartres says something to them which it cannot say to me, as indeed would the Empire State Building, should anyone here ever see it. Out of their hymns and dances come Beethoven and Bach. Go back a few centuries and they are in their full glory—but I am in Africa, watching the conquerors arrive.

Because of the white man's rape of Africa, because of the ignominy of slavery, because of the long and barbarous history of segregation and discrimination, I am a stranger in this, the American village. Because white Americans have developed the ideology of racism to justify the sociological and historical experiences I have mentioned, I am a stranger in this country, in this village. But from another point of view, because I am a man, because I have been reared on the words, though not the facts, of Christianity and democracy, I am also an inhabitant, and in a strange sort of way a citizen, of the village.

Much of the history of Black America is dominated precisely by this contradiction. We have been *told* one thing—democracy, freedom, "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal." We have *lived* quite another—slavery, the Ku Klux Klan, white liberals so concerned with black people that they will tell them exactly what they ought to want, schools that don't teach us, promises from the Supreme Court which turn to ashes in strikes against Ocean Hill-Brownsville in New York. That is why we have been forced to fall back on our own resources. For you cannot be a stranger always. To be continuously strange is to pay a psychological price so great that no people can endure it forever. When Black America, then, turns to blackness, to what in Africa has for a long time been called "negritude," we have no apologies to make.

From the time I was a little child, before I ever heard of Othello, or, for that matter, Shakespeare—I knew I was black. No wonder, then, that as a grown man I must turn to the words of Leopold Senghor, the black African poet from Senegal, or to those of Langston Hughes or Arna Bontemps or Leroi Jones or Gwendolyn Brooks. From the time I was a little child—before I ever heard of Beethoven or Bach—I knew I was

black. No wonder, then, that I turn to Jimi Hendrix and Aretha Franklin, and that I recall with anger the black American symphony conductor Dean Dixon, who had to go abroad to practice his art. From the time I was a child—before I ever heard of Paul Bunyan or George Washington or Jaques Danton—I knew I was black. No wonder then, that as a grown man I turn to John Henry, Jomo Kenyatta and W. E. B. DuBois.

I will stop being a stranger, because I will recall that, though a stranger in this village, I have lived there nonetheless, and I have a history there, and elsewhere, as in Africa, and that history will make me less the stranger. We assert what we are, and we may wear a dashiky and look with favor on a "natural." Being ourselves will make us less the stranger. We tried being like the so-called natives, and were not allowed to be like them, and so we must turn to our own resources. Baldwin says,

> The black man insists, by whatever means he finds at his disposal, that the white man cease to regard him as an exotic rarity and recognize him as a human being.

So my experience with the word black is that of all black people. Being black has made me a stranger; being black has dominated my life. I cannot, nor would I wish to reject my blackness, and so I turn what the white world has attempted make a handicap precisely into its opposite. Black America is fortunate in that our history and culture are more than rich enough so we can find in blackness an advantage, a source of pride, a way to end our estrangement.

But there is another side to this. Even though I may find in negritude and in black culture a way not to be so strange any longer, especially strange to myself, that is not enough. For my estrangement has also included my powerlessness. I have not only been a stranger in the village, but I have also been a stranger without power. There are times in history when strangers have had sufficient power to keep themselves at least supplied with the necessaries for decent living. This has been true of many who came as strangers to American shores, as, after a generation or so, the Irish, the Italians, what have you. It has not been the case with black Americans. We have been kept strangers, in part at least, because our strangeness has provided the others, white Americans, I mean, with a cheap source for the sawing of wood and the drawing of water. Because black people have had no power, because the ideology of racism has permitted white Americans to think it natural, we have been exploited and used, deprived of the minimum wherewithal for a decent life, have provided the nation with back-breaking and menial labor, and sometimes with its best brains, all for the aggrandizement and enrichment of others.

That is why pride in being black is not enough for our survival. That is why we have increasingly had to turn our attention to a means of wresting from the majority not only a new perception of our humanity, but also a new place in the nation, so that we can enforce our demands for the satisfacion of our needs.

This is nothing new. The African chief Cinque sought power when he led a mutiny on the slave ship *Amisted* in 1839. Nat Turner is quite explicit when he says that the reason for his revolt is so that he can strike terror into the hearts of the planters and thus have the power to establish a black community in the Dismal Swamp. Toussaint L'Ouverture knew about the need for power, and so did, in more recent history, such often unheeded thinkers as W. E. B. DuBois and Paul Robeson, or, for that matter, Marcus Garvey. There is nothing new in the search for power by black Americans. What is new, perhaps, is that our search has been intensified because we have combined pride in being black with that search for power, and that we have found, in various stages of our experience, that power shared with the white majority doesn't seem to work.

Power means, quite simply, a force strong enough so you can get whatever it is you need. Let me recall that in the last two decades or so we have tried all sorts of ways of achieving power.

The Brown decision by the U.S. Supreme Court concerning equal education represented an effort to use the power of the courts to win needed improvements in the lives of black children. We won that skirmish, but we have discovered, almost 15 years later, that there was not enough strength in the power of the courts to guarantee any fundamental change in the education of black children. Legal power, which helped a little, did not help enough.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. tried another form of power. Beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955, Dr. King tried with all of his skill and dedication—indeed, he gave his life for it—to use the nonviolent power of black masses to achieve their needs. An eloquent man, he said it much better than I can hope to do. Writing in *Liberation* in 1959, Dr. King said:

> There is more power in socially organized masses on the march than there is in guns in the hands of a few desperate men. . . . All American history teaches us that like a turbulent ocean beating great cliffs into fragments of rock, the determined movement of people incessantly demanding their rights always disintegrates the old order. . . . This is the social lever which will force open the door to freedom. Our powerful weapons are the voices, the feet, and the bodies of dedicated, united people, moving without rest toward a just goal.

This, too, was a form of black power, though we did not then call it such. But this form of power, in and of itself, we also found not adequate to our needs. Nine years after he had written those words, Dr. King had fallen to the white assassin's bullet. Nine years after he had written those words, though segregation was a little less blatant in the South, though more black people had found their way to the voting booth in the South, the bulk of Black America, living in the horror of the crowded, fire trap-haunted ghettos of the North, had not advanced two inches. This society, it would appear, was not prepared to yield easily to the needs of Black America, and so the search for a lever, for an effective means of achieving power, had to go on.

We learned something else at this point, taught by Malcolm X and Leroi Jones and H. Rap Brown and Eldridge Cleaver. We learned that when the stranger allies himself with the so-called natives, to return to Baldwin's metaphor, it is very hard for the stranger to play anything but a secondary role. In the many struggles black Americans carried on together with white

people, we found all too often that well-meaning whites nevertheless conceived of us as strangers, assigned to us the role of strangers in our own struggle. Thus, well-meaning white people knew what was good for us—better than we did. They knew what our feelings about things ought to be—better than we did. I say that many of these men and women were well-meaning white people, because history records that they worked very hard and often sacrificed a good deal for our causes. I cannot forget that it was a white Goodman and Schwerner who died along with black James Chaney in the red dirt of Mississippi. But it takes nothing away from their heroism or dedication to say that they were always, willingly or not, the natives, and we were always the strangers.

To stop being strangers, we had to find the road to power ourselves. Whether or not one fully accepts other aspects of the thought of Franz Fanon, it is clear that rising black consciousness requires that we be led by our own, determine our own destiny, recognize our own needs, and that white Americans have quite another task to perform—perhaps an impossible one—which is to work to cure the sickness of racism among their own people, to work on changes needed in the total society, which affect everyone who lives within it.

Efforts at achieving power in various forms, combined with the rising tide of black self-confidence, then, bring us to the heart of the problem faced by Black America today, and to the heart of the problem about which this conference is deliberating, and to the heart of my own problems as a man who has achieved some modicum, as I have said, of power. It is clear that pride in blackness, and all that this implies, from a revival of black history and other Afro-American studies, to a new appreciation of the beauty of our women, to being led on the road to a better life by black leaders, is an absolute necessity if we are to end our status as strangers. This we are beginning to do. We have not yet, however, solved the riddle as to what lever or levers can provide the power we need to wrest a better way of life from the power structure within the total society. We have a number of options, and I would like to discuss a few of these now, including the one about which I am most knowedgeable.

One option is, of course, to leave, to return not only spiritually but physically to the lands of our African heritage.

No doubt some will choose that solution, but it cannot be a solution for most of us. There are physical problems as to where such a massive migration would go, and cultural ones stemming from our distance from African cultures. But there are also other aspects. We own a good part of these United States—not physically, but morally. Our sweat has gone to make the railroads run and to make cotton king. Our brains helped building Washington, D.C., and made heart transplants possible. Our talents have helped enrich the music, the stage, the poetry of the nation. Our blood has been shed in too many wars—including the fiasco in which we are now engaged. So we have a great investment in this nation, one we ought not to be forced to give up. Our power ought to give us our rightful share in what we have wrought. Therefore, I for one choose not to leave.

There is another approach. We can demand a piece of the nation for ourselves. We can demand five or six states as the territory for a black nation, or we can carve out the old ghetto in each city as our own turf. This has possibilities, and it has been explored by many thinkers both black and white, including so thoughtful a man as W. H. Ferry, the vice-president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Ferry writes, in the Saurday Review of June 15, 1968:

> But what Blacktown *most* wants, Whitetown cannot confer. Blacktown wants independence and the authority to run its own affairs. It wants to recover its manhood, its self-love, and to develop its ability to conduct a self-reliant community. . . . A successful plan for coexistence (that is, between Blacktown and Whitetown, to use Ferry's terms —I continue to quote) will not bring Utopia into being in Blacktown. Autonomous, interdependent Blacktown will be no better and no worse than other parts of the urban scene. Blacks can be expected to exploit blacks, even as whites exploit whites. There will be quarrels and walkouts and demonstrations and the inevitable ambiguities about leaders and leadership. . . . Whitetown will be accused of parsimony and trying to control things even if it enters into the scheme of coexistence with the best possible intent. . . . So the vision of coexistence is not that of the New Jerusalem, nor is it that of a national community struggling with the untenable doctrines of integration. It is a vision of a new federalism that will give 10 per cent of our citizens the chance they are seeking to make whatever they want to make of themselves, their culture, and their community.

I do not reject this form of power either on moral grounds, or on grounds of feasibility. But I have not seen any evidence within this society that Black America can get such communities without first achieving the tremendous power necessary to force them into existence. The white power structure which pinches pennies from Model Cities plans and Headstart programs will not readily give up control of major sections of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. The slumlords who live in pretty suburbs on the profits they make from hellholes in the ghetto will not turn their hovels over to other owners for the asking. Blacktowns are intriguing, but they beg the question; for we must, should we decide we want them, first find the power to get them.

There is also the power of violence, in direct opposition to the kind of power Dr. King sought to use. I do not wish here to discuss this form of power—and that it certainly is—from an ethical point of view, though that is surely a matter for consideration. Rather I want to ask about the efficacy of the use of street violence, about its ability to achieve results.

Like it or not, violence cannot readily be dismissed as a source of power. It is true beyond dispute that the white section of the nation sat up and listened hard when it heard the fire engines race to Hough and Watts and Harlem and Chicago's West Side. But I am afraid that, to date, this form of power has also not paid off very much. White America *talks* better about what it ought to do, in the wake of one of these insurrections—but such talk has been around for a long time, and is hardly new. In fact, all that street violence has pro-

vided so far is more white talk and burned-over ghettos. The Kerner Report is a nice piece of rhetoric, which has not fed one black mouth. I do not reject violence out of hand then, but I have yet to see how it becomes a useful lever for power.

Let me turn finally to the kind of power I know the most about, that is, political power in cities of large black populations. I think it clear, in the first place, that my election as mayor of Gary has done something for Gary's black community in so far as its pride and sense of self is concerned. While we may still be strangers in our village, it surely makes us feel less strange that one of us has been chosen to head the village government. Furthermore, this fact guarantees that local efforts will be made so that we will not be exploited quite so mercilessly, that our people will get their share of whatever they have coming, to the extent that anything is available.

But right there is the rub. I may be mayor of Gary, but I cannot, by that token, guarantee that black people will share in the unbelievable profits of the U.S. Steel Corporation which dominates our city's economic life. I am mayor of Gary, but I cannot stop a war in Vietnam which drains the national treasury to such an extent that only very limited programs are available to the city for the reconstruction of its black community. I am mayor of Gary, and I was elected as a Democrat, but I am not able to sway the white Democratic Party so that it will reverse the present trend of national priorities and make the needs of black communities first on the list. I am mayor of Gary, but I cannot change the fact that our schools are too poorly funded, from state or nation or even local sources of revenue, to provide the catch-up educational process that the city needs in order to bring our black youngsters up to educational standards.

I want to confide a further problem to you. I am mayor of Gary, and thus I am mayor of all the people of the city, and I would like to do my best for all of them, black or white. But you know, what I cannot do for my black brothers, I cannot do for white people either, try as I might. Though the black community's needs are infinitely greater, the white community in our city is not without problems. But for the same reasons which prevent me from solving many black problems, I cannot solve many white ones, either—and neither could my white predecessors. Though I have some local political power, it becomes clearer to me that this is not enough, and that the power structure of this society is not prepared to give up enough of its profits to solve the problems of city living—for whites or blacks. Though black kids in Gary are badly educated, white ones are not getting nearly what they should, either. Though black communities are devoid of parks and play spaces, white communities do not have adequate park facilities either.

There are, rumor has it, a few white people in Gary who wish to disaffiliate from the municipality a predominantly white section of the city because they "don't like what's going on in City Hall." It seems that, while they were able to stomach the jailing of several earlier mayors for one form or another of municipal corruption, they just can't abide whatever it is that a black mayor is doing, though not one has accused him of appropriating for himself one dishonest penny. But I would warn these white citizens that disaffiliation will not solve one single problem for them—except perhaps their hurt racial pride. For the fact of the matter is that the local political lever for power, black or white, can only do very limited things, that it cannot really solve the problems faced by the American city until the entire power structure is in some way forced to yield up to the people—first to black people, but eventually to all the people—what the people need and deserve.

The question of power, it becomes more and more apparent, cannot be left at the level of parochial power. Black Power, whatever its form—political, non-violent confrontation, street riots or terror—may help us to feel less the stranger; but it will not eliminate poverty, or inadequate educational facilities, or slum housing, or provide us even a portion of the economic control of the life of the nation. Even if it were possible to establish the blacktowns that Ferry talks about, black people would not have control over the basic economic, foreign policy or social welfare priority decisions which will determine the welfare of black people as well as whites. Blacktowns might make us feel better—and that is terribly important and so I do not reject such ideas —but they will not make us live better.

And what is true of Black Power is also true of other forms of group power. Our campuses, for example, have seen a demand for student power which has a great deal of legitimacy.

Surely students ought to play a much larger role in the life of the university, which is their community for four or more years. But student power will not, by itself, change the national system of priorities in which education runs far behind spending for super-weapons of destruction, in which drafting young men for war is more important than letting them continue their studies beyond a bachelor's degree so that they can apply their knowledge to the alleviation of human suffering. Student power, like Black Power, like youth power, like other parochial forms of power, can only achieve very limited gains.

Where does this leave us? Am I rejecting the drive for Black Power? Am I hopelessly saying that nothing we may do can be of use? The answer is a clear and decisive No! The drive for Black Power is an essential, it seems to me a no longer debatable need; for it will

help to end our strangeness in the village, and that is absolutely necessary. So I support all forms of Black Power which will help Black America to define itself, to recapture its heritage, to assert its abilities, to realize its most immediate demands.

It is not immodest on my part to say that Gary's black children will be richer and stronger human beings for the knowledge that one of their own can govern the city, for the knowledge that their mothers and fathers were able to get themselves together enough to elect one of their own and thus assert their dignity. Nor is it immodest to say that Gary's black community is being given, for the first time in its history, some of the attention and concern which it so richly deserves, and that the lives of black men and women will be somewhat the better for it. These are among the things which Black Power can and ought to and must do.

But beyond that, if I look to the alleviation of our poverty and the improvement of our standard of life, logic compels me to place hope in the eventual coming-together of the demands for power by people of many sorts. I see hope in the rising tide of student militancy, if that militancy is carried, in time, from the campuses into the communities of the entire nation. I see hope in the demands of Spanish-speaking Americans for their share of power. I see hope in the growing radicalism of the young, who demand youth power and are no longer content to accept a dehumanized *status quo*. I see our only hope for a decent society in the coming together sometime in the future, of all these demands for partial and parochial power into a total demand for people power.

I do not pretend to be very hopeful. The experiences of Black America with other segments of our society have most often been disappointing. Perhaps they will be again. But I am certain that the only way to rescue our lives from the poverty for some, the alienation for all which are its hallmarks, is by the combination of the kinds of people power I have been talking about. Should that fail, what lies before us is chaos and dark nights of despair and destruction. The leaven in such a rising power cake must be, and already is to some extent, Black Power, for Black America has the least to lose, and the most to gain, by its assertion of power.

In the essay I have already quoted, Baldwin concludes with the following:

> No road whatever will lead Americans back to the simplicity of this European village where white men still have the luxury of looking on me as a stranger. I am not, really, a stranger any longer for any American alive. One of the things that distinguishes Americans from other people is that no other people has ever been so deeply involved in the lives of black men, and vice versa. . . . It is precisely this black-white experience which may prove of indispensable value to us in the world we face today. This world is white no longer, and it will never be white again.

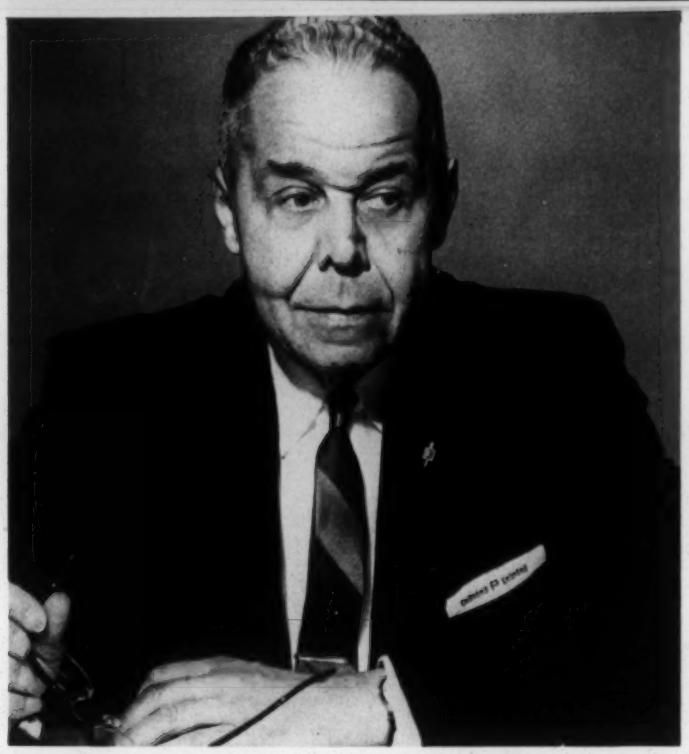
That is what we hope America will realize as we achieve more and more the power which our blackness demands. If we try to save ourselves, if we achieve the full potential of what Black Power can do, then it will be up to the rest of America, white, Spanish-speaking, student, youth, and so on and on, to join us in the establishment of the power of the people in a world in which none are strangers. If they fail, or if we fail, we may have no way left to live in this country. If they can succeed, and if we can succeed, if the people can wrest control from the hands of the economic overlords and the political self-servers, the rich and the powerful, then and only then do we have some hope that the good society can be ours.

One of the finest of our black poets, Margaret Walker, ends her poem "For My People," with a kind of incantation to the future. Let me cite it here, for her vision, the vision of a black woman who wrote these words more than a quarter of a century ago, still holds true:

> Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born. Let a bloody peace be written in the sky. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth; let a people loving freedom come to growth. Let a beauty full of healing, a strength of final clenching be the pulsing and the spirit in our blood. Let the martial song be written, let dirges disappear. Let a race of men now rise and take control.

A race of *men,* Margaret Walker says! For God's sake, for America's sake, let's get ourselves together!

Dashiki Plaza



'...Difficult Decisions Must Be Made...'

Alfred M. Pelham, *chairman of Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company in Detroit, appeared on a panel on "Revenue and Taxation and the Elected Official" Dec. 13. He is a former controller of the city of Detroit.*

Before proceeding to any discussion of revenue and taxation, I believe it to be of utmost importance to emphasize the fact that the levy and collection of taxes and the collection of other forms of revenue and other income from whatever source constitute only one aspect of the responsibility and the problems which confront elected officials at every level of government. Of even greater importance are the judicious determination of the purposes for which available resources are to be expended, the selection of programs best calculated to accomplish these purposes, the best possible allocation of available resources to carry out these programs, and appropriate systems to assure that such resources are expended as effectively as possible for authorized and intended purposes.

In order to attain these ends, difficult decisions must be made and orderly operational programs must be carried out on the basis of carefully developed plans. It is obvious, therefore, that financial resources, while absolutely indispensable, constitute only one of the ingredients required for the effective and efficient conduct of government.

Another vital ingredient is a sound budgetary process. The word budget means different things to different people. In the simplest terms, a budget is a projected and reasonably flexible plan for the effective use of available resources for the accomplishment of one or more carefully defined future objectives. As a matter of fact, all of us, whether consciously or unconsciously, are almost constantly involved in the process of budgeting: budgeting of time, budgeting of space, budgeting of energy, and budgeting of money and other material resources.

In any case where available resources exceed the cost of all needed and desired services, formal budgeting might seem to be of less importance; but even in such a case effectual results would almost certainly depend upon carefully planned usage of such resources. Whenever, on the other hand, there are many demands on limited resources, the processes of priority establishment and resource allocation must be utilized if anything approaching optimum resources is to be attained. Where the unit of government is small and the demands for service are few, the process of budgeting is not likely to prove too difficult even in the face of limited resources. For those charged with the responsibility of conducting the affairs of larger and more complex governmental units, an adequate budgetary system is absolutely essential. In every case, it is important to maintain complete accounting records in order to assure proper accountability for the expenditure of public funds.

The brief reference that I have made in the foregoing to program planning, evaluation, and selection and to the budgetary process has been included only in order to put the fiscal responsibility of elected officials in proper perspective. In-depth coverage of these other important aspects of financial management should be given consideration as the subject matter for future meetings of this group, since our attention today is to be focused primarily on revenue and taxation.

Before proceeding to the discussion of any specific taxes or other sources of revenue, certain general observations seem to be in order. In considering the levy of any new tax, or even in reviewing an existing tax structure, attention should be given to certain basic criteria, chief among which are: equitableness, productivity, flexibility, collectibility, and administrative feasibility.

Since the primary purpose of taxation is to provide essential revenue, it is obvious that the productivity of any tax is of great importance. When the extent of need for revenue has been established, the potential productivity of any tax or combination of taxes should be estimated as accurately as possible in order to predetermine whether the projected goal can be attained by the levy of such tax or taxes. It is further desirable that such tax or taxes be subject to upward or downward revision within reasonable limits in order to provide a degree of flexibility which may avoid the subsequent necessity for the levy of some new or additional tax.

Careful consideration should also be given to the factors of collectibility and administrative feasibility. Some apparently proper subjects for taxation pose problems of collectibility because of indicated difficulties in enforcement. In other cases, estimated costs of levy and collection constitute such a high percentage of

potential yield as to make such taxes impracticable. In this area of concern, every effort should be made to avoid a multiplicity of different taxes, not only because of administrative problems and higher costs of collection, but also because too many different taxes are a nuisance to the tax-paying public.

The most important criterion in determining the use of any tax or combination of taxes should, in my judgment, be that of equitableness. An equitable tax structure might well be defined as one in which each person bore his or her fair share of the tax burden, or as one in which taxes were levied in accordance with ability to pay. It is obviously easier to define such a tax system than it is to attain it. There are wide differences of opinion as to what constitutes a fair share, and neither economists nor political scientists have been successful in satisfactorily measuring the limits of ability to pay.

However, despite the fact that there is no pat formula for attaining tax equity in designing a tax structure, in modifying an existing one, or in levying a new and additional tax, the best possible judgment should be used in attempting to make equitableness a primary consideration. This consideration, of course, should be extended to all, but with particular attention to those least able to pay and also to business and industry lest a too heavy tax burden result in a loss of potential job opportunities and a weakening of the economic base upon which the community depends for its existence. It should, perhaps, be mentioned at this point that certain types of taxes can be made more equitable by the appropriate use of exemptions.

Unfortunately, our present-day tax systems at every level of government have tended to grow by a series of patchwork additions from time to time as additional revenue was needed, with the result that by and large they are not equitable. In an article entitled "Who Really Gets Hurt by Taxes," which appeared in the December 9, 1968 issue of U. S. News and World Report, it is stated that the widely held idea that taxes in the U.S. "soak the rich and spare the poor" is erroneous, but rather that families with the lowest incomes tend to bear the heaviest tax burden in terms of ability to pay. While it is true that the graduated federal income tax takes a greater percentage of the income of those in the upper brackets, many other taxes make a bigger dent in the pocketbooks of lower income families.

The latter is particularly true of the payroll tax (Social Security), the property tax, and the sales tax. As an example, on Jan. 1, 1969 the payroll deduction for Social Security will be 4.8 per cent on earnings up to $7,800. Obviously everybody earning $7,800 or less will be paying 4.8 per cent of their earnings for this purpose; but because of the limit, those earning $12,000 will pay only 3.12 per cent of their total earnings, those earning $18,000 only 2.08 per cent, those earning $24,000 only 1.56 per cent, and so on down the line.

In the case of property taxes, according to the article referred to above, those making less than $7,000 a year pay six to eight cents out of each dollar of income, on average, whereas those in brackets above $25,000 average only 2 per cent of income for property taxes. It was further indicated that sales taxes take nearly a nickel out of every dollar earned by families in the lowest income brackets, as against a penny or two at the upper end of the income scale. It should be remembered that the above figures are based on nationwide averages and, therefore, that they may vary significantly between states and communities. In any event, the property tax and the sales tax tend to fall with heavier impact on those in the lower income brackets with relation to ability to pay, and yet state and local governments lean most heavily on those two taxes as major sources of tax revenue.

At the federal level, at least, increasing concern is currently being expressed relative to the heavy burden of taxation on low-income taxpayers; and many forms of possible relief are being tentatively proposed, such as increasing the income below which no federal income tax would have to be paid, reducing rates in the lowest income tax brackets, increasing the minimum standard deduction for expenses, increasing personal exemptions, giving tax credits for each personal exemption claimed by a low-income family, refunding Social Security taxes paid by low-income families, payment of "negative income taxes," etc. From time to time, studies have been conducted at both the state and local levels of government aimed at tax reform; but few, if any, of these have thus far resulted in any significant improvement of tax structures. Hopefully some of this good intent will soon be translated into action.

Although taxation provides the largest source of governmental revenue, there are many other potential sources of income including license fees; other fines, fees, and permits; income from sales of services; reimbursements for services performed; grants-in-aid; shared taxes, and other miscellaneous sources. These non-tax sources are utilized for a number of different reasons and, in some cases, a combination of reasons, such as:

1. To provide added revenue
2. To exercise control in the protection of health, public safety, property, etc.
3. To protect other public interests
4. To serve as a punitive measure
5. To secure total or partial reimbursement for certain services
6. To provide for intergovernmental cost sharing
7. To stimulate activity and improvement in respect to specified public services

In order that some of you who have had only limited experience in the field of public finance may get a better idea of the large number and great variety of potential tax and other revenue sources that are currently being utilized by state and local governments, you have or will be furnished with an outline of such sources. While fairly complete, it is not professed that it is inclusive of all such tax and revenue sources in use throughout the country. In some cases, comparable taxes may be levied in different governmental jurisdictions bearing entirely different names. I wish to make it very clear that, in presenting this outline, there is absolutely no intent on my part to suggest the use of any particular tax or combination of taxes. Local conditions, economic factors, and legal restrictions vary significantly between geographic areas and must, or should, be taken into consideration in the structuring or restructuring of any tax and revenue system.

At this point in time, practically all governmental

units at every level are being confronted by the same dilemma-increasing demands for public services, sharply increasing costs, and an inadequate tax and revenue potential. In many cases, therefore, unless there is to be a sharp curtailment in these public services or a lessening in their quality and effectiveness, it seems (even after every reasonable effort has been made to improve efficiency) that increases in existing taxes, or the levy of some new and additional tax or taxes, or the seeking out of some alternate source of revenue is inevitable. Wherever and whenever this proves to be the case, it is of the utmost importance that the five basic criteria mentioned earlier in this discussion be given most careful consideration before any decision is made to change the tax structure.

Quite obviously time does not permit any attempt on my part to discuss each of the different tax sources that are listed on the outline to which I have made previous reference. In the question and answer period which I understand is to follow the presentation of your panelists, there will be an opportunity for you to ask about any of these in which you may have a particular interest. Two of them, however, the property tax and the sales tax—which are heavily depended upon by both state and local governments—deserve at least brief mention. Both of these taxes are productive and reasonably flexible, but both tend to place a disproportionate burden on taxpayers in the lowest income brackets, as has been previously pointed out.

The property tax is one of the oldest and most used among all taxes currently being levied. It does not pose any serious problem of collectibility, for, if there is a failure to pay, the tax becomes a lien upon the property in question. It is not a particularly easy tax to administer, for there is involved the necessity of separately assessing each individual parcel of property, of maintaining extensive tax and assessment rolls, of keeping property assessments accurate and up-to-date, of developing uniform assessment procedures, and of equalizing assessed valuations on a state or county-wide basis. The use of the property tax is further complicated in many jurisdictions by statutory and constitutional restrictions and by a large number of different provisions for complete or partial exemption. In some jurisdictions the property tax is also extended to personal property; and, in these cases, administration becomes even more difficult and problems of enforcement are introduced. Nonetheless, the property tax is apparently here to stay for at least the foreseeable future, and it is therefore important that it be administered as effectively and as equitably as possible.

There is considerable variation in the manner in which the sales tax is used by governmental agencies across the country. It can be made applicable to the sales of services, as well as the sales of commodities. It can be made applicable to all sales, or provision can be made for exemption on the sales of such commodities as fool, drugs and/or certain basic clothing items. In the latter case the administration of the tax, which normally poses few problems, becomes more difficult and complicated, particularly for those who collect the tax at the original source.

In conclusion, I wish to make brief reference to the financing of major capital projects such as the construction of public buildings, highways, water and sewer facilities, etc. In some cases and to a certain extent, capital improvements may be financed out of current revenue, which method is generally referred to as financing on a "pay-as-you-go" basis. This method has considerable merit and may prove desirable in the case of long-term capital programs which provide for large annual expenditures over a considerable number of years, as might be the case in an extended highway construction program.

More frequently, however, major capital projects which are expected to have a relatively long life are financed by the issuance of bonds. This method of financing is justified by the fact that, at least to some degree, it tends to spread the costs over the period of years during which the capital project will continue in use. In no case is it desirable that the payment of a bond issue extend for a period in excess of the estimated useful life of the capital improvement. It is, of course, possible to finance capital improvement programs by an appropriate combination of "pay-as-you go" and bond financing.

Bonds issued by states and local units of government fall into two general categories—full faith and credit bonds and revenue bonds. The former category, which involves a pledge of the full faith and credit of the particular governmental unit, is normally used in cases where the capital project will not generate any revenue or insufficient revenue to cover the debt service of the bond issue. In the case of capital projects in respect to which it can be demonstrated that sufficient revenue will be generated to cover the debt service by an adequate margin, revenue bonds are generally used.

At the local level of government, a third category of bonds may be used which are known as special assessment bonds or special district bonds. The legal establishment of a special assessment district is a prerequisite to the issuance of such bonds. These bonds are issued to cover the costs of such projects as drains, sewers, water facilities, roads, etc., and require that the debt service be adequately covered by the levy of special property tax assessments against the benefitted property within the district over a long enough period to pay off the bond issue.

The ability of any unit of government to issue bonds and to issue them at a favorable interest rate is directly related to the financial stability of that unit of government. If such financial stability is questionable, it frequently becomes either impossible or prohibitively expensive to issue bonds. For this and many other reasons, I urge upon all of you most serious concern for the sound and effective management of the financial affairs of your respective units of government.

REVENUE AND TAXATION

An Outline of Potential Sources
Prepared for Use at Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials
By **Alfred M. Pelham**
December 13, 1968

TAX SOURCES

Taxes used primarily by state government:
- Corporate Franchise Taxes (organizational and annual)
- Business Activities Tax
- Motor Vehicles Taxes:
  - a. Weight
  - b. Horsepower
  - c. Motor Carriers' Privilege
  - d. Gasoline
  - e. Diesel Fuel
- Inheritance Tax
- Intangibles Tax
- Utility Property Tax
- Liquor, Beer and Wine Taxes
- Horse and Dog Wagering Taxes
- Chain Store Tax
- Unemployment Compensation Tax
- Domestic Building and Loan and Savings and Loan Association Franchise and Privilege Taxes
- Foreign Building and Loan and Savings and Loan Association Privilege Tax
- Federal Savings and Loan Privilege Tax
- Insurance Company Privilege Tax (domestic and foreign)
- Oil, Gas and Minerals Severance Tax
- Stumpage Tax
- Other (aircraft, vessel tonnage, watercraft, etc.)

Taxes used by both state and local government:
- Property Tax (real and/or personal)
- Income Tax (flat or graduated)
- Sales Tax (on commodities)
- Sales Tax (on services)
- Cigaret Tax
- Amusement Tax

Taxes used primarily by local governments:
- Property Tax-Special Assessments
- Payroll Tax
- Utilities Tax (on customer billings)
- Hotel-Motel Occupancy Tax
- Motor Vehicle Operation Tax
- Property Transfer Tax

SOURCES OF REVENUE OTHER THAN TAXES

Licenses:
- Motor Vehicles (automobiles, trucks, trailers, motorcycles, etc.)
- Motor Vehicle Operators
- Liquor Dealers
- Liquor Establishments (bars, clubs, cabarets, etc.)
- Restaurants
- Other Business Establishments
- Street Vendors
- Marriage
- Dog
- Other

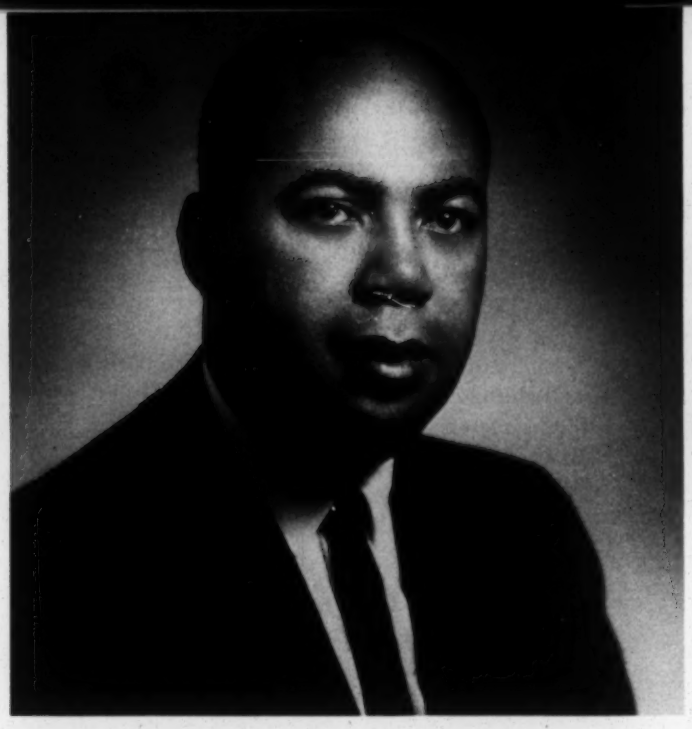
Fines, Fees and Permits:
- Traffic and other Court Fines and Fees
- Registration Fees:
  - a. Deeds, Mortgages, Chattel Mortgages, etc.
  - b. Births and Deaths
  - c. Assumed Name
  - d. Annual Reports
  - e. Professional
  - f. Other
- Inspection Fees:
  - a. Safety (building, elevator, etc.)
  - b. Fire
  - c. Food
  - d. Other
- Parking Meter and other Automobile Parking Fees.
- Other Fees and Charges (zoo, golf course, marina, etc.)
  - a. Building
  - b. Food Handlers
  - c. Sidewalk
  - d. Other

Sales of Service and Reimbursement for Services Performed:
- Hospital and Health Services
- Other Institutional Services
- Water and Sewer Services
- Welfare Services
- Rubbish and Garbage Collection (commercial)
- Other

Grants in Aid (from state and federal government)
- Welfare
- Health
- Education
- Urban and Community Renewal
- Highway Construction
- Office of Economic Opportunity
- Water and Air Pollution Control
- Civil Defense
- Other

Shared Taxes (from state government)
- Varies between states

Miscellaneous Sources:
- Income from Investments
- Rentals and Concessions
- Gifts and Bequests
- Proceeds from Sale of Bonds
- Other



'...Know Your Authority...'

Gerald A. Lamb, *a native of Elizabeth City, N.C., is treasurer of the state of Connecticut. He has also served as president pro tem of the board of aldermen and as acting mayor of his present home, Waterbury, Conn. He was one of three Negro financial experts on a panel on revenue and taxation.*

I am indeed most honored to serve on this distinguished panel of financial experts, but of equal honor is this opportunity to share with you some of my experiences that may offer to you an expressway of financial genius and expertise in your transactions rather than a dirt road of bumpy pitfalls, frustrations and despair.

It is always gratifying for me to return to the South, for after all I am a product of a proud but poor family of the South. In fact, last evening when I flew over the eastern shores of North Carolina where I was born, I found myself in a rather nostalgic mood. Reflecting back over the years, I could remember vividly the day more than 26 years ago I marched off to defend this nation, and how paradoxical it was that I should want to defend this nation, for I had just spent more than two months searching for a job behind doors that remained closed to us. I reconciled my concern for this nation or this system at that time by saying that "things will be better some day." How prophetic, for I returned to the South last night, not as a frustrated, disillusioned and angry young man, but as an individual somewhat older, yes, somewhat balder, but also the treasurer of one of the 50 states. Let no one deceive you, this is progress, and the number of elected officials present today suggests to me that you in the South are also enjoying progress.

Our topic or theme, as has been stated, is "Revenue and Taxation." If we, as panelists, are to complement but not duplicate each other, perhaps each of us can touch generally on the broad implications of the topic but zero in on the areas that touch our present responsibilities. As treasurer of a state, I would like to at least discuss one area that perhaps the other panelists may overlook.

My remarks to you as elected or potential public financial officials will stress two general themes: the necessity of having a clear definition of one's authority and responsibility, and the necessity of utilizing *competent* advice.

Let us review carefully the first question for a moment—What is your authority and responsibility? May I first caution you against asking your predecessor or any other elected or appointed official in your locale. All too often their advice is both inconsistent and incomplete. My advice is simple—review, analyze and thoroughly familiarize yourself with your city or town charter, state or county statutes, ordinances, rules, and regulations pertaining to the office you hold.

The obvious reason to know your authority and responsibility is to perform and execute your duties properly, but of equal importance is to always be on guard that someone else does not perform your job for you by usurpation of authority. Your authority and jurisdiction may be much broader in scope and dimension than you anticipated or realized. It is no secret in Connecticut that my election as treasurer of Connecticut has made everyone aware of that constitutional office and its vast jurisdiction. And, I might add, for those few who were not aware of it, I have a way of reminding them—and this includes other state officials frequently.

It is not unusual for me to quote my powers enumerated in chapter 32 of the general statutes. It says: "The treasurer is responsible for receiving, depositing, and disbursing all state funds; collecting and distributing certain taxes and fees; servicing all state bond issues, investing surplus money; borrowing of funds when required, administering the financing of all state-owned public housing."

The treasurer is custodian of all securities pledged by insurance companies, all pension funds, and deeds to properties owned or controlled by our state. He is the escheat or abandoned property administrator and serves on the Banking Commission, Bond Commission, and Finance Advisory Commission.

I have listed these responsibilities to illustrate to you the necessity for knowing your authority. The position of treasurer had gone unnoticed because my predecessors either did not know the scope of their authority or did not elect to use it.

It has been suggested by some that the true impact of my job was not known until it was too late. With your indulgence, I would like to add a bit of humor. Those of you whose wives are the keepers of the family purse realize the influence of the mate with the money. I am certain you can almost agree that if you have the money, you have almost everything, because at least you have some influence.

Moving quickly to my second theme (utilizing competent advice), I cannot overstress the importance of seeking advice in this complex society because it is impossible to be an expert on all facets of finance. Public officials are and must be especially dependent on both legal and financial advice. Any man who thinks he knows all is destined to ruin himself and his state, county, or town.

I have used these two central themes with emphasis, because as we proceed through five important areas of special interest to local finance officers, you will realize their importance.

Using some personal experience and observations in these five areas, I will not attempt to give a technical discourse on each because the technicalities differ by state and area; but instead I want to offer some helpful hints.

The five areas of concern to public financial officials that I will comment on are:

I Administrative practices

II Public relations responsibilities

III Handling deposits

IV Investment of money

V Borrowing money

If I were giving a lecture on administration, I would discuss the practices of setting goals, selecting personnel, and coordinating and guiding their efforts with sophistication toward these goals. But today, rather than misguide or deceive you about our genius, I would rather talk about a very simple but helpful everyday tool I use for accomplishing these rather lofty goals, i.e., a "calendar of events." A simple, accurately maintained calendar goes a long way toward making a good administrator. In addition to maintaining a prompt and efficient personal calendar, this also enables you to coordinate your many diverse office functions and carefully program and project duties. As a public financial official this is especially important, because your responsibilities are very often defined in terms of legal dates and it would be disastrous to miss timely execution. Maturing dates of notes or bonds or restrictions specifying dates, often written into the authorizing legislation, are prime examples of important dates to be listed on calendars of events.

I cannot stress too strongly the continuing aspects of your public relations responsibilities. If you are an elected official, you must always remember the first requirement is to get re-elected. This means consideration of public relations factors every day and not just during election year.

It goes without saying that the basis of good public relations is a sound and efficient operation. After all, one cannot cover over inefficiencies for long. Granting this, you still have to communicate the soundness of your operation day in and day out to the public. Overlooking public relations has increased the casualties of some extremely expert and efficient finance officials.

One of the most basic rules for good public relations is to do everything within reason to "avoid inconveniencing the people."

Let me give some concrete examples of the public relations considerations that affect a finance officer's responsibilities in just one area, the issuance of bonds.

First, to the voters, here I can point out:

(A) A need for stressing the positive benefits of a proposed bond issue and the merits and benefits to be derived from this capital expenditure. This is particularly important if the authorization is by public referendum.

(B) The necessity for *not* confusing the voter with side questions or complicating his understanding by combining projects into large, incomprehensible, omnibus packages.

(C) Above all, when possible, time the referendum away from vacations and holidays. The support of the more affluent citizen, who could possibly be away, may mean the difference between success or defeat.

Second, to the bond rating agencies:

It is extremely important that the rating agencies of Moody's, Standard and Poor's and Dun and Bradstreet be continually informed about the financial and economic condition of your community. In essence, you should make full disclosure on a continuous basis. All positive attributes of community should be stressed. A credit rating of AAA or A or BA can mean hundreds of dollars in interest cost savings to the tax payer.

Third, to the underwriters and investors:

Again I repeat the importance of keeping this group completely informed about the community's financial and economic condition. If you desire a good sale, schedule the sale for a convenient day (not a holiday) and at a convenient time (11 a.m. rather than 9 a.m. or 7 in the evening).

These examples of public relations considerations at all levels of contact when issuing bonds is cited to stress the continuing aspects of your public relations responsibilities. Careful attention here not only helps the community (a lower borrowing cost) but also helps you (a requirement for re-election).

Leaving these more general administrative and public relations responsibilities, we can now discuss the more specific functional areas of concern to a finance official —handling deposits, investments, and borrowings.

As a finance officer, your core duties usually center around this important public trust. There are several recommendations that I deem important. You must not delegate the responsibility for determining the bank depositories or the cash level of each account. It is your neck if a bank fails or defaults, and it is also your responsibility to determine your cash requirements based on projected expenditures and experiences of prior years. A good system of checks and balances along with accounting controls are mandatory. We in Connecticut believe in the honor and integrity of our state employees, and this is the reason for bonding all individuals who handle money (smile). We bond them as a precaution in the event that we have misjudged their character. I would suggest that you do likewise. I repeat, accounting controls are absolutely necessary.

As a financial official you will have monies on hand above needed working balances, monies upon which you want to earn a return!

Again, the legal question—What authority do you have to invest? For example, in Connecticut, most local communities can utilize only treasury obligations or bank certificates of deposit. Some states have broader authority which often includes commercial paper or other government agencies. Once you have ascertained

the legal authority or requirements, you still have the need for determining the amounts, maturities or the type of investments.

Here, competent financial advice must be sought. The rationale for investing is simple—define your needs, select investments to meet your needs—but the execution demands specialized knowledge of the characteristics of many different but legal investments as well as up-to-date knowledge of markets.

One source of investment help can be your local banker. Select those bankers with competence in the investment area. It may be beneficial to seek out a larger institution with trained specialists in another community if your local banker has only a limited knowledge of this area of work, especially the mechanics of buying and selling securities, an important consideration when selecting your investment advisor.

Pension funds and other custodial and trust accounts in most instances, because of their long term investment features, require other types of consultants such as investment brokers, actuarial scientists, or those with insurance expertise.

I must repeat once again, competent legal and financial advice is mandatory.

Under legal advice—the field of law surrounding borrowing money by government units is highly specialized. You should:

—Select a bond attorney experienced in your state whose legal opinion is marketable, or in other words, whose legal opinion has proved acceptable to bidders of previous issues. Your close friend who happens to practice law or your town attorney *cannot* be used if you want to sell your bonds;

—Consult bond counsel early since he must approve all proceedings relative to the bond issue including all notices, resolutions, adoptions and/or approvals by boards and offering circulars. In fact, I virtually hire bond counsel many times in advance of drafting of bond proposals. Their assistance is invaluable. May I repeat, a legal opinion concerning public financing is a very specialized field of law and should not be undertaken by a firm inexperienced in this area.

Financial advice—Here again, the same theme prevails. Select competent advisors to help guide you through the maze of considerations surrounding the issuance of bonds or notes.

Let us look at some of the considerations:

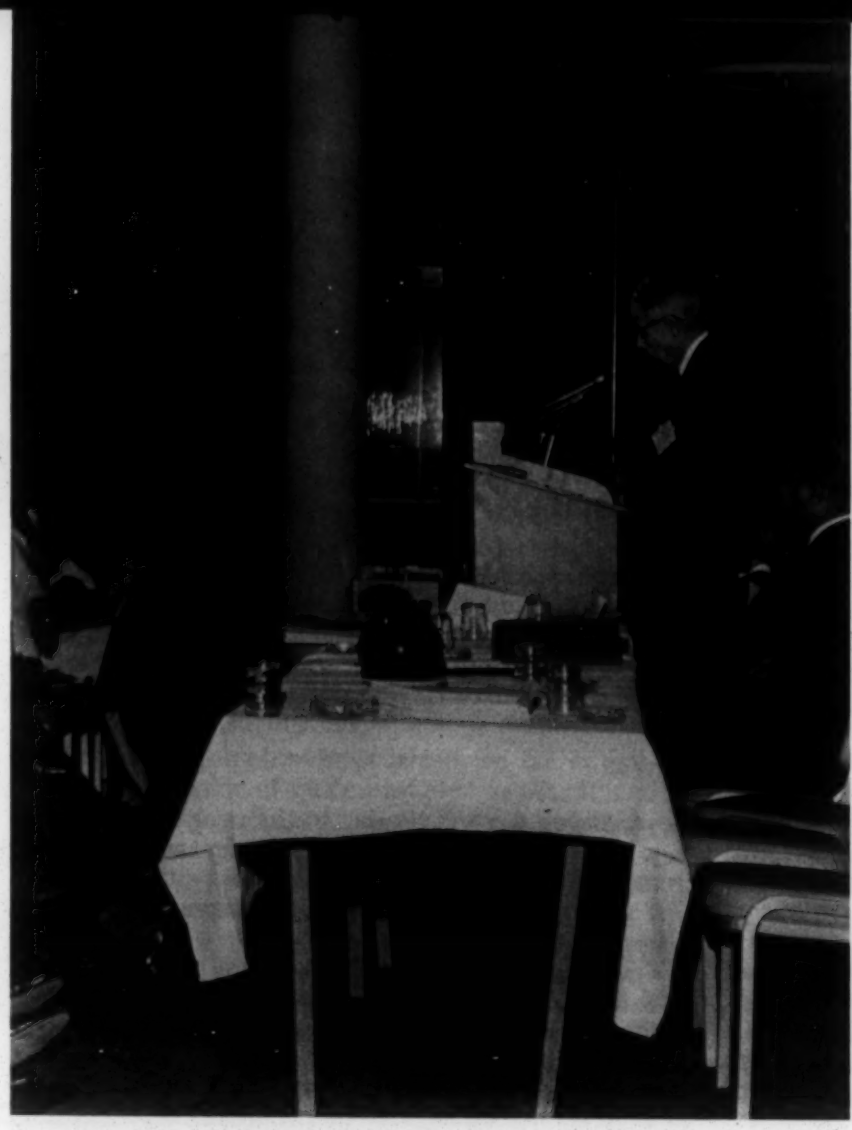
1. The timing of the sale—Is it a favorable market?
2. The date of sale—Is it a holiday or does it conflict with a major national sale or sales (100 million of California and 50 or 60 million of Connecticut)?
3. Presentation to the rating agencies—What kind of information do they require?
4. Preparing the prospectus—Is it clear and concise?
5. Setting the maturity schedule—Are the dates convenient for investors? Is the schedule reconcilable with the flow of cash or resources?
6. Details of handling the sale—Is it a place convenient for bidders and is there a local proxy agent that can submit bids telephoned from the money centers (New York, Chicago, San Francisco, etc?)

I could go on at length, but instead I would highly recommend the reference booklet covering this area, "Pitfalls in Issuing Public Bonds" published by Moody's Investors Service, Inc.

In conclusion, I hope my message is clear enough—As you operate in the five principle areas of concern to public finance officials, you should carefully (A) consider the scope and limit of your responsibility and authority, and (B) seek competent advice, both legal and financial.

I am cognizant that I have not created many financial wizards in 15 minutes, but if any one of you is elected or appointed in a financial responsibility, I would be most happy to offer you several weeks of training in my office.

I purposely have avoided the topic of taxation, for we are indeed fortunate to have two experts in that field on the panel. I trust that I have aroused some curiosity and stimulated some interest, for questions will be most welcomed.



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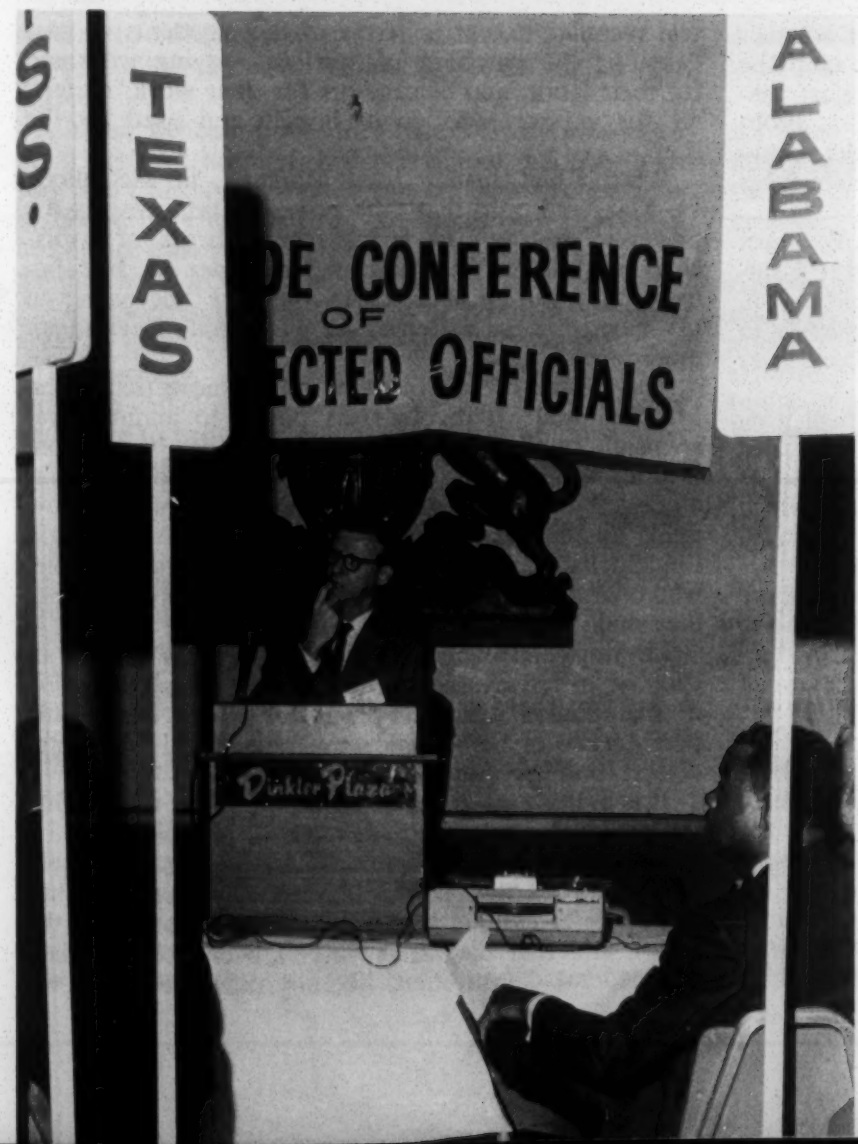

TEXAS
DE CONFERENCE
OF
ECTED OFFICIALS
ALABAMA
Dinkler Plaza

'...Services and Benefits...'

Theodore A. Jones, *director of revenue of Illinois, spoke on "Problems of Revenue Administration" on the revenue and taxation panel Dec. 13. He is former regional director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for the Great Lakes Region and is a director of several financial institutions in Chicago.*

I am deeply honored by your invitation. I am here, of course, as the representative of my state government's *most popular agency*—the tax-collecting Department of Revenue.

I am particulary grateful for this opportunity of speaking to you because of your particular professional interest in public administration. You are in a position to provide heavy influence upon some of the enormously complex decisions which lie immediately ahead of us.

I believe that it is time to make a decision as to whether state government will continue as a responsive and responsible instrument of the public will—whether it will continue to meet its responsibilities, or whether it will, by default, shift those responsibilities onto the federal government and itself assume a somewhat passive and ceremonial role in solving the people's problems and in some instances, the role of a spoiler, denying service to disadvantaged citizens. Every state faces decisions on this order.

Mere words will not answer that question. We must answer it with actions, and unless we do answer it satisfactorily, history will supply answers we do not relish. Are state governments going to respond realistically to local needs while the federal government waxes ever stronger and all-pervading?

Our ability to carry out the responsibilities of government is measured in what Abraham Lincoln called "the legitimate object of government" and defined as "to do for the people what needs to be done, but which they cannot, by individual effort, do at all, or do so well, for themselves."

If we are to do these things, it seems to me that we will have to do some rearranging of our opinions—to rid ourselves of some of the folklore that has grown up around the acts of government and the collection of taxes.

Too often we hear government discussed as if it were a business, as if it should be expected to make a profit and pay a dividend. This is utterly false. Government has no purpose as an institution other than the services and benefits it can provide for the people, better than they can do it for themselves.

Too often we forget that our democratic representative government was set up by inspired non-conformists expressly to provide services and benefits which they believed were justly due to the people, and which they had despaired of securing under colonial government.

If government is not created to "serve," what then is its purpose?

You cannot divorce state taxes from the federal and local taxes in preparing a program. They all come out of the same pocket, including your pocket and mine. In dealing with revenues, we must consider the total impact of all taxes, federal, state, and local, including those new ones which may be proposed.

In and of themselves, taxes are sterile. They have no real meaning except in terms of the payments of past debts or the purchase of services—paying workmen for their labor, and contractors for their work, materials for industry and goods bought and used by the state.

When Chief Justice John Marshall, in McCulloch vs. Maryland, said that "the power of tax involves the power to destroy," he laid the groundwork of a mischievous folklore that all taxes are, *per se,* bad because they will be abused. Had he said "the power to tax, carried to the extreme," he would have been much more precise.

The power of tax involves much more than John Marshall said: It involves the power to maintain responsible government, to provide police protection, health and education, highways and transportation facilities, schools and airports and sewage systems, hospitals and medical services—the things that Abraham Lincoln had in mind, and the things that the people, who own the government, want and are determined that they shall have.

Levying, collecting and expending taxes is not an exercise of futility and self-destruction. It is a function of maintaining those very services which ensure the permanence of democratic government and which are closest to the people and their needs.

It is in this area of services that the states are shifting the responsibility over to the federal government.

I should like to say parenthetically here that there is a very good reason why the federal government has been able to assume responsibilities that belong to the states, and that the states haven't been able to meet. The federal Constitution, liberally construed over the

years, confers vast, indeed almost unlimited powers in its clauses on the general welfare, commerce, and taxing power. State governments, Illinois being a prime example, operate under constitutions that for the most part are narrowly drafted, unduly restrictive, and narrowly construed. Hence you have the paradox of the remote government being given virtually unlimited powers while those governments closest to the people are handcuffed and rendered incapable of meeting their historic responsibilities; or providing cover for state inefficiencies and for state administrators to deny equal treatment for disadvantaged citizens.

The "tax climate," which we hear so much about, cannot be divorced from the total business climate. I assume that everyone wants to maintain a business climate that is healthy and vigorous and full of opportunity.

Andrew Mellon, when he was Secretary of the Treasury, gave us a guideline that is still relevant. He said:

> "A sound tax policy must lessen, so far as possible, the burden of those least able to bear it; and it must remove those influences which might retard the continued steady development of business and industry on which, in the last analysis, so much of our prosperity depends."

It seems clear to me that at certain strategic points, many state tax systems fail utterly to measure up to those standards. We can agree that good taxes should, then, have certain characteristics: They should hold reasonable promise of being stable sources of revenue; they should be uniformly levied so that everyone shares in supporting the government; they should be easy to collect and hard to evade; they should be levied according to ability to pay.

And, above all, they should be levied on the other fellow!!

I think we can agree, too, that if every man could build his own hospital, his own school, his own highway and transport system, clean his own river, dispose of his garbage and sewage, act as his own policeman, install his own street lights and pave his own street—we then wouldn't need taxes at all!

Let us consider briefly what is occurring in some areas of historic state and federal responsibility.

Increasingly, in some states, the federal government has been called upon to restore law and order and here and there to provide some justice. Here, we must move as rapidly as possible with every resource available, to erase the social and economic conditions which produce mass disorders. Maintenance of respect for law is a primary and historic state responsibility which all too often has not been exercised well, if at all. All government has responsibility here.

No responsibility rests more squarely upon the state than that of providing for education, and our plight is desperate. It is desperate statewide and most critical in cities. School administrators everywhere are faced with the urgent need to find money to carry out programs that must be undertaken.

I would like to note an example of the wide variation in the quality of education contained in the report of the Illinois Scholarship Commission last year. Of the high school students enrolled in City of Chicago senior classes, 22.4 per cent of those eligible to compete for scholarships did so. But only 5.5 per cent of the total eligible were actually qualified for scholarships. For the state as a whole 23.4 per cent of senior classmen entered the competition, and 7.1 per cent qualified for scholarships. For Cook County suburban schools, 29.3 per cent of senior classmen competed, and 10.1 per cent qualified for scholarships.

What does this mean? It means that City of Chicago seniors fall significantly behind the state level and very far behind the suburban level of education, as indicated in the grading for scholarships. Educators will tell you that other factors (environment, economic pressures, family and community disturbances) may affect the student's performance. But the conclusion that a gigantic educational effort must be made in the city and the state is inescapable.

We may congratulate ourselves in Illinois that we have unexcelled prosperity and an unemployment rate of only 3 per cent, which is far below the level of other industrial states. But do not be misled by generalizations on this theme. Averages are tricky.

In the Lawndale area of Chicago, 17 per cent of adult males are without jobs, and 12 per cent in the Woodlawn area are unemployed. In some sections unemployment among Negro youth is 30 per cent or higher. It is dangerously high in many of the poorer white sections. These are the drop-outs, the aged, the uneducated and untrained who are unemployable in a highly technological economy. They are the elements of what Dr. James Conant called a "time bomb" in our midst.

Dr. Phillip Hauser, sociologist at the University of Chicago Center for Urban Studies, has said, "All of the welfare and educational provisions today are only a band-aid on a gaping, massive wound." (Time Magazine, July 28, 1967).

Gunnar Myrdal, the eminent Swedish economist, in his recent study of our economy, says: "In society at large there is more equality of opportunity today than there ever was. But for the bottom layer there is less or none."

These people, and many others, are telling us that despite our booming economy, our good intentions and our efforts thus far, we must find ways to give great numbers of sorely disadvantaged persons—some one-sixth of our population—a chance to learn, an opportunity to gain skills, a way to find some gainful work. We must find ways to help them break the chains in which they but barely exist—the cycle of unemployment, the relief roll, the broken family, the loss of faith, the loss of motivation, adult and juvenile crime.

Training and education and new approaches and methods of training are the major factors in accomplishing this goal. It is—I would like to point out—the only means by which we shall insure that in the future, business and industry and government will be able to find men and women with the technological (or scientific) skills that are needed to maintain our competitive advantages. Before the world, I doubt that there is a person present here today who could not add at least a score of other major problems of our states and cities that call for emergency measures.

There are social and economic costs attached to any policy of "too little, too late" carried on in the name of "economy in government." What are some of the costs?

Tax values are destroyed on a massive scale as whole vast areas of property decay into slums.

Clients for the relief rolls are manufactured at an expanding rate, and the tax burdens thereby increase.

Families are destroyed, by the hundreds and thousands, as social units.

Crime and juvenile delinquency and police and court costs fall into a vicious spiral of inflation.

Relationships between the individual and the surrounding society, and between the individual and his government, are eroded.

Human dignity is emasculated.

When I see these things, I ask myself if we can afford not to undertake that which is needed. Will not the eventual cost of inaction be far the greater?

58.6 per cent of Illinois' general revenue fund in the last biennium came from the so-called sales tax. 27 per cent of our total revenue came from the federal government. The 1967 increase in the sales tax—to 5 per cent—undoubtedly makes it one of the most regressive levies in the nation.

Our tax excludes a very wide range of proper objects of taxation: Our combined state-local rate is among the highest in the nation, and it rests most heavily on the food and clothing necessities purchased by those with the larger families—namely the poor.

It is clear that if federal grants and other payments were withdrawn, Illinois, as would all states, overnight would be in a colossal financial crisis. You cannot pull 27 per cent out of any revenue system without producing chaos.

A word about Federal Domestic Assistance. Shift is one major characteristic, most notable from federal to local city direct relationships rather than through state control and reallocation. OEO was the leader here followed by HUD, the Department of Labor and now some HEW programs.

U.S. Aid as Percentage of State Budgets 28 per cent in 1966.

Ala.	36%	Miss.	32%
Alaska	52%	N.C.	23%
Arkansas	36%	S.C.	23%
Fla.	22%	Tenn.	31%
Ga.	29%	Texas	28%
Ky.	31%	Va.	28%
La.	28%		

Ninety-three per cent of the Governors believe that federal aid has stimulated state activity; 70 per cent believe it has improved state standards, and 35 per cent believe it has produced interference with state affairs. (This was in 1948).

With the partial shift from state control mentioned earlier, I believe many more will now claim interference—witness the new drive for block, unrestricted grants to states, sharing of income tax, etc.

With this shift has come a massive increase in federal grant programs:

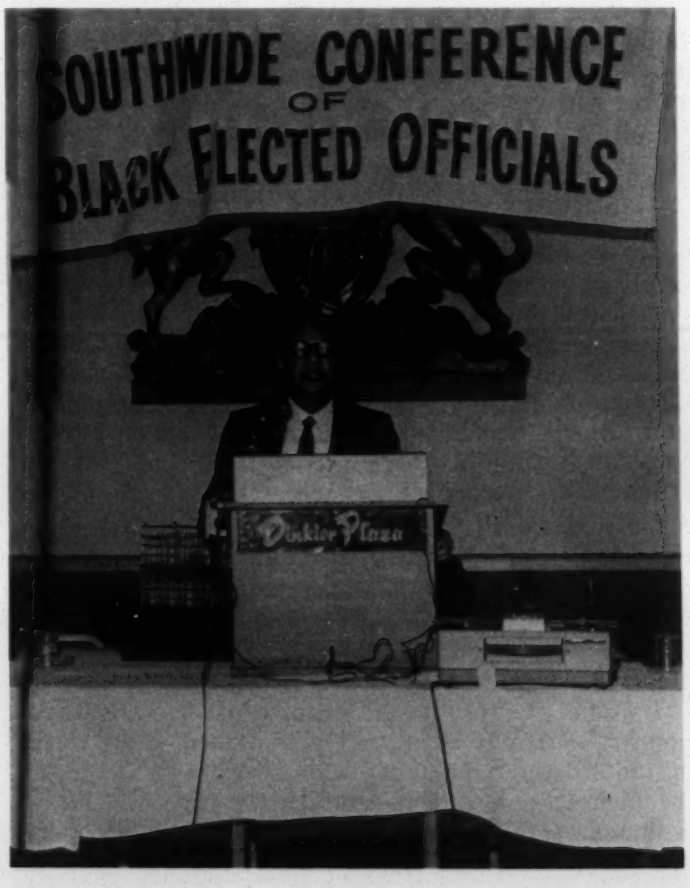
1. War on Poverty—heavy local participation
2. Twenty-one basic education measures by Congress—1964-68
3. Fifteen vocational education and manpower bills
4. Four mass transit programs
5. Twenty major health statutes
6. Thirteen housing and urban development bills

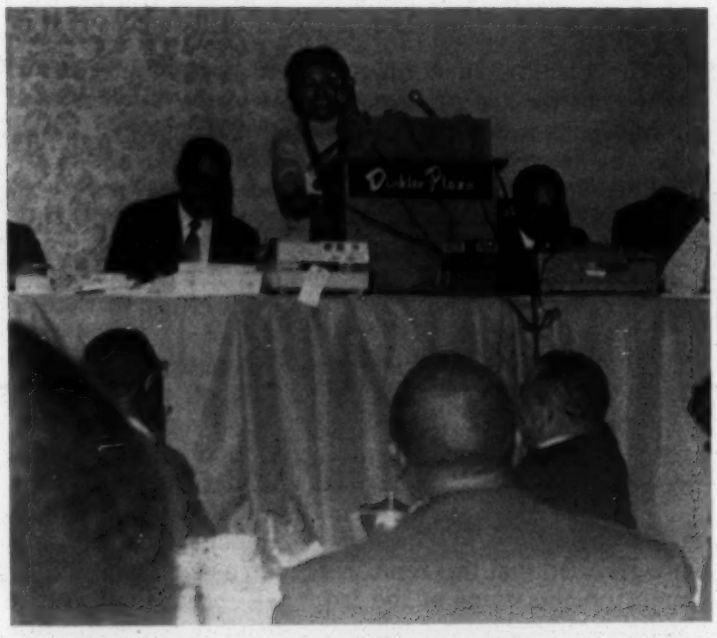
In all about 219 new grant-in-aid programs with cost are going from $3 billion in 1960 to $20 billion in 1968-69.

With some imagination and firm resolutions we could do a much better and much fairer job of raising the revenues needed for schools, roads, welfare, training, housing and other purposes.

The more you involve yourselves in these matters, the more likely we are to devise a tax system that is fair and just and sufficient to our needs. Give leadership and participate.

President Roosevelt, who had to wrestle with unprecedented domestic problems and a depression of calamitous severity, proved to us that new thinking and new methods are required in meeting new challenges. I recall that he once said that, "Taxes are the price of breathing the free air of a free country, the price of a living and not a dead world."





'...Our Real Dream...'

Paul Anthony, *executive director of the Southern Regional Council, greeted U. S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and the black elected officials at the banquet Dec. 13.*

It is with misgivings that I appear on the program this evening. Long dinners and the involvement of many people serve no function other than that of boring our guests.

However, in the next several moments, it is both a privilege, and certainly a pleasure, to do two things.

First, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council I should like to express our appreciation to Attorney General Ramsey Clark for being with us this evening. There is good in the South and there is good in the nation. This audience, Mr. Attorney General, represents a significant part of the good and the promise in this region. And the Attorney General, ladies and gentlemen of the audience, represents the good and the honorable of this nation. It is important, most important, that we meet here tonight recognizing this.

Secondly, and again on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I should like, belatedly, to welcome the black elected officials of the South to this meeting and to thank you for coming. This is, as I am sure you agree, an historic occasion, and Atlanta is the appropriate site for it. Earlier, we have gone from "Gone with the Wind" to the Cotton States Exposition. At that latter event, of course, Dr. Washington attempted to make peace with the white South for "his people." I do not demean Dr. Washington, I hurt for him and the choices he faced.

The black elected officials here tonight give proof that now we are privileged to have new choices, and I rejoice that we do. The Southern Regional Council has for 20 years had a strong interest in access to the ballot, we have developed a sound reputation for our knowledge on this subject, and we have consistently expressed our faith in the power of the ballot. (And we are pleased that our current Voter Education Project is our most ambitious and successful effort to date in this area.)

Yet, for all the encouragement, pleasure and, indeed, honest rejoicing that this gives us of the Southern Regional Council, we, too, are sad. I am sad that in 1968 we should need a conference of black elected officials. For the Southern Regional Council to have such a conference is a confirmation that we are right, particularly in believing in the democratic society. We are gratified that this represents such a significant movement up the rungs of the ladder. But, we shall not be really gratified until we have climbed the ladder. We shall achieve our real dream in cooperation with men like the Honorable Ramsey Clark and that which he represents, and with the cooperation of the honorable black elected officials here present. This dream is to have a conference of *elected* officials.

Then we will all be blessed, whole, and a nation of honor.

'...Equal Justice To All of Its People...'

Ramsey Clark, *retiring Attorney General of the United States, was speaker Dec. 13 at a banquet at the American Motor Hotel. He is a native of Texas and the son of former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark. He came to the Justice Department in March, 1961 after his appointment by President John F. Kennedy as assistant attorney general.*

I wish there were some way that I could tell you how deeply pleased I am to be with you tonight. My reasons fall into three groups: One is personal. I am Southern and white, and I know how very desperately we need black elected officials here.

Second is official. I have been awfully fortunate through all my life, but during no time have I been so fortunate as these last years that I have had the opportunity to serve justice. There are many, many men and women who have been in the Department of Justice these years who should be here tonight; and they would be, as am I, deeply pleased to be here and to know what you represent for this nation.

We are here tonight because we are a democracy and a democracy that will ultimately extend equal justice to all of its people. We are here tonight because we are making progress toward that end. We are making progress because we care. I well remember the long nights in the Department of Justice in the winter of 1964 when we were trying to find the legal techniques for a voting rights act. I well remember President Johnson's deep personal commitment to liberating the Negro, the minority in America; to bring the vote to all Americans.

As the principal federal officer in charge of the enforcement of the federal court order under which the march from Selma to Montgomery took place in the spring of '65, I had the privilege to see great men—brave men, men who believed in America—march that we might be here tonight. Dr. Martin Luther King was in the front rank. Bob Kennedy, who had been Attorney General, contributed there in the early days toward the Voting Rights Act. Men like Nick Katzenbach, Burke Marshall and John Doar were there and did what they could with their might.

Then there was that moment, Aug. 6, 1965, when the rotunda of the nation's Capitol was filled with the nation's great, and the President of the United States signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and it became the law of the land. It was less than a week later that the first deep rumbles from South-Central Los Angeles in an area called Watts—originally a bus depot, the first stop in Los Angeles County from the Southern states—were felt throughout the world; and we were reminded how imperative it is that we persevere.

I am deeply honored to be here for a third reason: to be with black elected officials of the South because I am a concerned American; because I know there are thousands and thousands of people in these United States who have come to doubt and some who do not believe, that this nation has either the purpose or the capability to bring equal justice to all of its citizens (and you demonstrate, better than anything perhaps, that this is not so); that the system, however awkward, however slow, can work; that our purpose as a people and the purpose of our laws is equality and justice for all.

The Voting Rights Act is a bold experiment in democracy. It has made a difference. Four years ago we could have held this meeting in the telephone booth in the lobby and not interfered with anybody who wanted to make a phone call. Two years ago in Washington, the leadership—as I recall, Louis Martin, primarily—met with what was comparatively a handful of black elected officials from all over the nation. What a difference you can make! What a difference that law has made and must make further, because we are only beginning. We have miles to go before we sleep.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, like every contested piece of legislation, has compromises. One compromise was the expiration of many of the most important sanctions and controls—in what then seemed a long time and now seems no time. After five years, on Aug. 8, 1970, there will be the opportunity for jurisdictions to reinstate qualifications to vote through subjective tests, such as literacy. Then, unless something is done, the power of the Department of Justice to place examiners and observers in places where they are needed to protect the fundamental right of a democratic people will also expire. Then state legislatures will be empowered to prescribe new standards, new procedures for voting throughout this land.

It seems imperative to me that we redouble our efforts today to enlist in the support of democracy, under the auspices of the Voting Rights Act and this great Voter Education Project, all of our people and that we provide for the future by extending these sanctions of the Voting Rights Act of '65 for yet years to come. Their necessity, to me, seems clear.

I would not be fair if I said that voting, the right to vote, the exercise of that right, is the entire solution. Far, far from it. It is terribly important, it vests power. You now have new power; you must cherish it and nourish it, and build it, and increase it, and exercise it for justice. But if it were the entire solution, then how would we explain the conditions of Central City America, of our great metropolitan areas—of a New York and a Chicago and a Los Angeles?

We must go forward, seriously, on many fronts and with rare courage—the rare courage that you black elected officials have shown us and of which I am grateful. We know the areas. We sometimes think because the struggle is so difficult that, perhaps, the road isn't clear; but it is.

Separate, but equal, was never so; could not be; will never be. There can be no equality with separation in any society, least of all in a highly urban and complex nation of two hundred million such as ours. Separation must be ended, and all of its manifestations, to bring equality. The task is terribly difficult.

An area is education. Start with the children. Education is America's greatest industry. One in three in this country is engaged, full time, in education as student, teacher or administrator. In 1954, May 17—a time had begun so much, so late—the Supreme Court said, as to public schooling, there can be no separation. For nine years, through litigation in the courts of the South, the constitutional rights of our citizens were litigated. In September, 1963, those who knew saw one per cent of the Negro children in the public schools of the 11 states of the Confederacy in schools that were desegregated. All deliberate speed meant nine centuries.

People with vision saw this. People of determination changed it, in large measure, because of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, because of Title VI, because of the much-maligned guidelines of the Office of Education promulgated in conformity with law thereunder. One per cent in '63 became 16 per cent in '67. When the returns are in, it will surely be over 20 per cent in '68. This, a law that has had barely three years to work its way, has made a major difference and has shown that the constitutional rights of our citizens in the South can be fulfilled.

Because of the immensity of this nation, and while we concentrated here where the need was so great, we barely noticed the new segregation building up steadily and swiftly in urban America.

In five short years, from 1950-1955, the percentage of Negro children in the public schools of Baltimore increased from 50 to 61. In St. Louis, it was from 49 to 60. In Chicago, from 42 to 50. A profound change reflecting patterns of living meant a new segregation in Central City America unless we awoke. The 25 largest school districts in the United States saw a shift in five short years in the percentage of Negro children in public schools of nearly 10 per cent—10 per cent more Negro children and 10 per cent fewer white. America cannot stand that.

Slowly the resources of the law are brought to bear; and now four suits, outside the South, are brought to desegregate our schools there. And soon, soon we must recognize, among other things, that the litigations that take so long and the guideline techniques that can work so well must be brought to bear elsewhere. And soon, we must recognize that segregation in schooling is incompatible with our principles and, alas, I believe, with the Constitution, whatever the cause.

On the forefront today, we are moving in the area of employment, and only beginning. There is vast discrimination in employment—the opportunity to get a job, to keep a job, to improve in your job, to get a better job. The '64 Act, Title VII promised to remedy this. It's essential that we enlist all of our energies, as a people, to do it. Today, we have brought finally 34 suits. When you think of the immense industry of the United States, you see how very slow the beginning is. Twenty-four this year, with so far to go.

One reason you must understand. For all the might of the federal government, the resources that we, as a people, have provided there are terribly inadequate. The Civil Rights Division—as devoted a group of people to the principles of this country as has ever been collected in one place, with one mission, in my judgment—is fewer than a hundred lawyers. Their average age is under 30. Their burden is to enforce the Voting Rights Act, to litigate school desegregation in perhaps 30,000 school districts over the U. S., to bring Title II of the Act, promising open accommodation, to a reality; to enforce all of our Civil Rights Laws. This small resource would be inadequate for one state. It would be inadequate for one single law throughout the United States. We must look to you, in your local community, to generate commitment and action to bring equality.

The reasons that black and white in America must show the world that they can live together with respect, with stability and with love are many. One is human dignity—my dignity, your dignity. Another is to remove this gross imperfection from our national character, to show that we can be what we say we are.

But there is another. It is survival. It really is, you know. We will add on this planet, in the next decade, one billion souls, and most will be blacks and browns and yellows. And we are impelled by change so vast that, in a few short years, the fundamental way we live is more greatly altered than in history to this moment. And change means that millions will starve, and millions will live in more than affluence, amidst surfeit, more than they can use. It means that science and technology, with 90 per cent of the scientists who ever lived working today, accelerating change and population explosions, compel now equality. And if we do not demonstrate that it is possible, that it can be, that it is, here in America, black and white together with love and strength, then this poor, tired world has more ahead than it can handle.

In the Gospel according to St. Mark, it is said, "And if a house be divided against itself, then that house cannot stand." America is a house divided. Not yet irreconcilably, but that remains possible. The divisions are many. Never forget that. It may be hard for black America to realize that our divisions are many—the young and the old, a real division.

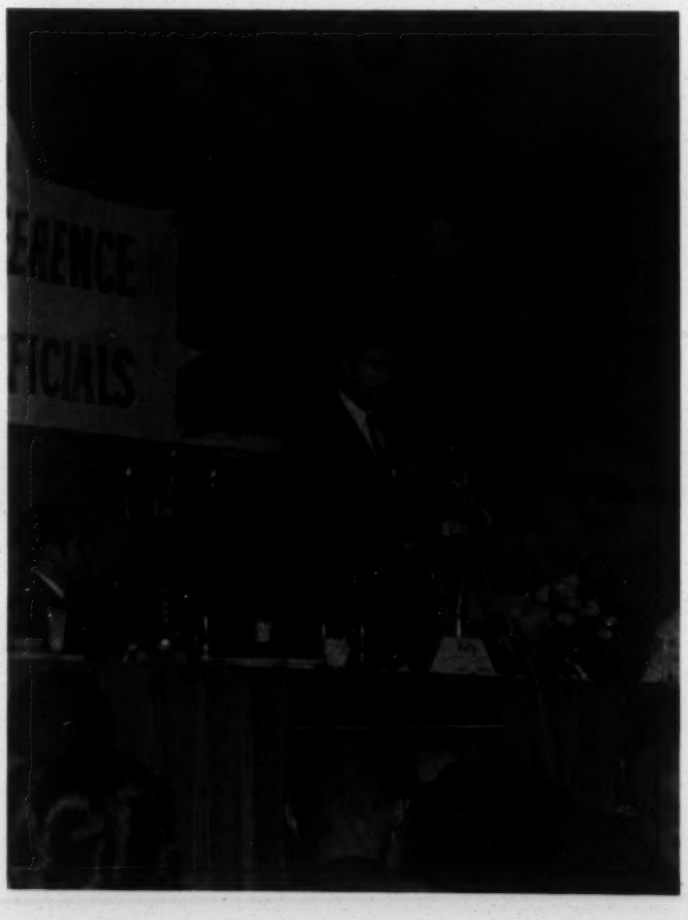
Of course every generation has had a gap. But the gap today is greater than ever before and for clearly ascertainable reasons—because change is so vast; because in a few short years, there is such a difference that a generation today exceeds the millenium in times gone by. Half the buildings in the world have been built in the last 30 years; half the buildings in Harlem were built before 1900, and there's a moral there.

There is a division today between the educated and the uneducated. It's a very profound division. Education means more to the individual today than ever before. My father and his brothers could come to be lawyers without going to college, without going to law school. The demands of our terribly complex, technologically advanced society compel constant increase in education. Forty-five percent of the college-age people today are in college. When I started college after World War II, there were a million and a half students; today there are over seven. The difference between the policemen endeavoring to control college students—the policemen five to 10 years older, who dropped out before completing the eighth grade—is immense. We have to recognize that division. We have to seek to bridge it.

There is a division between the rich and the poor. It is not the same division that has existed in bygone days between rich and poor because, today, the poor know of the wealth that surrounds them. Today, in America, the poor are a minority. To be poor in urban America is to be desperate. And in that desperation, you see Marlboro country on T.V., and you know it doesn't look like 126th Street. You must bridge the gap between rich and poor.

There are these gaps within races too. You must know Negro youth in this country. You must work very closely with them. They need your strength and wisdom. You need theirs. And if you can't bridge that gap, the meaning is immense to all of our people. And you must, within races and between, bridge the gap between the educated and the uneducated and lift all to the greatest possible education we can bring to them, because their future and ours depends on it, and so, too, the rich and poor.

And finally, of course, there's the division between black and white, a division that cannot and must not continue.



And from one side of this house of ours, we hear the call for order. There must be order. And from the other side of the house comes the cry of justice. Give us justice. The long history of mankind tells us that you will have neither order nor justice until you have both.

'. . . Proud To Have Been a Part . . .'

(TELEGRAM FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES)

Four years ago, only a handful of black people held public office in the South. Negroes were, in effect, without a direct voice in the council of government in the Southland.

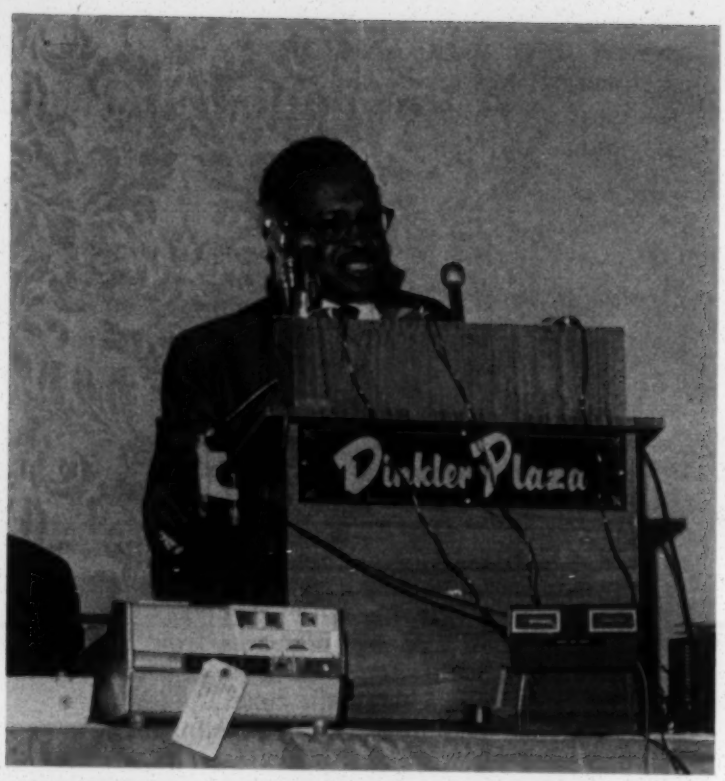
Soon after this administration began, I had the honor of signing into law the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes who had been denied the ballot were able, for the first time in their lives, to register and to vote. Indeed, Negro registration in the South has increased by one million in the last four years, to a total of more than three million today. Those black Southerners are today, for the first time, able to participate in the most basic step in our democracy—the casting of the ballot on election day.

Largely because of this historic development, there are now some 385 black elected officials—all holding public offices for which they had to go before the voters—in the South. These officials now are gathered in a conference sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council to discuss their mutual problems, to exchange ideas and to receive advice and counsel on the performance of their public duties.

As President of the United States, I salute these black men and women now meeting in Atlanta. I wish their conference much success. I am proud to have been a part of the developments that made it possible for them to serve.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Dinkler Plaza


Dinkler Plaza

Dinkler Plaza

A Resolution: '...Not Separate, But Unequal...'

The following resolution, drafted by a representative of each of the 11 Southern states, was adopted by the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials as the conference ended Dec. 14.

We have come to a point in the South and in the nation where the executive decisions of the next four years may well determine the course of race relations and civil rights progress for the future and will decide whether the succeeding generations of America will live in peace or will live at all.

We are appalled by inferences from the incoming administration that the South's racial problems will be effectively dealt with by the states.

The fate and future of the South and her people, black and white, cannot be left in the hands of these leaders whose past failures have demonstrated their inability and unwillingness to build a new South.

While business, acting unselfishly, can help, business alone will not bring enlightened, unselfish solutions to this region's problems.

Rather, we, as members of city, county and state governments, believe in and depend on democratic government, responsive to the needs of our constituents and the unrepresented millions of the South, as the proper problem-solving agency of the 20th Century.

We hope that the traditional Southern divisions between class and race can be healed. The kinds of oppressed whites who have had their own interests subverted by their racism must join with the oppressed blacks whom we represent to build a new South.

What is needed more than all else is full implementation of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Economic Opportunity Act. This can be done only by full dedication of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of federal and state government to the rights of man. The United States Supreme Court and our federal judiciary must be upheld and strengthened in devotion to equal justice.

We want to urge the President of the United States and our Congress to extend the much needed Voting Rights Act of 1965 from its present maturity date to another five years.

Since 1965, 805,233 Negroes have been added to voter registration rolls in the 11 Southern States. Most notable gains have come in those states where federal registrars have been assigned. To date, however, none have been assigned to either North Carolina or Virginia. Registrars are needed in these two states, and additional federal registrars are needed throughout the whole South.

In a nation dedicated to democratic principles, how can we explain that only about 60 per cent of the nation's potential voters went to the polls in the November election? Consideration should be given to making election day a national holiday so that the people can have adequate time to exercise the right to vote, so dearly earned by so many, over so long a period of time.

Violence and intimidation—as the tragic events at Orangeburg, S. C., earlier this year illustrated—have not abated in the South. White resistance to school desegregation continues—as we have seen in South Carolina and Mobile, Ala., and many other places, where white parents have organized to block effective progress toward eliminating the dual school system. In the 14 years since the *Brown* decision outlawing segregated public education, the rate of school integration in the South still hovers at a low level of tokenism. According to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare figures for the 1967-68 school year, only 14 per cent of the South's black children were enrolled in desegregated schools. For the Deep South the figures were: Alabama, 5.4 per cent; Mississippi, 3.9 per cent; South Carolina, 6.4 per cent; Louisiana, 6.7 per cent, and Georgia, 9.9 per cent.

The critical problem of poverty in the South must not be ignored by the new administration. In spite of much national publicity, children are still hungry in Mississippi and throughout the South. In spite of national concern over technological unemployment, men are still being driven from the land to huddle in the slums of our large cities. As critical as the problem of technological unemployment is the depressing reality of widespread under-employment. In many areas of the South the percentage of the labor force designated "unemployed" is about the national average, but the income in those areas is less than half the national average. Southerners, black and white, work long hours for

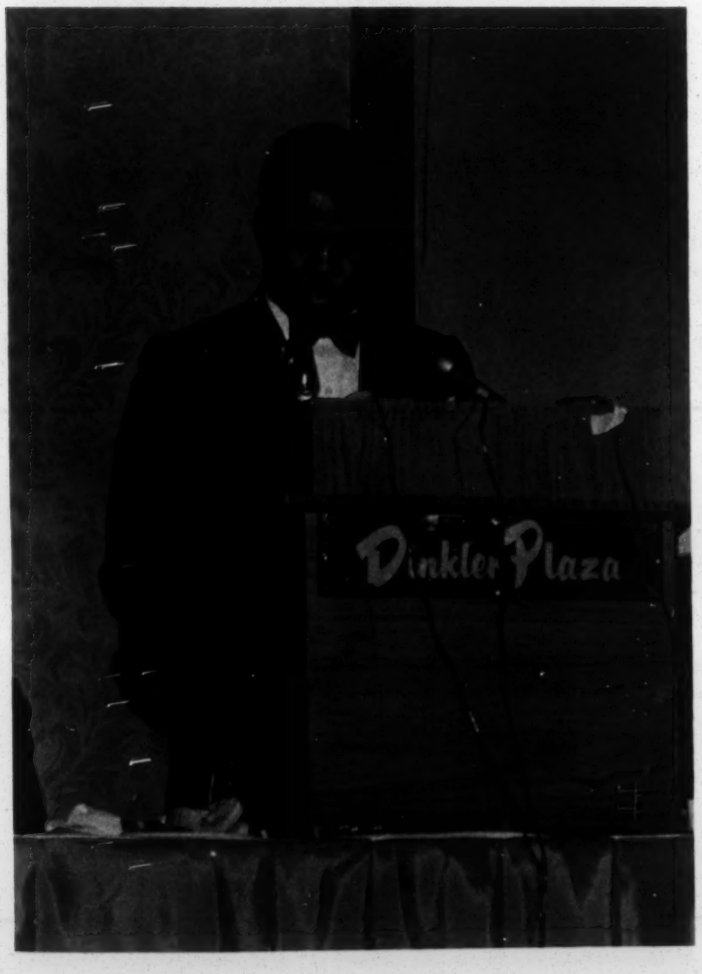
low pay. Minimum wage laws must be broadened and enforced.

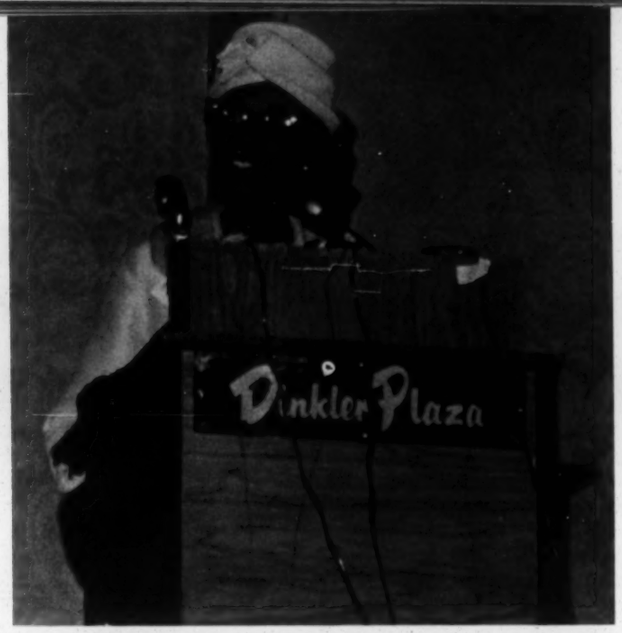
As part of a short-term solution to some of the more critical problems of the poor, uniform federal regulations are needed to govern the administration of public assistance programs in the states. Under present state welfare structures it is possible for states to impose restrictive regulations which bar the most needy from welfare rolls. However, the concept of public assistance itself needs to be re-evaluated with the understanding that welfare is not a privilege bestowed upon the needy in the way of charity, but a clear legal right. Hand in hand with such a re-evaluation, additional jobs and job training programs must be created.

We want to thank the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council for bringing us together and giving us the tools and techniques we need to improve our performance as elected officials.

As more of us take office and as we become more deeply involved in the problems of our constituencies, gatherings like this one, on regional, state and local levels, must be continued to help us keep abreast of the complexities of modern government.

Events of the past four years in the nation's alienated black ghettos should have taught us that the just and human needs of the country's black minority cannot be ignored, or appeased with high-sounding words. We are not yet a nation separate, but we are most assuredly a nation unequal.





'... The Polling Place Is the New Phase...'

Mrs. Shirley Chisholm *of New York, whose luncheon speech closed the Southwide Conference Dec. 14, was elected Nov. 5 as the first Negro Congresswoman in history. Elected from Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant district, she had previously served in the state Assembly.*

Those of you who know me know that I am very forthright and very frank. And so I am not going to be giving you a lot of little pieces of dessert this afternoon. I'm going to tell it to you like it is, because we've got to realize that we are going through a very important social revolution in this country.

Someone made a reference a little bit earlier to the fact that we had women on the stage. Perhaps this might be ladies afternoon or ladies evening. I want to be very sincere when I say to you that there is a tremendous need for women to be in the political arena. I would hope, in the near future, that we would not pay so much attention as to whether a person is male or female, but that we would rather look at the assets and the attributes of those people who can help to liberate our race eventually. I think that must be the criteria.

Yes, from February through Nov. 5 of this year, I have been at it in the streets. And there were so many whisperings going on that "you can't make it because you are a woman." Well, ladies and gentlemen, here I am!

While nothing is easy for the black man in America, neither is anything impossible. Like all men, rather, we are moving along, and we will continue to move resolutely until our goal of complete and unequivocal equality is obtained. We must not be docile. We must not be resigned or inwardly bitter. We must see ourselves in an entirely new perspective, and we cannot sit in our homes waiting for someone to reach out and do things for us. Every tomorrow has two hands—the hand of fate or the hand of anxiety. And the first battle is won, my brothers and sisters, when we fight for belief in ourselves and find that it has come to us.

While we are still battling, we must not allow petty things to come to us and stimulate them into vast proportions of evil. To dwell on every slight and clutch it close to our breasts and nourish it will corrode our thinking. We are on the move now, and as Frederick Douglass said, "Power concedes nothing without a struggle. It never has and it never will." And the United States can no longer afford the luxury of costly, morally, religiously and ethically wrong racial discrimination. For America needs all of its citizens, with the ability to develop, to make a fuller contribution.

Many problems scream loudly—the thousands of black citizens, with franchise, living under degrading conditions; the millions of poor throughout this affluent nation, white and black, who lack the bare rudiments for fruitful living; the rapidly growing numbers of children caught in a web of disillusionment which destroys their will to learn, the increasing number of aged who do not look forward to rest or to retirement. And despite the historic legislation of our cities and our states, nearly 11 million black citizens today still live in basic ghetto communities of our cities.

From decades of non-participation, or only modest participation, the black man has, within only the last four years, shifted his goal to full political participation for full American citizenship. While on the picket line, at the lunch counter, and in the bus and store boycotts, the black man came face to face with the full breadth and weight of the power and influence exercised by local and state government, intertwining with and often stifling the protest. Indeed, a principle by-product of the American civil rights movement has been the election of the black citizen to his awesome political potential. And just as the picket line and the lunch counter demonstrations and the boycotts were dramatic and effective weapons of protest for the civil rights movement, the polling place, my friends, is the new phase and new thrust of the Negroes' bid for equality of opportunity.

Power concedes nothing. How else can any man rise to power and hold sway over millions and tens of thousands except by smothering dissenting voices? Freedom is an endless horizon and there are many roads that lead to it. We must walk arm in arm with other men, and we must struggle towards goals which are commonly desired and sound. We must give and lend to the youth a stronger voice and encourage their individuality. We must look to the schools and work for their improvement. The leaders of today in the black community must be able to place the goal of freedom ahead of personal ambition. The truly dedicated leader follows his conscience, tells what is best for his people.

Whatever else the black man is, he is American. Whatever he is to become—integrated, unintegrated, or disintegrated—he will become it in America. Only a minority of blacks has ever succumbed to the temptation to seek greener pastures in another country or another ideology. The black man's total commitment to America indicates that the prospects ahead seem bright. It is true that we are angry about our present

plight, for we measure this country by her potential rather than by her achievements.

And Black Power is, indeed, a reality that is gaining in emotional intensity, if not always rational clarity. The harnessing and solidification of Afro-American power is constantly being dissipated with factionalism. Internal struggle for power by one group over another and forgetting the masses—this behavior is no different from that of the whites. But we as a people cannot afford the luxury of fighting among ourselves if we are to make real progress in this country.

Black people will gain only as much as they can win through their ability to organize independent bases of economic and political power through boycotts, electoral activities, rent strikes, etc. Black Power is concerned with organizing the rage of black people and is putting new, hard questions and demands to white America. We will build a new sense of community amongst our people. We will foster a bond between those who have made it and those on the bottom. And as Mr. Hamilton says, "Alienation will be overcome, and trust, the thing that our people are looking for, trust, will be restored."

Let us remember that a great people are not affected by each puff of wind that blows ill. We must fight for belief in ourselves. And, above all, we must hearken back to the days of darkness when Frederick Douglass, the great abolitionist, even in those times, echoed the famous phrase that has come, realistically, to haunt the black people in America as they fight to enter the mixed stream of political and economic life in these United States, the land of their birth. And that phrase is, "Power concedes nothing."

Let me say to you, my brothers and sisters, that until we can organize to create black unity with an economic base, until we can develop a plan for action to achieve the goals to make us totally independent and not have to look to The Man in order to live, we are not liberated. We must become doers and producers in this system in order to be able to control our destiny. We have the potential, but we must consolidate all of our strength for eventual liberation.

And let me say, off the cuff, a few things that are beating in my breast.

As I travel around the country now, speaking to groups, I must share these things. During my congressional campaign in Brooklyn I had the opportunity to talk with many of the black and white students on the various campuses; and to a large extent, many of these students came in and were a vital part of my campaign. And one of the things that these students, both black and white, indicated to me: Mrs. Chisholm, you have become a new symbol; a new kind of politician that is emerging. And I would ask them to elaborate on what the statement meant. Listen, this is what young people are saying in this country. They say you represent the type of politician that the people can trust implicitly; the type of politician that will not exploit their people for personal self-aggrandizement; the type of politician that is unbought and unbossed.

Those of you who have been following my career ever since I emerged five years ago know that the symbol under which I have operated is unbought and unbossed, and I think you can understand when I say to you that this does not endear me to the political structure. For I have the courage of my convictions. If you are truly going to give your people a sense of direction and a sense of leadership, you have to be able to relate to the people only and be prepared to take the consequences as a result of your actions, because this is what black people are looking for in America today.

They are disillusioned, they are apathetic, and there are many more reasons why many of our people don't go to the polls in spite of all of the barriers that have been held against them, particularly in the Southern part of this country. Many of them don't go to the polls because the public officials that they put in office forget them when they get in office. And we cannot afford that luxury. Yet, people have said to me ever since I emerged four years ago, you are committing political suicide, because I refused to do things for political expediency. When I should leave this scene, I want to be remembered, not as the first black woman to go to the United States Congress, although this is a historical fact. I want to be remembered as a politician that entered the arena where the people had real hope, not in terms of the words that I mouth day to day, but in terms of my actions and my attitudes in my community. That is what I want to be remembered for.

Yes, it was a very tough struggle, a very hard struggle this year. First in the primary of June I was up against the most popular state senator, another woman. The senator was The Man's "boy," because in the meeting they had indicated, "Yes, Mrs. Chisholm has ability; yes, Mrs. Chisholm is a fighter; but you can't cope with the woman." It isn't a question of coping with the woman, it's a question of trying to manipulate my conscience and dictate to my mind what I must do. And I said then—and I continue to say it—I know a person that's fiery and independent-minded in the political arena, I know that their days may be shortened. But I am not going to worry about that. Fortunately for me, I have a theory that many people don't accept. And maybe many of the people in this room will not accept it. But I believe this theory on the basis of my political activity for 20 years behind the scenes—only having emerged five years ago. The black people in America must have leadership that for the most part is educationally and/or financially secure. Because the temptations that are placed in the paths of many of us, many of us are not strong enough to resist.

I think that if we understand these basic things, then we can hope to restore some faith in our people. They will go to the polls, the registration drives will be increased because of the fact that their elected officials have indicated by their actions that they are fighting for them, that they are with them, that they are prepared to take the consequences of their actions. If we do this, I can assure you that the registration drives and the political activity during election time will become greater. But we have to prove this.

They told me that they could not back me for the United States Congress, even though the people in that community had last December come together and interviewed 11 others who were potential candidates. And the citizens had said we want Shirley Chisholm to go to Congress, because she has beaten the machine at the polls and the woman cannot be controlled, and we know that we can sleep at night when that woman's voice is in Washington. But the very assets that the people found in me I later learned were things that were

against me politically, and hence the party boys did not give me the designation.

And of course, like many people, I suppose I should have stepped back, I should not have bothered, because I had four strikes against me. Number one, I was not a darling of the party. Number two, I was a woman. Number three, I was a black woman. And number four, I sure didn't have congressional money to run.

But you know what really made me decide to run? Not only the fact that I've always risen to challenges, but the fact that a woman came to my home on Sunday morning—I remember the state Legislature was still in session—that was way back in March. She came to my home one Sunday morning and rang the doorbell. I went downstairs and opened the door. I think I see her now. A very fat, middle-aged black woman, timidly entering my living room and pulling out of her pocketbook a crumpled, dirty white envelope. And I saw her taking this envelope out—it was kind of heavy—and as she extended it to me, she said, "Mrs. Chisholm you know, we welfare people hate you politicians because you're always fattening yourselves. We don't believe in helping you because so many of you forget about it. But Mrs. Chisholm, for the 10 years before you entered the political arena and for the four years that you have served in the state Legislature, when we learned in this community that you were going to run for the United States Congress, a group of us welfare mothers decided to get together and have our own little thing going each Friday night in order to raise some money to help you to buy stamps." And she gave me an envelope—I will never spend that money—the first contribution I got to my congressional campaign—$9.69 in coins.

If I had any doubts about running, that erased every doubt. I made my mind up that I had to run although many persons had cautioned me. They said, "Shirley, no one can run in your district against you for the state Assembly and win. That's your seat. You could stay there as long as you want to. Why are you giving up a sure thing to run for a congressional seat when you have so many odds against you. I said yes, I may have odds against me, but I have a little talk with the Man above each night, and I have a talk with the grassroots in the community, and they say, "Chisholm, run." And I ran. It was the toughest campaign that I've ever run in my life.

During the course of the campaign, right after I won the primary in June, I became ill. I had to go to the hospital to get an operation, and I was out of circulation for about seven weeks. My people became very concerned because my opponent was going up and down the district, and every day it would seem that he would be nearer and nearer to my door; and there was of course a certain amount of anxiety. But always deep down within me I knew that in spite of what was happening, I was going to win. Because I had indicated by my life, from the day I was born in that community, that I had served and worked with those people even before they ever thought of sending me to political office. And I knew that they would not forget. In spite of whomsoever the powers wanted to throw out there against me, I knew that the people would not forget me. Many workers came to my home as I lay on my bed trying to recuperate, and they were crying and upset. They said, "Chisholm you're so near to it, but yet so far, because the people in the district are saying they don't hear your voice on the soundtruck."

Ever since I have emerged I don't campaign indoors, I bring them out to the streets. Let the people dig you, let the people see you. And I believe in campaigning in the streets and in the housing projects and at the rallies. Because then this is where the truth and sincerity of everything comes out and you have to face that populace. You don't have to get away with gimmicks.

Finally, I said to my doctor—and he'd known me for a long time—I said, "Doc, I've got to go." He said "Shirley, I'm going to tell you, you have got to keep quiet for a while. I know that you're itching to go, but you've had an operation and you cannot use up your energy." And I remember so well that I said to him, "But Doc, the stitches aren't in my mouth, they're on my body." And he said, "Well, if you feel that you're strong enough to go out on your soundtrucks and tell the people your story, well, then you can go."

And believe it or not, the moment I got up to go into those streets until Nov. 5, I didn't even remember I had an operation. God is with me, and I went out in those streets and I did the kind of job that had to be done.

And now I know every eye is going to be focused on me. I went down to Washington last week for three days to look for a place to live, to hire a staff, to do a lot of odds and ends. And as I walked into the House of Representatives' restaurant, as I came down the steps, some of the members of the House of Representatives were eating; and I saw the elbows just hitting each other, as I came down the steps. Well, I guess you can imagine what was being said. And they came over, and one of them had the nerve to say to me, "You know, we heard *all* about you in New York, and we know you're a tough cookie, but we have been waiting for you. We're going to have some fun with you, Shirley Chisholm." And I said, "Sir, you must remember that fun doesn't necessarily work in one way. I'm going to have some fun with you, too."

And so, my dear brothers and sisters, I rise to the challenge of the awesome responsibility that has now been placed upon my shoulders, to be the first black woman to sit in the United States House of Representatives. And although I specifically represent the 12th Congressional District of New York State, I know that I am a voice for all of the blacks in America.

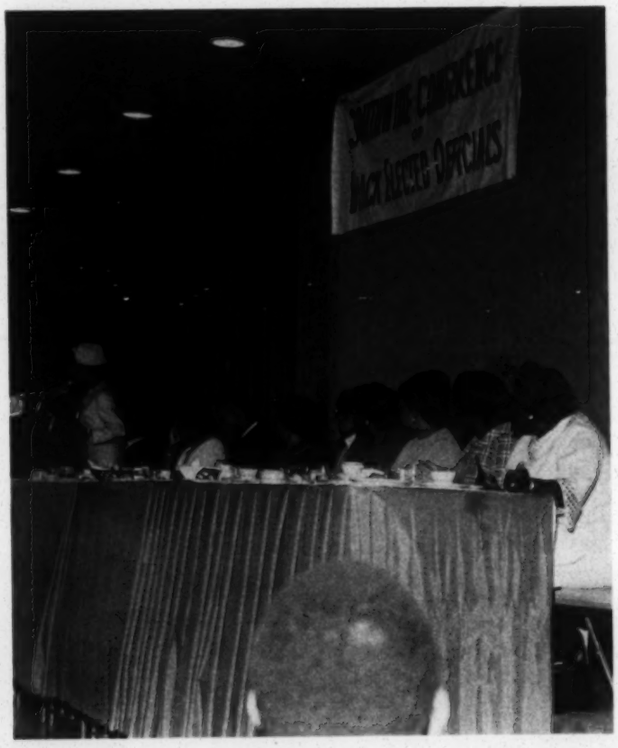
I don't know if many of you also realize that I was elected at the Democratic National Convention as the first black person to be a national committeewoman of New York State. I say this for one specific reason, because somebody said it to me a couple of weeks ago: "Shirley Chisholm, how can you rise within the ranks of the party so quickly, within a four-year period, from a poll leader all the way up to Congresswoman, and then go to the convention and emerge as a national committeewoman for the party—and yet you are not really a part of the machine?" And I said to the person, "Don't you recognize that the revolution is here, that the people are making their decisions now on the basis of what you can do to help liberate them?" And that's why I am rising. Because even though the bosses kept trying to stop me at the convention, when I ran in the district, the people kept telling them by their support, "Why don't you leave her alone?"

I think now that they recognize one thing about me,

if nothing else. I love a good fight. And you don't tell me that you're going to try to destroy me without my attempting to show you what I can do with my 100-pound self.

God bless all of you. Pray for me, because I am going to need prayers. But one thing I do know, that the black people in this country will be very proud of their first black woman to go to Congress, because I'm going to live the life and fight the good fight. Because the time has come when we can no longer be the passive recipients of whatever the politics or the morals of a nation may decree, but that we shall rise up and fight for that which we believe.

Forget what the world will say, whether you're in your place or out of your place. Forget conventionalism. Speak your best words. Do your best deeds. Fight your best fight, looking only to God and to your conscience for approval.



ELECTED OFFICIALS WHO ATTENDED CONFERENCE

ALABAMA

Lucius Amerson
Sheriff
Tuskegee

A. R. Ashley
Justice of Peace
Tuskegee

Mrs. Alice Belle
Constable
Coatopa

Dr. Prosanto K. Biswas
School Board
Tuskegee

Albert C. Bulls Jr.
City Council
Tuskegee

William J. Childs
Justice of Peace
Tuskegee

Joe L. DuBose
City Council
Fairfield

Rev. V. A. Edwards
Board of Revenue
Tuskegee

Jesse Favor
Justice of Peace
Hayneville

Davie Frazier
Justice of Peace
Troy

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
School Board
Tuskegee

Isaiah Hayes III
Justice of Peace
Attalla

Mr. T. R. Hayes
Justice of Peace
Magnolia

Elias Hendricks
Constable
Birmingham

John Hoard
Justice of Peace
Livingston

Rev. Peter Kirksey
County School Board
Boligee

Afton M. Lee Sr.
City Council
Homewood

Samuel Little
School Board (Chairman)
Eppes

L. A. Locklair
Tax Collector
Tuskegee

Miss Patricia McAlpin
Justice of Peace
Gadsden

Wilbur Miller
City Council
Roosevelt City

Lorenzo S. Mitchell
City Council
Bessemer

Aris Morris
Justice of Peace
West Attalla

Thomas J. Norwood
Justice of Peace
Birmingham

Virgie Lee Pearson
City Council
Fairfield

Freddie C. Rogers
Mayor
Roosevelt City

Calvin Smith
City Council
Roosevelt City

J. R. Striplin
Mayor
Hobson City

Lewis Thomas
Constable
Panola

Mrs. Tessie Thomas
Justice of Peace
Panola

Harold Webb
Board of Revenue
Tuskegee

Mrs. Annie B. Williams
Justice of Peace
Panola

Jimmie Lee Williams
City Council
Fairfield

Mrs. Bettie Wimbley
Justice of Peace
Witfield

Lee D. Young
City Council
Hobson City

ARKANSAS

Mrs. Mabel Allen
School Board
Eudora

Charles Bussey
City Manager's Board
Little Rock

Johnnie Gay
Mayor
Humnoke

J. D. Hammond
School Board
Menifee

Woodrow Keown
Justice of Peace
Little Rock

Rev. G. R. Mazique
Aldermanic Board
Helena

Arthur H. Miller
School Board
Pine Bluff

T. E. Patterson
School Board
Little Rock

Frank Smith
Mayor
Menifee

John W. Smith
School Board
North Little Rock

Rev. G. Edward West
City Board of Directors
Fort Smith

FLORIDA

Bobby E. Brooks
City Commission
Riviera Beach

Earl J. Carroll
County Commission
Miami

Jackie Caynon
City Council
Fort Pierce

George H. Gause
City Commission
Bartow

James Huger
City Council
Daytona Beach

Earl Johnson
City Council
Jacksonville

Mrs. Sallye B. Mathis
City Council
Jacksonville

William Shellman
Constable
Jacksonville

Oscar N. Taylor
City Council
Jacksonville

Rudolph Von Slaughter
City Commission
Melbourne

Boisy Waiters
City Commission
Dania

Ozie F. Youngblood
City Commission
Del Ray Beach

GEORGIA

William H. Alexander
State House
Atlanta

Julian Bond
State House
Atlanta

Benjamin D. Brown
State House
Atlanta

J. C. Daugherty
State House
Atlanta

James E. Dean
State House
Atlanta

Clarence G. Ezzard
State House
Atlanta

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
State House
Atlanta

Bobby L. Hill
State House
Savannah

Miss Edith Jacqueline Ingram
Ordinary
Sparta

Leroy Johnson
State Senate
Atlanta

John McCown
County Commission
Sparta

E. J. Shepherd
State House
Atlanta

Rev. L. Scott Stell Jr.
County Commission
Savannah

Dr. Horace E. Tate
City School Board
Atlanta

Albert Thompson
State House
Columbus

Horace T. Ward
State Senate
Atlanta

Q. V. Williamson
Board of Aldermen
Atlanta

Asa G. Yancey
City School Board
Atlanta

LOUISIANA

Wesley Albert Sr.
Justice of Peace
New Roads

Morris Barnes
Constable
Palmetto

Larry Balthazar
Ward Constable
Natchez

John Bobb Jr.
City Council
Grand Coteau

Anderson Broussard
Justice of Peace
Franklin

Felton C. Ceasar
Justice of Peace
Welcome

Oliver Cooper
Police Jury
Welcome

Eddie Davis
Police Jury
Weyanoke

Joseph M. Davis
Police Jury
Jeanerette

Joseph Delphin
Justice of Peace
Natchez

Joseph A. Delpit
City Council
Baton Rouge

L. D. Land
Aldermanic Board
Grambling

Ledell Mackie
Police Jury
St. Francisville

Mrs. Helena B. McClinton
School Board
Tallulah

Ernest Metz
Constable
Franklin

Henry A. Montgomery
Aldermanic Board
Ferriday

Thomas Nelson
Constable
New Roads

Joseph A. (Joe) Pete
City Council
Crowley

Joseph Russell Richard Sr.
Town Council
Grand Coteau

Watson Sanders
Police Jury
Sondheimer

Arthur D. Smith
Aldermanic Board
Grambling

Nathaniel Smith Sr.
Police Jury
St. Francisville

Peter Smith
City Council &
Mayor pro tem
Grand Coteau

Rev. O. L. Virgil
Police Jury
Lake Providence

MISSISSIPPI

Howard T. Bailey
Election Commission
Lexington

Miss Julia Banks
Election Commission
Fayette

Osborne Bell
Coroner
Holly Springs

Ellis Braxton
Election Commission
Lorman

Robert G. Clark
State House
Lexington

Mrs. Geneva Collins
Chancery Clerk
Port Gibson

John Daugherty
Election Commission
Lamar

Mrs. Gladys Davis
Election Commission
Woodville

Sylvester Gaines
Board of Supervisors
Lorman

Mrs. Flonzie Belle Goodloe
Election Commission
Canton

James Gray
Election Commission
Port Gibson

John Green
County School Board
Woodville

Mrs. Marie Green
County School Board
Woodville

Sol Jackson
Election Commission
Fayette

Everett Jennings
Election Commission
Hermansville

Elra Johnson
Election Commission
Durant

James Jolliff Jr.
Board of Supervisors
Woodville

Charlie Jones
Justice of Peace
Coahoma

Mrs. Martha Lee
Justice of Peace
Lorman

Wesley Liddell
Mayor
Mound Bayou

Horace Lightfoot
County School Board
Port Gibson

Earlie Lott
Constable
Fayette

Mrs. Arenia C. Mallory
County School Board
Lexington

Griffin McLaurin
Constable
Tchula

Leander Monroe
Constable
Port Gibson

Mrs. Legora A. Reed
City Council
Mound Bayou

U. S. Rimmer
Justice of Peace
Camden

Floyd Rollins
Election Commission
Port Gibson

William Matt Ross
Board of Supervisors
Port Gibson

James Shanks
Alderman
Jonestown

Burrell Tate
Election Commission
Pickens

Willie Thompson
Justice of Peace
Fayette

Mathew Walker
Justice of Peace
Rolling Fork

McEwen Walker
Constable
Waterford

Robert Lee Williams
School Board
Lorman

NORTH CAROLINA

Henry Frye
State House
Greensboro

Clarence E. Lightner
City Council
Raleigh

Fred D. McNeill Jr.
County School Board
Durham

Carl H. Russell
City Council
Winston-Salem

Asa T. Spaulding
County Commission
Durham

John S. Stewart
City Council
Durham

SOUTH CAROLINA

Leroy E. Browne
City Board of Directors
Frogmore

St. Julian Devine
City Council
Charleston

Anthony Eddings
Magistrate
Frogmore

Herman H. Felix
City Council
Lynchburg

David Jones
County Board of Directors
Hilton Head

Eddie Kline
Magistrate
Dale

J. O. Wendell Martin
County Council
Jenkinsville

John L. McCoy
City Council
Great Falls

Mrs. Frieda R. Mitchell
Board of Education
Sheldon

Charles H. Ross
Mayor
Summerville

Arnic Washington
Town Council
Summerville

Joseph Wright
City Council
Beaufort

TENNESSEE

Mrs. Gladys Allen
Magistrate
Oakland

Dennis Banks
Constable
Knoxville

Robert J. Booker
State House
Knoxville

Lawrence Curry
Constable
Chattanooga

Fred L. Davis
City Council
Memphis

John Driver
City Council
Nashville

Alvin King
State House
Memphis

Harold M. Love
State House
Nashville

Rev. James L. Netters
City Council
Memphis

Dan Nixon
Magistrate
Brownsville

Sherman Perry
Magistrate
Oakland

A. D. Powell
Magistrate
Brownsville

Rev. Robert Richards
Justice of Peace
Chattanooga

James I. Taylor
State House
Memphis

Avon N. Williams, Jr.
State Senate
Nashville

TEXAS

Harmon Bell
City Council
Bryan

I. W. Brown
Board of Aldermen
Malakoff

Asberry Butler
School Board
Houston

Mrs. Exalton A. Delco Jr.
School Board
Austin

Wilbert Lee Eagleton
School Board
Crosby

Dr. Marion G. Ford
School Board
Houston

Curtis M. Graves
State House
Houston

Arthur J. Guidry
Mayor Pro Tem
Port Arthur

Zan Wesley Holmes Jr.
State House
Dallas

Scott E. Johnson
City Council
Huntsville

Alfred Zack McElroy
School Board President
Port Arthur

John Miles Jr.
City Council
Hearne

William H. Taft
School Board
Beaumont

Harrison E. Taylor
Board of Aldermen
Wichita Falls

VIRGINIA

Rev. Lawrence A. Davies
City Council
Fredericksburg

Charles H. Harris
City Council
Danville

William D. Hobson
City Council
Martinsville

Dr. James W. Holley III
City Council
Portsmouth

Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
City Council
Norfolk

Henry L. Marsh III
City Council
Richmond

W. Ferguson Reid
State House
Richmond

Moses Riddick
Board of Supervisors
Suffolk

S. O. Sykes
Board of Supervisors
Southhampton

Raymond Turner
City Council
Portsmouth

Voter Education Project

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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Lynne Wisdom
Asst. to the Conference Coordinator

*At the time of the conference

● *Photos by Booker Lockhart, Harmon Perry and Marge Manderson*

file
black elected officials

February 14, 1969

Mr. Arthur Shores
City Council
P. O. Box 1668
Birmingham, Alabama 35201

Dear Mr. Shores:

I thought you might be interested in knowing that this program is being held.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure

file Black elected officials

February 14, 1969

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Dear Dr. Gomillion:

I thought you might be interested in knowing that this program is being held.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure

A PROPOSAL FOR

COMPREHENSIVE SUPPORT OF BLACK OFFICIALS IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE SOUTH

Prepared by:

Voter Education Project

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy
(Clark College)

Atlanta, Georgia

November, 1972

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The November 1972 elections represent another milestone in the increasing number of black Southerners elected to public office in the South. Parallel to the emergence of the black elected official is the increasing presence of black Southerners in appointed positions in Southern units of government. This increasing presence, however, is still proportionately small, and the goal of substantial representation at all levels of governmental decision-making will depend in significant measure on the performance of the current pioneers.

The black public official is operating today under severe handicaps. He lacks the experience and know-how of decades of participation in the governmental process. He lacks access to research and training resources which today are recognized to be of critical importance to effective government in a complex society. And where he has technical access, he lacks confidence in the good will of predominantly-white oriented resources.

Effective government in the South, at all levels, requires a government in which all citizens, black and white, have representation and involvement. If the black Southerner is to speed up the effectiveness of his involvement, he needs substantial assistance, and he needs it as quickly as possible.

This proposal sets forth a program for insuring competent research, training and technical assistance for black Southerners in government in the region. Although the impact of this program would reach into every level of black participation, emphasis is placed throughout on the elected official, whose responsibilities and needs are greater.

BLACK PUBLIC OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTH*

Emergence of Black Officials

One of the most remarkable developments in this troubled nation during the last few years is the emergence of an increasing number of black public officials in the South. In 1965 seventy-two black officials were identified, and many of these were in all-black towns. By the end of 1968 the number had leaped to 388. In 1970 the number grew to over 650. In 1972, prior to the fall elections, there are more than 950 black officials.

Each year more blacks are running for office, and more are being elected. It is likely that there will be more than 2,000 black officials in the South by 1975, with the list growing all the time. Some idea of the potential increase in black officials can be gained by observing that blacks constitute 20 per cent of the population in the South, but they presently hold only about 1.2 per cent of the elective offices, ranging from .03 per cent in Texas to 2.7 per cent in Mississippi. While it is true that blacks still hold only a tiny fraction of the public

*The emphasis in this proposal is on black officials, but public officials from other minority groups - Chicano and Indian for example - have similar needs and should be included in the program proposed herein.

offices in the South, the change that is taking place can be further illustrated by noting that over forty per cent of all the black elected officials in the United States are located in the eleven Southern states of the Old Confederacy, where few black citizens could even vote a short time ago.

Variety Among Black Officials

There is great variation among these black officials - in their education, their experience, their ideology, the size and nature of their constituencies, and the circumstances under which they must operate. Many of these officials did not attend high school, while some have college and even graduate degrees. Some of them have been small farmers or blue collar workers all their lives, while others have become successful lawyers or managers of businesses. Some of the officials could be labelled radical, some liberal, some conservative, and some even reactionary in their politics. Some of them are justices of the peace in sparsely-populated rural counties or city councilmen in hamlets of a few hundred persons. Others are vice-mayors of some of the largest cities in the South or members of state senates. Some represent the only black presence on an otherwise white city council or school board. Others serve on governmental bodies where blacks constitute a majority, including four county commissions. There are also a number of all-black towns, and plans are being made to incorporate more such areas. Some of the black officials work with generally cooperative white colleagues and have access

to considerable resources, while others must deal with hostile whites, who deliberately try to sabotage or isolate black officials.

Problems Faced by Black Officials

All of these officials, from the grade school-educated justice of the peace in backwoods Alabama to the successful and sophisticated attorney who serves as vice-mayor of Atlanta, are having problems in conducting their offices as effectively as they would like. The size and nature of the problems vary between officials, but all are serious.

Many problems are related to the official's lack of experience and his unfamiliarity with the powers and procedures of his new position.

* A newly elected coroner may not know how to fill out a death certificate or what steps to take when a death occurs under unusual or suspicious circumstances.
* A new school board member may not know that he has the right to demand certain information from the white school superintendent about conditions which adversely affect black children, or he may not be familiar with the budgetary process and may unintentionally approve policies and programs which properly informed, he would oppose.
* A city councilman may believe that a city department is discriminating against black citizens but not know what

action he can take to produce necessary changes. The city councilmen in an all-black town may not know how to petition the county commission for tax exemption for the industry they are trying to attract. A mayor may not be familiar with the management and financial procedures needed to administer his office effectively.

* A county commissioner, living in an area of low employment, few medical services, inadequate sanitation system, and no recreational facilities, may not know how to seek federal grants designed to alleviate such conditions. He may not know how to petition the state highway department to modify its width requirements so that more roads in the black community can be paved. Or he may not know how to use the commission's financial power to influence the county school board to stop their discriminatory practices.

Many other problems stem from the harassment inflicted upon black officials in some areas.

* A newly elected chancery clerk may be given absolutely no help from the white incumbent and even be denied access to the office until inauguration day, when the entire staff walks out without a word.
* A school board member may be tricked by his white colleagues into voting for the virtual giveaway of school property to a segregation academy or voting against the acceptance of federal programs which would aid black children.

* A city councilman may find that his white colleagues meet in secret caucus to decide all questions prior to their official meetings, which are thus turned into empty formalitites.
* A justice of the peace may discover that other law enforcement officials illegally narrow his jurisdiction and cheat him out of cases to the point at which he has virtually no job at all.
* A county commissioner may be unable to obtain trustworthy advice from the white county attorney.
* A court clerk may not be appointed by the circuit judge to handle chancery cases, which had heretofore been assigned to the former white clerk.
* The urban city councilman or vice-mayor may be unable to secure cooperation from a city department when he begins to question whether their practices are equitable to all citizens or when he otherwise pursues issues which are unfamiliar or disagreeable to the tradition-bound bureaucrats.
* Black officials of many kinds may find themselves accused of mismanagement of funds, which in fact occurred during the tenure of their white predecessors.

Still other problems grow out of the black official's lack of access to needed information or resources.

* The sophisticated attorney serving on the school board

in a large city may be quite knowledgeable about the duties of his office, but not be fully effective in his job, because he is unaware of innovative programs being used elsewhere to deal with the same kinds of problems which he sees going unattended in his own system.

* The city councilman or county commissioner may not be informed that new resources for health care or job training are available from the federal government, and he loses the opportunity to try to persuade his colleagues to apply for such funds.
* The black state legislator may be overwhelmed by demands and responsibilities, unless he has staff assistance beyond that normally available to white colleagues, because there are so few blacks in these bodies and those who are elected have to serve constituencies much larger than the district in which they are elected.

The foregoing examples represent but a small sampling of the types of problems which black officials are experiencing today in the South. As these illustrations suggest, many black officials are not presently accomplishing the results which they would like or their constituents expected.

Results of the Election of Black Officials

The election of black officials has, of course, produced some significant results for black southerners. It has been of

great symbolic importance to have blacks occupying public offices which previously were the exclusive preserve of the white society. There have also been some concrete improvements achieved by black officeholders. This is perhaps most dramatically illustrated by the improved treatment of black citizens when blacks become sheriffs, town marshals, and magistrates. And, though it is not so easy to measure, there must be instances where the actions of city councils, county commissions, and school board are in fact more equitable because of the participation of black members. But these accomplishments are not enough.

Consequences of Ineffective Officials

Ironically, the present joy over black electoral victories could be the prelude to a great embitterment. It is not alarmist rhetoric, but simply common sense, to raise the question of what will result if the long and costly struggle for full citizenship and political representation should prove to be an empty achievement. During the 1960's southern blacks invested a great deal of faith, work and suffering in overcoming the barriers to their participation in the political process. But what will be the reaction, both among those three and a half million blacks already registered and among the approximately two million blacks still unregistered, if the election of blacks to public office makes no substantial difference in improving the welfare of their

constituents? What hope is there for blacks, or for anybody, in this society if a patient and faithful adherence to the rules of a democratic political system leads only to frustration and a recognition that all their efforts were based on a cruel hoax?

The long and arduous struggle by blacks for political participation, as well as the requirements of a just and democratic society, demand that black citizens receive more benefits from the governmental system than they are presently receiving. Of course, black political participation can have positive influences on the output of the political system in ways other than the election of black officials. For example, the increasing black electorate may have substantial effects on the way white officials respond to the interests of black constituents, and this is a highly desirable and acknowledged goal. But it is unquestionable that now and probably for many years the chief means of changing the southern political process into a more responsive and beneficial one to blacks is through effective black public officials.

Thus, in addition to the need to elect additional blacks to office, there is a critical need that black officials be truly effective in their offices. Black officials must demonstrate that their election means a better life for their constituents. If this is accomplished, then the continued movement of blacks into

the political process through registration and voting and the election of more officials, black and white, who are responsive to the needs of black citizens, will follow.

Whether or not southern black officials can be effective in making the machinery of government respond positively and meaningfully to the needs of black citizens depends upon many things, some of which may be independent of anything which these officials do. But certainly the manner in which these officials perform the duties of their offices is a crucial element in determining the answer to this question. Poor performance by these officials will be sufficient to provide a negative answer. The more fundamental question of whether the groups and individuals who exert the major influence in this country will share the country's resources equitably with blacks will be conclusively answered only after all preliminary conditions, such as effective performance by black officeholders, have been met.

Need for Assistance

To be effective, black officials must receive assistance. Assistance is needed, first of all, because of the past failings of the American political system, which barred blacks from participation in that system. Assistance is needed, secondly, because the resources normally available to white officeholders

are still not nearly so accessible to black officials.

Most of the black officials now being elected in the South lack any previous governmental experiences. This does not mean that these men and women are lacking in ability. Many of them are unusually talented, and few, if any, are less able than the whites they replace. It does mean, however, that these new officials need information and training programs on the duties and procedures of their offices. This is especially true since many of these officials operate in hostile environments where their mistakes would be given unusual attention. They also need aid in locating the outside resources which can make their offices more productive and aid in manipulating the procedures involved in tapping these resources.

PREVIOUS EFFORTS TO ASSIST BLACK OFFICIALS

During the past few years several efforts to assist black officials have been made, most of which provided some valuable contributions but fell far short of meeting the total needs.

Voter Education Project

The largest program of assistance in the South was conducted by the Voter Education Project. After sponsoring several conferences for candidates and elected officials, VEP established service centers for elected officials on the campuses of five predominantly black colleges: Clark College in Georgia;

Tougaloo College in Mississippi; Southern University in Louisiana; and Miles College and Talladega College in Alabama. Except for the Tougaloo Center, which opened in 1968, the centers began operation during the first half of 1969. The Talladega Center was closed after one year, but the other four operated until the summer of 1972, when the grant supporting them ran out and other funds were not obtained.

The staffs of these centers consisted of a director, a secretary and occasionally some student interns. Although there were considerable variations in the way the individual centers operated, in general they conducted the following activities: organized workshops on the duties of office and on federal programs, did research on certain problems confronting officials, distributed information to officials, supervised student interns, and referred officials to other resources.

The Voter Education Project also had three state offices -- in Arkansas, North Carolina, and South Carolina -- which provided to officials in those states some of the same assistance as the service centers did in their states. In addition, the Atlanta VEP office organized several conferences for officials, provided some interns, and arranged for some professional consultant services.

SEDFRE, the Joint Center for Political Studies and Other Organizations

Another organization which has provided assistance to black officials in the South is the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Incorporated. They have sponsored some conferences for officials, but perhaps their most outstanding programs have been the placement of full-time aides with the officials of Greene County, Alabama, and Fayette, Mississippi. These aides have worked in a variety of ways with the county commissioners and school board members in Greene County and with the city administration in Fayette.

The Joint Center for Political Studies, although its focus has largely been outside the South, has sponsored a few meetings and provided some consultant services on federal programs to officials in this region. Several other organizations--such as the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, and American Friends Service Committee -- along with a number of individuals, have also provided services to some of the black officials in the southern states.

White Institutions

There are, of course, a number of predominantly white institutions and programs in the South whose purposes include providing assistance to public officials. It should be stressed that, for a variety of reasons, these resources have not been of

substantial help to black officials and are not likely to be in the near future. This is not to suggest that the whites who operate these programs deliberately discriminate against blacks, although there is still some of this in places. However well intentioned they may be, most of these programs do not have the experience, the necessary resources, the kind of attitudes, or the sensitivity to deal very effectively with the needs of most black officials.

Some whites simply are not interested in making their resources available to blacks. Some, who may be interested, do not know the techniques needed to accomplish their purposes. For example, a university-sponsored bureau of public administration may send letters to newly-elected black officials, offering in a rather general fashion the assistance of the bureau. The black officials, not being familiar with the bureau or the kinds of specific aid available and generally mistrustful of all white institutions, do not reply. The bureau feels rebuffed and makes no further effort to offer its assistance. Another problem is that some whites treat the blacks in such degrading or paternalistic manner that the relationship cannot develop into a fruitful one. Another problem is that few, if any white institutions, are designed to provide the range of services needed by some black officials. White officials are assisted by an extensive informal network of

associations, interests, and resources which are not available to black officials, who therefore require certain kinds of assistance which whites do not need from the formal institutions designed to serve public officials.

The barriers to white institutions effectively serving the needs of black officials will become even clearer in subsequent sections which describe the problems involved in assisting black officials and the kinds of assistance they need.

NEEDS WHICH FUTURE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS MUST MEET

No one would claim that the services mentioned above, though quite useful in places, have been adequate to meet all the needs of the ever growing number of black officials in the region. As indicated, most of the VEP programs have been terminated, and most of the others are either occasional or very limited in scope. If the obvious and pressing needs of the southern black officials are to be met, new and more comprehensive programs must be created -- and quickly. In designing these new programs, a number of lessons derived from the previous experiences should be taken into account.

Developing Rapport with Officials

Contrary to what some people had assumed earlier, most black officials do not readily initiate requests for assistance.

It is necessary for the organization offering assistance to develop considerable rapport with most officials before they will discuss some of their real problems and seek or accept assistance in dealing with these problems. The experience of the Voter Education Project and other groups clearly indicates that such rapport cannot be achieved through correspondence or a hasty visit, but instead requires sufficient time and contact to allow the officials to become familiar with the organization and feel trust in it. There have been many instances when persons with important skills to offer and presumably the best intentions in offering them were virtually ignored by officials who could have genuinely benefitted from the services which were offered. On the other hand, there are instances when after a period of weeks or months, and several visits, a person offering assistance began to receive numerous requests for help. Many black officials, assuming public office for the first time and frequently after a long struggle, are understandably and justifiably cautious in disclosing to others their problems and needs. Furthermore, the experience of blacks in this country argues strongly that they should exercise suspicion towards generous but unexpected offers of help from strangers, white or black.

Thus, any realistic efforts to provide serious assistance to black officials in the South must take into account the absolute

necessity for a strong outreach component. No matter how eager an organization may be to assist or how much help they have to offer, their program is not going to be widely successful unless it has the capacity to develop genuine rapport with the officials.

With black officials in large urban areas, the problem is somewhat different. Generally more educated and sophisticated than officials in small towns and rural areas, many of these men and women have to be convinced that an organization has the skill and resources to render a truly desirable service to them. Usually these men and women are quite busy and will give little attention to an organization until this persuasion is accomplished, and the burden of proof is on the organization.

Increasing Officials' Awareness of Need

Another difficulty in assisting officials is that many of them do not know exactly what kind of assistance to ask for. There are, of course, instances where an official's pride discourages him from admitting that he needs any help, but this is not the major problem. It is rather that the official is unfamiliar with his office, or the full potential of it, and thus is not aware of all that he needs or could use. To help these officials, an organization must be able to perceive unexpressed needs and suggest to them, albeit in a subtle and respectful manner, how they can benefit from certain kinds of assistance.

In varying ways, this applies to almost all officials.

There are several types of assistance which are needed.

A. Providing Orientation to Office

The first need is to provide newly-elected officials with an orientation to their offices. While most officials have a general understanding of the office they have won, this understanding is frequently quite superficial. Most of them need a great deal more knowledge about the powers and procedures of their new offices. This orientation should begin between election day and inauguration day. These initial sessions can give a general introduction to the offices, including the presentation of materials which the officials can take home with them for further study.

But the orientation process must continue after the officials take office. The process cannot be completed before inauguration day for several reasons. For one thing it would be difficult to find sufficient time; these officials are tied up with other jobs, and the holiday seasons between November and January further limit the time which can be given to such training. Another reason is that some of the instruction will not be fully effective until the official experiences the actual demands of the job. Inevitably, then, the officials need to receive "on-the-job" training, and it may take a number of weeks to complete this,

since only a limited amount of time each week will be available for instruction.

B. Assisting With Special Problems

While the first step in assisting officials is a general introduction to the formal powers and procedures of their offices, there is also a need to assist them when they begin to confront some concrete difficulties. Especially when they encounter unusual problems which fall outside the normal functioning of the office, they may need help. For example, a new justice of the peace may know the definition of his powers, but may need aid when faced with a particular jurisdictional dispute with other law enforcement officers in his county. A court clerk may have learned the way her office is supposed to operate, but then may discover that part of the system used by the previous clerk does not fit this model. A county commissioner may suspect that the technical rationale he is given for a water and sewer system which largely omits black areas is wrong, but he may need help in assembling the data needed to effectively attack this plan. In these and countless other situations there is a need for an organization which can provide expert assistance to these black officials.

Obviously, the problems of new officials are magnified when they also must deal with overt harassment by resentful

whites. While there have been instances in which white officials have been geniunely cooperative with newly-elected blacks and have assisted them in learning their new jobs, such occurrences have not been frequent. The most common practice has been for whites to ignore their black successors, and for whites to provide no real assistance to black colleagues. And, worst of all, there have been instances when whites have deliberately tried to make the job as difficult as possible for black officials.

C. Providing Information to Officials

Although many black officials in large cities can also benefit from orientation programs, they generally are better acquainted with the duties of their offices. But they, too, need considerable assistance as they try to pursue their jobs in an effective manner. The urban city councilman may be thoroughly familiar with his formal authority over a city department, but he may have great difficulty in securing adequate information from a city department when he begins to question some of its practices, and he may require independent sources of information. Likewise, the urban black school board member may know all about the way Title I programs are supposed to work, but he may be largely at the mercy of the superintendent in trying to find out exactly how those programs are in fact operating in his city. These officials may be just as knowledgeable

about their roles as public officials as any of their white counterparts, but the normal sources of information and other assistance within the system's bureaucracy may not be of the same value to them as to white officials. In such situations, the black official cannot really be fully effective without some outside forms of assistance.

There is also a need to distribute general information to officials. Not only do they need to be informed about resources which are available, but they need to be told, or reminded, of changes in laws and regulations pertinent to their positions, of important dates and deadlines, and any other kind of information which will help them do a better job or avoid mistakes and complications. This need applies particularly to those officials with lesser educational backgrounds or in isolated locations.

D. Assisting in Acquisition of Outside Resources

Another need of many black officials is to move beyond a mastery of their routine duties and learn ways in which an active and imaginative use of their office can bring greater benefits to their communities. For example, city councilmen, county commissioners and school board members need information on federal, state and private programs available to communities such as theirs. In fact one of the primary concerns of most black officeholders is how they can secure the outside resources

to improve the standard of living among their constituents. This is true even of officials who occupy offices which are not formally involved in serving these functions in that community. Because they are concerned community leaders, officials such as constables, court clerks or sheriffs may be interested in such programs as economic development, education or recreation.

To provide assistance in securing the needed outside programs, it is necessary to acquaint officials with available programs, help them determine whether their community is eligible for the program, help prepare the appropriate applications, and then sometimes guide the application through the required bureaucratic channels.

In acquainting officials with such programs, it is usually inadequate just to send them the formal descriptive literature of the programs. A simple written description may help spark their interest, but it is usually necessary for someone well acquainted with the programs to talk directly with the officials and discuss the possibilities and regulations of the program in relation to the official's own community. Workshops can serve this purpose for a number of officials at the same time. There have been instances in the past when officials have been sent printed information about federal programs, but they made no real effort to investigate the programs until after they had

attended a conference at which the programs were discussed and someone could answer their questions.

After an official has determined that he is interested in a program and that his community is eligible for it, it is crucial that he receive assistance in preparing an application. In addition to the fact that many officials are already overworked to the point at which they simply do not have the time to prepare an application, and there may be no one else in the community to do it, sometimes the complexity or the appearance of complexity in preparing the application may prevent the community from completing the process. In other instances an application may eventually be completed by someone in the community, but only after an inordinately long time.

It is to be expected that officials with little formal education may have difficulty in preparing applications, but the circumstances described above also prevail among college educated officials. These men and women usually hold one or more jobs in addition to being an elected official, and as a leader in the community, they are unavoidably involved in many other activities besides their official duties as an officeholder.

Still another need in this process is for someone to shepherd the application through the bureaucratic channels that it must follow after it is prepared. Sometimes an application

is unacceptable for funding for one minor technical reason or another, but the community may wait for months without knowing this and taking steps to rectify it. Someone more familiar with the bureaucratic channels could prevent these long delays and unnecessary disqualifications. Moreover, although blacks have precious few points of influence in governmental bureaucracies, the few opportunities for aiding the chances of one of their proposals should be exploited to the fullest.

However one may try to explain the reasons, experience has shown that it is unrealistic to expect governmental bureaucracies to provide the necessary assistance to poor black communities to allow them to take advantage even of those government resources specifically designed for such localities and situations. There have been exceptions to this in a very few special situations, but the general point is indisputable. If black officials are not provided with the needed technical assistance from other sources, then few of the drastically needed resources are going to come to their communities.

E. Assisting Black-Controlled Governments

When blacks constitute a majority of a city or county governing authority, their needs are both greater in scope

and of far more significance than when blacks occupy only a minority of the positions on such boards.

These counties and towns, where blacks hold real power over significant governmental institutions, are the prime testing grounds for what it can mean for blacks to participate in the political process. If these officials fail to perform effectively, then not only will their own constituents suffer, but the whole movement toward greater black political power will be seriously hurt. If they succeed in bringing a better life to their communities, then their constituents will benefit immediately and the entire society will benefit eventually.

The black officials in these circumstances need all the kinds of assistance which other black officials need, but they need more of it. The assistance must be more intense, more sustained, and more varied. From the start, assistance should be available on the whole array of functions performed by a county or city government, and it must continue for a considerable amount of time.

F. Summary of Services Needed by Officials

The comments on the preceding pages give only a slight indication of the kinds of needs which southern black officials have and the kind of services required to meet these needs. A program designed to respond effectively to these circumstances

would have to have the capability to do at least the following things:

1. Develop close rapport with the officials in the field
2. Provide expert advice on the operation of local government offices
3. Provide legal assistance
4. Assist officials in seeking government and private grants
5. Provide the kinds of research needed to solve some of the problems which confront officials or to propose new programs and policies.
6. Keep officials informed of pertinent information regarding their jobs
7. Refer officials to other appropriate sources of information and assistance
8. Respond immediately to crises
9. Provide sustained, long-range assistance
10. Anticipate and prepare for yet unarticulated needs.

Although some black officials in the South have received aid from existing programs - notably VEP, SEDFRE and the Joint Center - none of these agencies are prepared to meet in quality or quantity the expanding demands. And the very concentration of black officials in the region argues for assistance from regionally - based programs.

PROPOSED NEW PROGRAMS TO SUPPORT BLACK OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTH

A new system of providing assistance to black officials in the South is needed. This system should incorporate all the capabilities just discussed, ranging from direct field contact with officials to highly technical research and policy analysis of current issues in government.

It would be self-defeating to include all these capabilities in one organization. We propose a system that would include (1) special institutes in a number of states with large numbers of black officials, with each institute having the capability to establish close working relationships with communities where black officials serve, and (2) a regional institute which could provide resources in support of the state programs, provide graduate training, sponsor specialized training and technical assistance for those working with state programs, and conduct research and policy analysis of issues of general interest to black and poor Southerners.

We explicitly understand the complexity of the program we propose. We know that resources to develop a number of state programs simultaneously will be difficult to secure, but yet we believe that a significant start must be made on one or two state

programs immediately. We believe that there must be close relationships between the state programs and the regional program, but these relationships must be nurtured as both programs are developed, not made dependent on the initial creation and maturation of the regional program.

These programs will be designed not just to meet the current needs of black officials, but also to develop resources and strengthen institutions which can insure that black citizens and officials will be better equipped in the future to secure their rightful place in this society. The number of blacks trained to provide technical assistance to communities around the South will be greatly expanded. Black educational institutions will be encouraged to involve their resources much more extensively in the black communities around them, and the resources of these institutions will be increased. New institutions and programs will be created to complement and assist existing ones.

While the primary emphasis of this proposal is on assisting black officials and black citizens, it should be noted that the programs to be developed will also make substantial contributions to many white citizens. The research and policy studies conducted by the regional institute should have an influence on public programs which will benefit poor whites as well as blacks. The assistance to black officials will, of course, lead to better public service for both white and black constituents of that

official. Some of the assistance programs can provide direct services to white officials. And, the creation of services for black officials may stimulate predominantly white institutions to improve their services to white officials, as happened recently in Louisiana when a training program for black justices of the peace led the state to institute training programs for all justices of the peace, which they previously had not provided.

The regional institute will be created first, with the capacity to provide some Technical assistance to limited classes of elected officials. One of its initial functions will be to assist in the development of state programs, together with the Voter Education Project and the Southern Regional Council. As these state programs become established, they will become increasingly independent of the sponsoring institutions and will become affiliated with educational institutions in their respective states. Although the funding for the state programs may initially come through the Southern Regional Council, it is expected that they will develop the capability of obtaining their own funding in future years.

Three institutions with long and extensive experience in the South, especially among the black communities, will be the primary sponsors of the creation of this new system of assistance -- the Voter Education Project, the Southern Regional Council, and

Clark College. Numerous other institutions and organizations will also be involved in the operation and future development of the programs.

The Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy, situated at Clark College, is concerned with developing opportunities for faculty, students and the community leaders in the formulation, content and implementation of public policy affecting people in the South. The Center serves the entire Atlanta University complex. Among other things the Policy Center houses community action programs, sponsors forums and seminars, supports research, assists elected officials in Georgia and sponsors a curriculum in Public Policy Studies open to both graduate and undergraduate students at the Atlanta University complex.

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., (SRC), a private, non-profit, human relations organization, was established 28 years ago to help "attain the ideas and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South."

With the changing circumstances of the '70's, SRC has reexamined its assumptions, structure, and functions in the light of new imperatives. The Council defines its task as one of alerting, sensitizing, educating, and mobilizing Southerners on the issues which will determine how well this region develops and produces opportunity and a better quality of life for its

people. The Council's special concern is justice, equality, and real opportunity for the black Southerner and the poor Southerner. Working through task forces of its members and other concerned Southerners, SRC is assessing the region's problems, and will be monitoring national policies and programs that affect the South, documenting ways in which delivery systems fail Southerners, assisting organizations in demonstrating better ways of administering essential services, and establishing a network of communication between SRC and others who share its goals.

The Voter Education Project, Inc., a private, and partisan corporation, assists minority political participation in 11 Southern states. It was created in 1962 as part of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and was separated from it in 1970, largely as a result of the 1969 tax reform law, to become an independent corporation.

Initially, VEP was established to investigate the causes of low political participation by blacks and to involve more minority group members in the political arena. In the first phase of operation, VEP funded local voter registration drives, largely through major civil rights organizations. Program areas now include four major activities - Voter Registration, Citizenship Education, Assistance to Black Elected Officials, and Research. In its present phase of operation, VEP works directly with

indigenous groups at the local level.

The activities and perceptions of the Voter Education Project are central to the functions of the technical assistance program. VEP, with its various service centers, pioneered in creation of technical assistance to elected officials on a systematic basis. Much of VEP's experience is incorporated in recommendations for the expanded program which is outlined in the body of this proposal. Through its voter registration drives and state tours. VEP has built up a network of people in the various Southern states, many of whom may be relied upon to make important and lasting contributions in the development of the state delivery systems. As we note elsewhere, sponsorship of the program will be shared jointly among three organizations, but much of the thrust and development of technical assistance programs will be made possible through the continuing work of VEP in voter education and registration.

The details of what the state programs will do, how they will develop, and how they will be related to one another will be explained in the following sections.

STATE PROGRAMS

Establishment of State Programs

As the regional program is beginning to develop, concurrent efforts to develop the first of the state programs must begin. Need is so great across the South for basic assistance and training and, at the same time, for more general research and analysis of public policy that neither the regional institution nor the state programs can be delayed. Their interdependence is clearly apparent. A firm beginning of the regional institution will facilitate training for state staffs at the same time that realistic needs of states will help formulate the direction the training program should take. Assisting in supervising field experience or on-the-job training of state staffs will help define major areas of public policy concern for the regional institution, and the practical matters of what kinds of information and what types of research are needed will be clarified. Such an initial relationship will be encouraged by the three sponsoring institutions, and the independent but interdependent organizations that develop will provide a stronger network of institutions to serve public officials.

Setting up the state programs will be the responsibility of an ad hoc board put together by the three sponsoring institutions, SRC, VEP, and Clark College. Members of this board will be elected officials, representatives of higher education

institutions, staff and/or board members of the sponsoring institutions, community leaders, and representatives of other pertinent agencies. While the grant for the state programs will initially be handled through the Southern Regional Council, as fiscal agent, and salaries paid directly by SRC, the ad hoc board will assume responsibility for initial policy and program. As soon as an office in a college is established, funds will be channeled through the college.

The ad hoc board will have the following responsibilities, to be accomplished with the help of the three sponsoring institutions:

1. Because it will be impossible to initiate more than one state program at a time, the ad hoc board will select the first state in which a state program is to be established. As the first state office begins to take shape, the board will select an additional state, and so on. Although it is desirable that each southern state have an office, it is recognized that chances of obtaining enough money at the outset are slim. Therefore it is proposed that four states be chosen initially for programs, with other states being added after the first programs are underway and additional funds are available. The criteria for selecting states will include: (1) a large number of black officials;

(2) a lack of, or relatively few, resources, to assist these officials; and (3) the presence of circumstances which will facilitate the development of an effective program. Tentatively, states which may be included for consideration are Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. It is probable that the regional institute, since it is to be located in Atlanta, could serve the state of Georgia through providing a field representative who could work directly with the staff of the regional institute.

2. The ad hoc board will negotiate with an educational institution in the state to become the initial sponsor for the program, but it will not seek immediate commitment for institutional support. The state office will be established, wherever possible, on the campus of a predominantly black college or university within the state. If no black colleges are located in the state or if none can perform this host function, the state office will then be situated on the campus of an institution with substantial minority enrollment. The experience, interest, and capacity of the college in operating public interest kinds of programs will be determining factors in the choice of a location.

3. The ad hoc board will recruit the initial staff for the first state program and provide for up to three months of training for that staff as a unit. Some of the training will be handled by classes organized in Atlanta or in the selected state, but utilizing the resources of the regional institute, universities, other institutes, and elected officials to give a thorough understanding of the processes of state and local government and the functions the staff will perform for elected officials. Training in Atlanta will be followed by on-the-job training in the states selected until the board concludes that the staff is ready to begin operation. It is likely that after staffs have worked in their states for awhile, they will be able to receive additional or more specialized training for which they see a need.
4. After the state program has been initiated, the ad hoc board will choose an advisory committee in each state, of similar composition to the ad hoc board, to assist in establishing the kind of program needed in the particular state, and to begin, with the ad hoc board, negotiations with the sponsoring institution for incorporating the program into its institutional program.

Such an advisory committee might then become the permanent advisory or governing committee under arrangements worked out with the affiliated college or university.

5. While the initial funding for individual state programs will be the responsibility of the three sponsoring institutions, with fiscal policy control in the hands of the ad hoc committee and administrative fiscal arrangements made through SRC, after a state office is well established in its own operation and with its affiliated college, it will begin to raise its own funds. As it develops this capacity, it will operate entirely independently of the ad hoc board.

Field Activities

The first function of the state program will be to develop rapport with the individual black officials. Through an active field presence, the state staff will become thoroughly acquainted with all officials, the kind of social and political situation in which they must operate, their particular needs, and the best ways of providing services to them. By winning their trust and respect, the staff can define more accurately and thoroughly the real problems of these officials and generate among them a receptive and cooperative attitude, so that effective assistance

can be given. In time the relationship between the officials and the staff should result in officials' initiating requests for help from the state program whenever they have problems.

The staff must be capable of providing a great deal of assistance themselves. They must be quite knowledgeable about the powers and procedures of the various local offices which blacks hold, and they must be familiar with the general structure and operation of the state government and how this relates to specific local offices. They should be able to assist officials on most of the routine problems which are encountered. When special problems of unusual difficulty or requiring special kinds of expertise arise, the staff must be able to recognize the nature of the problem and know where to turn to find the right kind of help. In some instances they will locate these resources in their own states and act as liaison between the officials and the resources. In other instances, the state staff can call upon the regional institute to provide an expert staff member or they can contract directly with an outside consultant to deal with the problem.

In their regular visits with officials, the staff will learn of many problems and will be ready to respond to them on the spot. The staff will also have to serve as a kind of crisis trouble shooter, going to the scene of a particular problem when

they hear about it, either from the official or someone else, and providing immediate assistance.

Orientation and Training Programs

The state office will provide orientation programs for all officials. These programs will present thorough instruction about the duties of office, respond to the particular problems which the officials are beginning to face in the actual performance of their duties, and suggest ways in which an official may creatively use his office to the greater benefit of his constituency. These training programs may take a variety of forms. They will have to be organized in such a manner as to permit the officials, whose jobs may prevent them from leaving their community at certain times, to participate. They may have to be scheduled for a series of weekends, or meet one night each week for several weeks. Also the same program may have to be held in several locations around the state. Otherwise many officials would be unable to attend.

Because of these circumstances, it would be particularly difficult or expensive to bring in outside experts to conduct all these sessions. On some topics it will be necessary to utilize outside experts, but the state staff must be able to conduct most aspects of these training programs. When special assistance

is needed, the state staff can arrange for the regional institute to send in resource persons, when available, or they can locate elsewhere the appropriate resource people.

It is tempting for someone to suggest that training programs such as the above are too cumbersome and expensive and that if the black officials really wanted instruction and assistance, they would make the necessary arrangements to attend centralized programs. It must be stressed that such a suggestion is unrealistic. The experiences of organizations involved in providing technical assistance to elected officials clearly demonstrate that such approach will reach only a limited number of officials. If a program is truly serious about assisting black officials, it must accept the difficulties involved and use approaches which will get around these difficulties, no matter how inefficient, expensive, or tedious these may appear.

These training programs will focus not only on the formal powers and procedures of particular offices, but also on other matters which will assist the official in doing a better job. For instance, some officials will need instruction and practice in parliamentary procedure. Some will need assistance in office management, in keeping public records, in the budgetary process, and so forth. Still another type of training will deal with effective tactics and strategy for officials who work on multi-member boards, particularly if these boards have white majorities.

SEDFRE, the Joint Center for Political Studies and Other Organizations

Another organization which has provided assistance to black officials in the South is the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Incorporated. They have sponsored some conferences for officials, but perhaps their most outstanding programs have been the placement of full-time aides with the officials of Greene County, Alabama, and Fayette, Mississippi. These aides have worked in a variety of ways with the county commissioners and school board members in Greene County and with the city administration in Fayette.

The Joint Center for Political Studies, although its focus has largely been outside the South, has sponsored a few meetings and provided some consultant services on federal programs to officials in this region. Several other organizations--such as the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, and American Friends Service Committee -- along with a number of individuals, have also provided services to some of the black officials in the southern states.

White Institutions

There are, of course, a number of predominantly white institutions and programs in the South whose purposes include providing assistance to public officials. It should be stressed that, for a variety of reasons, these resources have not been of

The officials need to learn about the politics of office-holding and government adminstration; as well as the formal duties of office.

Preparation of Materials

It will be necessary in many instances for the state staff to prepare materials for the workshops and manuals for the officials to use in their offices. Up-to-date manuals on many offices in these states do not exist, and some of those which do exist are too complicated for the novice official, particularly if his educational background is not strong. With the experience of participating in training programs and using simplified manuals, an official will be able to use increasingly complex materials as he goes along. The staff of the regional institute can help in the research and preparation for some of the materials needed by the state program but it will be necessary for the state staff to tailor the information provided by the regional institute to the specific requirements and practices in their states, and they will have to assume full responsibility for preparing materials on the numerous local topics which the regional institute has not dealt with. For example, the regional staff may prepare materials on the operation of city councils, county commissions, or school boards which will be of value to such officials in all states, but it will be necessary for the

state staff to add the specific regulations and peculiarities which exist in their individual state. Furthermore, there will be offices or practices in each state which may not have the general interest to warrant the regional institute's attention.

Research and Staff Assistance

For some officials, such as state legislators and councilmen in large cities, who must stay informed on a large number of complex and rapidly emerging issues, the state program will provide research and staff assistance. Student interns working under the supervision of staff members of the state program, can be assigned to them. Together, the interns and the state staff can assist the official in keeping abreast of the many issues on which he has to act. They also can research the questions of particular interest to the official, provide him with the material he needs to sponsor legislation, investigate conditions in the state, or otherwise help him bring to public attention movements and conditions which are of crucial importance to black citizens. It must be emphasized that the assistance provided a state legislator, or any type of official who in effect legislates, will never attempt to influence his views or actions. Instead the assistance will be in response to specific requests from the legislator or will be in the form of objective, non-partisan information.

Assistance with Federal and State Aid Programs

In addition to sponsoring the programs designed to train the officials on the duties of their offices, the state staff will also organize courses on federal and state assistance programs. These courses will be concerned with programs relating to water and sewer systems, economic development, neighborhood facilities, health care, recreation, beautification, urban renewal, housing, day care centers, job training, adult education, school lunches, compensatory education, and so forth. After workshops are held, the state staff will go into particular communities and help prepare applications for some of these programs. They will help gather the necessary data for the applications, help the local officials and residents define just what kind of program they want, and help them find matching resources, when these are required.

The state staff members cannot, of course, be expert on all the programs in which the officials may be interested. But the staff can acquire a considerable familiarity with the programs and can work under the direction of experts affiliated with the regional institute or other professional consultants. The outside expert will have to visit the community on occasion, but the state staff can do much of the work under his guidance without his presence.

Distribution of Information

Another function of the state program will be to distribute useful information to the officials. Such distribution can sometimes be accomplished by a simple mailing, but on some particularly important or complex matters it will also be necessary to follow up the mailing with personal communication, either through individual visits or larger meetings. Among the types of information which the staff might communicate to the officials are the following: changes in election laws or the laws regarding the conduct of their offices; new programs which state, federal or private agencies are offering; changes in existing programs which are of interest to these officials; reminders of when important deadlines and filing dates are coming up; and so forth. To supplement the notices on some of these matters, it may be necessary for the state staff to prepare materials which make the meaning or significance of the notice clearer.

In order to keep black officials informed of certain developments which are of importance to them and the black community in general, it will be necessary for the state staff to monitor the activities of certain state and federal agencies. While it would be impossible for the staff to investigate all governmental activities, they will be able to rely on the research coming out of the regional institute to alert them

to some of the specific activities which they should keep an eye on. For example, the regional institute may do an in-depth analysis of the various kinds of programs available to the state under the federal revenue-sharing act. Then the state staff can look into exactly what the state is doing or what individual communities may be allowed to do.

Another example would be for the state staff to inform officials about national investigations regarding use of Title I (ESEA) money and, upon request, cooperate with the officials in an investigation in how state Title I funds are being used.

Liaison With Other Agencies

There will be occasions when the state staff must serve as liaison with various agencies and persons in the state. Sometimes an official may want to voice a complaint or make a request to an agency, but may want or need someone else to assist him as spokesman. Either because they do not know the particular agency official, or because they are uncertain of their knowledge of the agency and its procedures, or because they are concerned that they would otherwise be ineffective, some officials in the past have requested others to do such things as speak to state legislators about a problem, ask the highway department to alter a ruling, ask the county commission to install a better traffic control system in their neighborhood, ask the county health department and commission to remedy an unsafe water supply,

and so forth. Someone on the state staff must be able to act as spokesman or advocate for some officials on matters of this kind, or the complaint or request may not be made, and the community will lose. State staff members may also need to serve occasionally as negotiator or trouble shooter when an official gets entangled in a controversy with other local or state officials.

Faculty and Student Assistance Programs

The state staff will also organize and supervise student internship programs. While the regional institute will be sponsoring programs to provide interns to some officials throughout the region, the state staff will encourage local educational institutions to develop programs allowing students to pursue activities which will benefit officials in that state, as well as make the students more aware of the problems of their state's black officials and the possibilities of future public service careers. The state staff will also encourage faculty members to become more involved in projects which will assist the officials. In other words, the staff will try to stimulate local colleges to become more involved in the needs of the communities around them and make available to these communities some of the resources which the institutions possess, but are not now sharing as fully and effectively as they might. Some of the faculty and students might work directly with officials,

while others might assist the state staff in its research, preparation of materials or other functions.

Staff of State Office

In order to perform the functions outlined above, which is far from a complete listing of the needs they will have to serve, the state programs will require a staff of at least four persons: a director, a field representative, a researcher, and a secretary. The director will of course be responsible for the overall operation of the program, from program planning to day-to-day administration. He will serve in most cases as the liaison between officials and the representatives of government agencies and other organizations, both in matters of normal business and in crisis situations. He must have sufficient standing to win the acceptance and respect of faculty members and students, as well as the personnel in other organizations which have resources which may be useful to the officials. Although he will have numerous responsibilities which will send him other places, it is also necessary that he spend a large amount of time in the field, visiting and working directly with the officials.

While the director will spend some time in the field, the field representative will spend most of his time visiting officials in their home communities. He will have the major

responsibility of creating and maintaining a good relationship between the officials and the state program. In addition to providing on the spot assistance, he will communicate the needs of the officials to the state, and sometimes regional office, so that other assistance can be arranged. Along with the director and others, he will help organize and conduct training programs, and assist in preparing applications.

The primary responsibilities of the researcher will be to provide the information needed by other staff members and by officials. He will respond to specific problems of individual officials, as well as investigate matters of interest to various types of officials in general. He will prepare manuals and other materials needed by the staff in their work with officials, and he will keep close watch on such things as election dates, filing deadlines, electoral law changes, and so forth. He will also assist in the data collection needed by some communities in the preparation of applications for government programs.

The secretary will assist all the other staff members and run the office when others are out, so that an official will always be able to reach someone in the office during regular hours when he has a problem.

Consultant Services

In addition to this staff, it will also be necessary for the state program to have substantial resources to engage professional consultation when the need arises. Inevitably, there will be numerous occasions when special kinds of expertise is required to help an official. The regional institute will embody some of the needed expertise, such as legal services and grantsmanship experts, but this capability at the regional level will not always be available when needed, and sometimes it will not be adequate for the local needs. For example, even though there may be a lawyer on the regional staff, he may not be able to respond immediately to a crisis occuring in a particular community. In addition, the nature of the problem may require the sustained involvement of a lawyer, which may be an unwise use of the regional staff member's time. Furthermore, the regional lawyer will not be admitted to the bar of most states, and a local lawyer will have to be used when a matter goes into state court. Another example would be the occasions when a very special need arises, whether it be in seeking a grant or in performing some highly technical function of an office, and the expertise of the regional office is not broad enough to encompass the needed assistance. And there may be instances

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when a regional staff member is capable of dealing with a problem, but he is inextricably involved in problems elsewhere at the time when service is demanded. It is absolutely crucial that the state office be able to engage the required consultation at the time when it is most needed, and this means it will have to have the funds to do this.

REGIONAL INSTITUTE

The regional institute will be affiliated with Clark College in Atlanta and through it, the Atlanta University complex. Clark has been chosen by the constituent institutions of the Atlanta University complex to develop, through its Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy, extensive programs in public policy which include the provision of technical and research assistance to minority elected and appointed officials. While the Institute will, in the first instance, be affiliated with Clark, broad policy for its operations and development will be made by a board consisting of representatives from the College, The Southern Regional Council, the Voter Education Project, and other groups chosen and individuals for their experience and expertise in the area of providing technical assistance to officials. (If all parties agree, this may be the same board that sets up the state programs.)

The regional institute will develop programs to assist black officials and communities directly and to assist others who will be working with these officials and communities directly and to assist others who will be working with these officials and communities. Its training activities will range from the creation of a public administration degree program to short courses on specific programs for community workers and officials. Its research activities will range from long-range public policy

analysis to investigations of particular problems currently facing local officials. The institute will become a repository of resources and information to which the state programs, individual officials, and community organizers can turn for assistance when they need it. Although its primary concern will be to assist blacks, its activities will also make valuable contribution to white groups as well.

Public Administration Degree Program

Under the auspices of Clark College, through the Atlanta University Center, the institute will develop degree programs in public administration. This program, of course, will not be restricted to black students, but its primary purpose will be to train a large number of blacks to take important administrative positions throughout the region. It is expected that some of these graduates will go to work with state governments, large county governments, or large city governments. But also it is expected that some of the graduates will take positions with small towns and rural county governments, where blacks hold many offices.

Most of the larger city and county governments, as well as the state governments, presently employ some blacks, but there are very few blacks in important public administration positions anywhere in the region. A change in this situation

is necessary if these governments are to be truly representative and the interests of blacks are to be given their proper attention. More blacks in government jobs are also required so that black citizens will have greater trust and confidence in the actions of these governments.

While there are still barriers in many places to black employment and advancement in public service careers, there are also instances when an insufficient number of blacks with the requisite skills are available for certain positions. For example, the director of the recently-formed Atlanta Regional Commission recognizes that he must have black professionals in a number of key positions in his organization if that organization is to have the credibility among black citizens which it must have to serve its basic purposes. He has had difficulty in finding a sufficient number of qualified applicants. Very few blacks have had the opportunity to receive this kind of education in the past and there is keen competition for those who presently possess the desired credentials.

The Atlanta Regional Commission is not the only organization which finds itself recruiting a labor force which is almost non-existent. Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA) has, after prolonged and sensitive negotiations,

agreed to hire a number of black men and women in policy-making positions within the organization. Once again insufficient opportunities for training have left blacks ill-equipped to fill these and similar visible and important positions.

In the small towns and rural counties, where black political power is making some dramatic gains, there is an urgent need for professionally-trained black administrators. In several instances already predominantly-black local governments have had to use talented, but professionally untrained people to fill these positions. A good example of this is Greene County, Alabama, where trained southern black administrators could have been of tremendous assistance to the newly-elected black officals. Trained people were needed to serve as administrative aides to the county commission, the school board, the probate judge, as well as newly-created agencies, such as the housing authority. Of course there is still a need for such administrators in that county.

Also places such as Mound Bayou, an all-black town in Mississippi, could very benefically use a young black administrator. There are dozens of other opportunities right now, and in the future many more of the 102 majority black counties and the numerous majority black towns in the South will be electing majority black governments.

Special Character of this Public Administration Program

A number of educational institutions and special fellowship

programs are now trying to encourage more blacks to enter public administration and related fields. While this is a positive step, the program of the regional institute will offer features which these institutions cannot match. First of all, it will be easier to encourage more southern black students to attend a predominantly black school in the South rather than a huge, predominantly white university far from their homes. Thus a larger number of students could be brought into this field of study. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, the degree program in Atlanta will offer the students a type of training which they could not receive elsewhere and which will be of considerable attraction to many of the potential students.

The students in the Atlanta program will receive all the kinds of training required for them to compete with the graduates of other schools, but their education will have a strong emphasis on field work with black officials. As a vital part of their training, they will be assisting black officials and will be able to perceive the importance of working with such officials in their subsequent careers. Thus the program not only will attract more blacks into public administration, but it will also encourage them to take positions where they can be of special help to black officials. This means that the program will have a greater emphasis on the needs of small towns and

rural areas than most other public administration schools.

As mentioned above, one of the prominent features of the public administration program will be its emphasis on field work. Both faculty and students will be involved in a number of activities directly related to current needs of black officials. Faculty members will possess expertise in areas which will be useful in solving many of the officials' problems. The faculty will act as a resource to which state staff members can turn for help, and, on occasion, they will work directly with officials. The curriculum for the students will include a considerable amount of work directly with officials. Students will serve an internship with officials or with a related agency. It is expected that in some courses the professor will take several students, or perhaps his entire class, into a community and work on a problem there. In other courses some of the assignments in Atlanta will involve work which can be of benefit to officials; for example, students may be assigned to research a particular program and prepare a manual which officials could use to become better acquainted with that program.

Other Training Programs

In addition to the degree program in public administration, the regional institute will conduct other closely related training programs, some for officials and some for those who will be assisting officials. As indicated earlier, the regional institute will assist

in training the staffs of the state program before they assume their positions, and will continue to provide short training courses on special aspects of their work after they have gone into the states.

The institute will also encourage other persons, such as community organizers and employees of other appropriate organizations to take these training courses, which will be concerned with various ways to improve conditions in black and poor white communities. This will have the effect of spreading useful knowledge and skills much more widely throughout the South than would otherwise be possible. These courses will cover a broad range of subjects, such as housing programs, economic development schemes, and innovative education programs.

Internship Programs and Faculty Fellowships

In addition to conducting the internship programs which will be part of the public administration degree program, the regional institute will also work with other institutions in placing students with black officials and supervising them in useful kinds of assistance to these officials. There are an increasing number of undergraduate schools with cooperative education programs, which allow a student to work a full term or longer away from the campus. In addition, there are increasing opportunities for student in professional schools -- such as

public administration, planning, and law -- to serve internships. In order for these interns to provide the maximum service to black officials and to derive the maximum educational benefit from the experience, the internship programs have to be carefully planned and supervised. The regional institute, in conjunction with the state programs can serve this function. In some instances, the institute will give the students specialized training before they go into the field. For example, if several communities have indicated a desire to apply for certain kinds of federal programs, a group of students could be trained in the procedures of preparing such applications and then go into these communities to perform this service. While the students would not be able to complete the entire process by themselves, they will make it possible for the skills of the state and regional staff members to be spread much further in a short time.

Legal Aid

The institute will need staff members with certain fields of expertise who may also teach in the public administration degree program. Among the type of people needed are lawyers and specialists in "grantsmanship". As indicated earlier, it will not be possible for a lawyer at the regional institute

to handle all the legal problems which arise for officials. Instead the institute lawyers will deal with problems which are of pertinence to a large number of officials, as well as provide assistance to the state staffs or local lawyers when special occasions demand this service. For example, an institute lawyer might investigate some of the problems of local government which would be helpful to city councilmen and county commissioners throughout the region, and occasionally he might go to a particular town or county to advise the officials there when they have a special problem which falls within his sphere of expertise, and no other person is available to assist. The institute lawyer can also give advice to state staff members when they need such counsel, and he can supervise law student interns in special projects.

Specialists in Grantsmanship

The specialists in grantsmanship will of course advise the state staff on the availability of federal programs and how communities should go about seeking these grants. When necessary, these specialists will go to local communities to assist in preparing applications, although it is expected that the state staffs will do most of the preparatory work on these applications. The regional specialists will also help process the applications after they have been submitted. This means they will have to be familiar with key personnel in the various bureaucracies, and they will shepherd the applications from point to point in the

process of review. It is also expected that they will be privy to the kinds of information which will indicate what kinds of programs and what kinds of proposals have the best chance for funding at any given time. They will keep abreast of new opportunities in federal programs and will alert the state staffs and the local officials on these new possibilities.

Policy Studies

One of the most important functions of the regional institute will be the examination of long-range public policy questions. The institute will examine current policies of federal and state governments, as well as certain non-governmental organizations, to see what their real goals and effects are. Of even greater importance will be the program's concern with creating alternative policy proposals which will better serve the interest of black citizens and poor citizens generally. The institute will try to map out strategies which can lead to better uses of present programs, and it will propose new programs to serve needs which are now being ignored or misconceived.

Presently, most of the ideas for public programs, and the research which is used to document the need for such programs, is coming out of predominantly white institutions which, however, well-intentioned, are biased in their values and in their perceptions of needs. The regional institute will be approaching

public policies from the perspective of black people and poor white people, and this perspective will be maintained and reinforced through the institute's close working relationships with local communities throughout the region, through the state programs and otherwise. It can thus bring a viewpoint and a sensitivity which is missing in those institutions which currently influence the course of public policy in this society. Through this contribution, the institute can perhaps help bring about more effective and more equitable policies, which ultimately will be to the benefit of everyone.

These policy studies can sometimes have immediate impact also. In examining current and forthcoming programs of the federal government, for instance, the regional institute will be able to alert state programs of new opportunities and help them plan ways to use these opportunities to their best interest. The significance of this can be illustrated by imagining how much better use could have been made of funds available during the past few years for day care programs, if at the beginning of this period, some institute had thoroughly examined the possibilities of such programs and helped black and poor white groups develop strategies and proposals for implementing these possibilities. And there are numerous instances when states and localities fail to ask for funds which the federal government

has appropriated. The regional institute could advise black communities and poor white groups of how they could attempt to obtain some of these funds.

Other Research Interests

The regional institute will also conduct a number of other research projects, in addition to the policy studies described above. One area of study will be concerned with the problems of local government in the South. The institute will examine some of the major weaknesses of the structure and functioning of these government units, and it will investigate possible innovations which will improve their services, particularly with regard to black and poor citizens. Some of these studies will be examinations of the basic nature of these problems, but the institute will also direct some of this research effort toward particular concrete problems being faced by black officials. Thus a study of municipal government will not just look at the actual and potential powers and restrictions of these units and their relationships with county, state and federal governments, but it will also be concerned with producing information which will be of direct assistance to black city councilmen, as they go about the day-to-day business of being an effective public official.

Both to support other programs and because of the inherent interests of the subject, the institute will also conduct research

on black officials. Simply maintaining up-to-date records of who is elected where to what office, as well as who no longer holds office, is a considerable task. Also the institute will need to know about the circumstances under which officials were elected and must operate, the expectations of their constituents, the relationship with white officials both in their communities and at higher levels, the size and nature of their jurisdictions, the results of various efforts by black officials, and many other questions.

Preparation and Distribution of Materials

Another important function which the regional institute can perform is the distribution throughout the South of information which will help black and poor white communities gain a better understanding of how the political system works, how specific government programs operate, and how citizen groups can exert some influence on these matters. This information will, of course, be of great help to black officials, but it can also be quite valuable to all kinds of groups across the region.

Some of this information will grow out of the institute's studies of public policies described above. For example, the institute can prepare simply-written booklets describing the

opportunities for communities and informing citizens how they might proceed in trying to obtain some of these programs. Other booklets will be produced out of the studies of local governments. For example, the institute will prepare a manual on the operation of county governments, describing present and potential functions of this type of government unit which will be of general pertinence to most southern states. Of course, there will be a need for the state programs to supplement such manuals with information which is particular to that individual state.

The institute can also play a useful role by distributing materials produced by other organizations simplifying or supplementing this information when needed. For example, when other groups produce studies of such things as Title I (ESEA) or school lunch programs, the institute can help insure that these materials reach the state programs and people who can use them. The institutue can also "assist" the federal government by giving wider and more effective circulation of information on such things as Agriculture Stabilization and Commodity Service elections.

It will also be useful for the regional institute to give assistance to state programs in the preparation of manuals. An institute staff member who already has experience in investigating

state laws and practices and writing this up into simplified manuals on the operation of specific public offices could greatly facilitate the rapid production of such manuals in the state programs by assisting the researcher on the state staff.

Providing Services in States Which Do Not Have State Programs

Ideally, every state would have a state office to provide assistance to black public officials, but for awhile this will probably be financially impossible. At the same time, it would be unacceptable to establish offices in four states and completely ignore the needs of officials in the rest of the region. Therefore, the institute needs the resources to provide at least some minimum service to these other states.

Since the institute will be located in Atlanta, the state of Georgia is in a somewhat special situation. The Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy presently has a staff person who provides field representation to elected officials in Georgia. Its relationship to the Regional Institute will allow it to continue this function. It will probably also be cheaper and more convenient in many instances for the public administration program to assign students to problems in Georgia, although of course the institute will have to guard against becoming too restricted to the state in which it is located.

If the institute could employ two other field representatives to work in the remaining six states, they could render some

valuable services to officials, even though this assistance could not be as comprehensive or thorough as needed. As in Georgia, these field representatives would call upon institute staff members to help them provide certain kinds of assistance. The field representatives would organize workshops and other services to meet some of the more general and pressing needs of officials, and they would be available to work with an official or a community which has special needs. For instance, the field representatives could organize orientation programs for the newly elected officials in each of their states. This at least would give the officials some knowledge of how to proceed and where he might turn for some additional help when the need arose. A field representative could also give special attention to towns and counties which have majority black governments, such as the counties of Surrey and Charles City in Virginia, and the towns of Gretna and Eatonville in Florida.

Another valuable function which the institute can perform is to respond to unusual crisis situations which may occur in states which do not have offices. The visits of the field representatives should create enough familiarity between officials and the institute that the officials will call upon it when real emergency situations arise.

Another service which the institute can provide to some officials in states without offices is to place student interns with them. Since the institute will be coordinating internship

programs from several other institutions, there should be enough interns available to send some of these states, especially as the state offices mobilize greater involvement of students in their home states.

The institute could also prepare some manuals for officials in states without offices, although a complete job of this could not be accomplished. These manuals would be particular to each state and would be in addition to the more general booklets which the institute would be preparing, as described above.

Budget for State Programs

Salaries	
Director	$ 15,000
Field Representative	10,000
Researcher	9,000
Secretary	6,000
FICA and Benefits @ 15%	6,000
Travel (Director and Field Representative + some for researcher)	5,000
Office Supplies	500
Telephone	2,000
Printing	1,000
Library and research materials	500
Expenses of holding meetings and courses	2,500
Postage	500
Expenses for officials to attend meetings and courses	5,000
Student internships	5,000
Stipends for faculty projects	5,000
Consultant fees	15,000
Contingency, including office rental or overhead to college, and office equipment and furniture	12,000
	$100,000 x 4 states = $400,000

C. Proposed 1 year Budget for Institute and Degree Program

1. <u>Salaries - Institute Staff</u>		$240,500
Director	$25,000	
Lawyer	20,000	
4 Associate Directors @ $18,000 (with expertise in local government, policy analysis, grantsmanship and management)	72,000	
Research Coordinator	14,000	
Librarian	12,000	
Georgia Representative	12,000	
Office Manager/Administrative Asst.	9,000	
Secretary	8,000	
2 Secretaries @ $7,500	15,000	
2 Secretaries @ $6,500	13,000	
Intern Coordinator	10,000	
Fringe Benefits @ 15% of $210,000	31,500	
2. <u>Program Support</u>		95,000
Consultants and Contracted Services	7,500	
Library and Research Materials	10,000	
Printing and Publications	15,000	
Telephone	8,000	
Mailing	7,500	

Proposed Institute Budget (continued)

	Program Support (cont'd)		
	Office Supplies and equipment	$ 7,000	
	Travel	20,000	
	Meetings, Workshops and Conferences	15,000	
	Board Meetings	5,000	
3.	Academic Component		$165,500
	3 Faculty Fellows @ $20,000 each	60,000	
	Curriculum in Public Administration and Policy Studies (instruction and selected faculty research)	72,000	
	Student Internships and Field Placement	23,000	
	Student Research	7,500	
4.	Overhead @ 35% of staff salaries and faculty fellowships		$105,175
	Total		$605.675

BUDGET FOR REGIONAL INSTITUTE
for Start-up Period

A. January 1, 1973 - September 30, 1973

Salaries		$85,800
Director	$13,600	
Associate Director	6,000	
Associate Director	6,000	
Associate Director	6,000	
Research Associate	4,000	
Office Manager/Admin. Asst.	5,250	
Secretary	6,250	
Secretary	2,500	
Librarian	9,000	
Georgia Representative	10,000	
Student Interns @ $1,000 each per semester	6,000	
Fringe benefits @ 15% of $74,600	11,200	
Program Support		$99,000
Consultants and Contracted Services	12,500	
Library and Research Materials	20,000	
Printing	8,000	
Telephone	6,000	

Budget for Regional Institute (continued)

Program Support (cont'd)

Mailing	$ 5,000	
Office Equipment and Furniture	7,000	
Meetings and Conferences	3,000	
Travel	5,000	
Board Meetings	2,500	
Overhead @ approximately 35% of $85,800	30,000 [b]	
Total (for 10 months)		$184,800

B. The estimates in A. carry salaries to August 31. It is necessary to take 1/12 of salaries and add to that an overhead line. Approximately $10,500 is required.

Total January - October $195,300

Footnotes for A and B

1. Based on salary of $25,000 per year for period March 1 - September 30.

2. Based on salaries of $18,000 per year for period June 1 - September 30. These lines include the specialized areas of local government, management, and government programs and grantsmanship.

3. Based on salary of $12,000 per year for June 1 - September 30.

4. Based on salary of $9,000 for March 1 - September 30. This position requires ability to keep books.

5. Based on salary of $7,500 for January 1 - September 30.

6. Based on salary of $7,500 for June 1 - September 30.

7. Based on salary of $12,000 per year for January 1 - September 30.

8. The program will not be a full strength for its first 10 months. Consultants will be hired, where possible from the faculties and staffs of the institutions and organizations involved with the Regional Institute and the projected state offices, to participate in a detailed and intensive planning curriculum for service to minority officials. They will assess among other things the status of minority office-holders throughout the region, the requirements of particular states and specific offices and, working closely with the Institute and its Advisory Board, draw a blueprint for activities for the first three years.

a. Based on $12,000 salary, a Georgia component is included here not as a "State office," but rather as it evolves from services now performed by the Policy Center and presently paid for directly by Clark.

b. The Clark overhead figure here includes a rental item Business Office Expenses, security, maintenance and other services. It is pegged at 35%, but may possibly be reduced.

April 29, 1966

Mr. Lewis Black
20 Washington St.
Greensboro, Alabama

Dear Mr. Black:

For whatever it is worth, I am sending along a copy of the latest quarterly report to SRC from the RAP program in South Carolina.

This is the kind of report that is most helpful to us, and I think that its good qualities are helpful in any report: it is specific and concrete--giving figures, examples, purposes and results. Maybe they follow the old news reporter's rule of "who, what, where, when, and why--and sometimes how."

Just trying to be helpful.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf
cc: Jac Wasserman
Robert Valder

July 22, 1966

Mr. Lewis Black, Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Rural Advancement Project
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama 36744

Dear Lewis:

Enclosed is the expense account you submitted for your recent trip to Tallahassee, which I am returning for clarification.

I note that, under "Travel", you list "Car & Bus to Florida from Greensboro (294 miles)" and figure that at $.08 per mile, getting $23.52. Under "Other Expenses" you list "Bus fare" at $18.60. Now, according to my estimate, 294 miles is the <u>one way</u> trip from Greensboro to Tallahassee. So, in the first place, if you had driven your car there and back, you should have figured $.08 X 588 mile = $47.04. It appears, however, that you drove your car to Montgomery, then took the bus to Tallahassee -- a sensible thing to do. If that is the case, the roundtrip from Greensboro to Montgomery is about 188 miles, which means that you should have charged only $15.04 for auto transportation. That would make your total travel expense $49.26. Thus, if I am figuring correctly, you owe us $.74 instead of our owing you $7.74 more than the $50.00 advance sent previously.

I am enclosing two other expense forms. On one I have penciled in the figuring according to my speculation. <u>Please re-submit</u> your account. If my figures are correct, you need not remit the $.74, it being less than one dollar. It is customary, however, to submit proof of payment in the form of the statement from your motel and transportation ticket remainders with expense accounts.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:rh
encl. cc: Ruth Alexander

August 3, 1966

Mr. Lewis Black, Director
Rural Advancement Project
Alabama Council on Human Relations
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Thank you for sending me the revised expense account.

Lest it go on forever, perhaps we should let the whole matter drop now. But it ought to be said that the Southern Regional Council is more than willing to honor fully commitments such as the one to pay your expenses to Tallahassee and back, The fact remains that there was no clear indication on your account form of the problems you encountered as described in your second letter, or of the routing and means of trave. A simple explanation like "Auto, Greensboro to Tuscaloosa and return, Greensboro to Montgomery and return -- 216 mi. @ $.08 = _____" and the notation "Bus fare Tuscaloosa to Tallahassee to Montgomery" would have sufficed. We don't mean to be nit-picking, but we do require -- for auditing purposes if nothing else -- a clear explanation of expenses incurred.

I hope things are going well.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/km

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

JERRY RODEN, JR., Executive Director

LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project BOB VALDER, Associate Director

fete

20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama
July 26, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Standfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Standfield:

Enclosed is the new expense account you would like to have me submit. It was my understanding that this $50.00 was to take care of my expense to Florida. I am sure that it didn't, however, under normal circumstances it would have.

If you remember the planes were on strick at that time. I made a number of calls, which was not included in the expense account, after I couldn't get a plane, I asked my wife to take me to Tuscaloosa, Alabama to take the bus. This was 47 miles one way, and she went back home(2x47)=94x.08=7.52. I was able to get a bus out of Tuscaloosa, that carried me around by Birmingham and Montgomery. It appeared to me that I was wasting time. When I got to Florida, Mr. Roden called me, and told me that we were to go to Washington. I inturns called my wife, and asked her to meet me in Montgomery and bring me some cloth and money to make this trip, which I planed for her to do anyway, rather than go all the way back to Birmingham, and then to Tuscaloosa. This was roundtrip of 200 miles x .08 $16.00.

I spent $18.60 for bus fare, $8.12 meals, $5.50 motel, $2.00 Taxicab, and I am charging off half of my car expense, and go to lost of my wife coming from Tuscaloosa, and meeting me in Montgomery. My check will cover the balance.

Auto miles: $294 \times .08 = \frac{23.53}{2} = \$11.76$

Very truly yours,

Lewis Black

Lewis Black

Report No. L-25
April 20, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(Reprinted from *The Washington Post*, March 26, 1961, with permission)

Sunday, March 26, 1961 THE WASHINGTON POST

New Census Look at Cities and Race

By Jack Eisen
Staff Reporter

A SEVERE CASE of "hardening of the boundaries" during a period of massive population growth has moved large American cities, Washington among them, into a sort of statistical limbo.

This was emphasized last night by the release of new Census Bureau data showing that the Nation's metropolitan communities are not as racially unbalanced as earlier figures indicated.

In contrast with the earlier statistics, which covered only areas within cities' political boundaries, the new figures are based on entire metropolitan areas—or, as the Government calls them, "standard metropolitan statistical areas."

FOR METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON, the new census figures show that Negroes make up 487,183 of the 2,001,897 total population, or 24.3 per cent—a figure that has remained fairly stable for half a century. Before that, it was higher.

This new tabulation recognizes that virtually all cities have spilled large numbers of urban-oriented families—city-dwellers in every modern sense of the word—across their invisible boundaries into the adjacent suburbs. These families maintain strong social, economic and cultural ties with the central city.

In fact, Richard M. Scammon, director-designate of the Census Bureau, regards today's city as little more than an enlarged downtown for the metropolitan community.

"In fact, we must develop a new concept of a city to replace one that has ceased to have real statistical meaning," he says.

THE MAPS on this page provide a graphic demonstration. They depict, in identical scale, the Nation's 10 most populous metropolitan communities. Solid areas are the central cities — the enlarged downtowns Scammon referred to. The outer lines are the boundaries of the cities' standard metropolitan statistical areas. Shaded areas show the relative size of Washington and its suburbs.

Within the metropolitan boundaries, of course, land remains for development—just as there was space for Washington to grow

within its political boundaries in 1910, when the census described the District as "essentially urban or suburban in character," with rural pockets.

In the Nation's earliest days, when most Negroes were slaves working as field hands or body servants, the nonwhite population of this area approached half of the total. It reached a peak of 48.6 per cent in 1810.

During the Civil War, many freed men fled to the protection of Washington, tilting the proportion of Negroes upward for two decades. It dwindled slowly until the World War II and postwar population surge ballooned the size and shape of the metropolitan community.

IN THE PAST 10 years, Metropolitan Washington gained 545,293 population, of which 145,440 were Negroes. Of the latter, 127,706 moved into the central city. The District's population now is 763,956, with Negroes accounting for 411,737, or 53.9 per cent.

But Scammon holds that there is "no essential difference" between such developments in American cities today and what occurred a century ago in urban centers along the Eastern Seaboard. Low-income Negroes have tended to cluster in the center of the metropolitan area, he observes, just as the poor immigrant found a place to live in the much smaller downtown of yesteryear.

Then as now, new development in most cities lapped outward. When a municipal boundary was reached, annexation was easy—something not true today.

Washington of a century ago provides an example. The District had been shrunk one-third in 1846 by returning its original Virginia portion, yet the northern city limits reached only to Florida ave. nw. Beyond lay the farms, villages and estates of Washington County, D. C., extending to the Maryland line drawn in 1801.

Philadelphia attained its present size in 1854, San Francisco in 1856, St. Louis in 1876, New York in 1898. Scammon notes that all 10 cities depicted by the maps on this page are similarly straitjacketed.

In all these cities, as in all other large metropolitan communities on the Census Bureau list, the proportion of Negroes in the central city thus is much higher than that for the total metropolitan area. Frequently it is double.

SCAMMON ALSO NOTES that there is little apparent relationship between the Nation-wide "flight to the suburbs" and a community's racial patterns. He cites Minneapolis, which has 2.4 per cent Negroes—the smallest proportion among the top 25 cities—which lost 38,846 population between 1950 and 1960. Its metropolitan area gained 323,096.

During the same period, Washington lost an almost identical 38,222 persons while the area-wide gain was 537,808.

The Census Bureau's new figures show that two cities among the top 25 have metropolitan populations with higher proportions of Negroes than Washington. Metropolitan Memphis has 36.3 per cent and metropolitan New Orleans has 30.8.

Closely following Greater Washington's 24.3 per cent are metropolitan Atlanta with 22.8 and metropolitan Baltimore with 21.9.

Population Division In 25 Metropolises

THE FOLLOWING table, prepared from 1960 Census Bureau data, shows the total population and Negro population of the metropolitan areas centering on the Nation's 25 largest cities. Heavy type indicates data for the entire metropolitan area; italic type for the central city or cities and the outside communities (suburbs).

	Pop. Rank	Total Population	Negro Population	Per Cent Negro
New York	**1**	**10,694,633**	**1,227,625**	**11.5**
New York	1	7,781,984	1,087,931	14.0
Outside		2,912,649	139,694	4.8
Chicago	**3**	**6,220,913**	**890,154**	**14.3**
Chicago	2	3,550,404	812,637	22.9
Outside		2,670,509	77,517	2.9
Los Angeles	**2**	**6,742,696**	**464,717**	**6.9**
Los Angeles	3	2,479,015	334,916	13.5
Long Beach	35	344,168	9,531	2.8
Outside		3,919,514	120,270	3.1
Philadelphia	**4**	**4,342,897**	**671,304**	**15.5**
Philadelphia	4	2,002,512	529,240	26.4
Outside		2,340,385	142,064	6.1
Detroit	**5**	**3,762,360**	**558,870**	**14.9**
Detroit	5	1,670,144	482,223	28.9
Outside		2,092,216	76,647	3.7
Baltimore	**12**	**1,727,023**	**378,575**	**21.9**
Baltimore	6	939,024	326,589	34.8
Outside		788,099	51,986	6.6
Houston	**16**	**1,243,158**	**246,351**	**19.8**
Houston	7	938,219	215,037	22.9
Outside		304,939	31,314	10.3
Cleveland	**11**	**1,796,595**	**257,273**	**14.3**
Cleveland	8	876,050	250,818	28.6
Outside		920,545	6,455	0.7
Washington	**10**	**2,001,897**	**487,183**	**24.3**
D. C.	9	763,956	411,737	53.9
Outside		1,237,941	75,446	6.1
St. Louis	**9**	**2,060,103**	**294,873**	**14.3**
St. Louis	10	750,026	214,377	28.6
Outside		1,310,077	80,496	6.1
Milwaukee	**17**	**1,194,290**	**63,170**	**5.3**
Milwaukee	11	741,324	62,458	8.4
Outside		452,966	712	0.2
San Francisco	**6**	**2,783,359**	**238,754**	**8.6**
San Francisco	12	740,316	74,383	10.0
Oakland	33	367,548	83,618	22.8
Outside		1,675,495	80,753	4.8
Boston	**7**	**2,589,301**	**77,781**	**3.0**
Boston	13	697,197	63,165	9.1
Outside		1,892,104	14,616	0.8
Dallas	**19**	**1,083,601**	**155,488**	**14.3**
Dallas	14	679,684	129,242	19.0
Outside		403,917	26,246	6.5
New Orleans	**27**	**868,480**	**267,478**	**30.8**
New Orleans	15	627,525	233,514	37.2
Outside		240,955	33,964	14.1
Pittsburgh	**8**	**2,405,435**	**161,499**	**6.7**
Pittsburgh	16	604,332	100,692	16.7
Outside		1,801,103	60,807	3.4
San Antonio	**35**	**687,151**	**45,314**	**6.6**
San Antonio	17	587,718	41,605	7.1
Outside		99,433	3,709	3.7
San Diego	**24**	**1,033,011**	**39,397**	**3.8**
San Diego	18	573,224	34,435	6.0
Outside		459,787	4,962	1.1
Seattle	**23**	**1,107,213**	**28,261**	**2.6**
Seattle	19	557,087	26,901	4.8
Outside		550,126	1,360	0.2
Buffalo	**15**	**1,306,957**	**82,910**	**6.3**
Buffalo	20	532,759	70,904	13.3
Outside		774,198	12,006	1.6
Cincinnati	**20**	**1,071,624**	**128,121**	**12.0**
Cincinnati	21	502,550	108,754	21.6
Outside		569,074	19,367	3.4
Memphis	**41**	**627,019**	**227,445**	**36.3**
Memphis	22	497,524	184,320	37.0
Outside		129,495	43,125	33.3
Denver	**25**	**929,383**	**31,548**	**3.4**
Denver	23	493,887	31,066	6.3
Outside		435,496	482	0.1
Atlanta	**22**	**1,017,188**	**231,474**	**22.8**
Atlanta	24	487,455	186,464	38.3
Outside		529,733	45,010	8.5
Minneapolis	**14**	**1,482,030**	**20,702**	**1.4**
Minneapolis	25	482,872	11,785	2.4
St. Paul	40	313,411	8,240	2.6
Outside		685,747	677	0.1

D. C. Population Changes

THE FOLLOWING table, prepared from original Census Bureau figures, shows the total population and Negro population of the communities that now make up Metropolitan Washington. Comparable figures are given for the area of the present District of Columbia.

	METROPOLITAN AREA			DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA		
Year	Total Pop.	Negro Pop.	Per Cent Negro	Total Pop.	Negro Pop.	Per Cent Negro
1790	51,667	22,343	43.2	No figures available.		
1800	63,653	29,698	46.7	8,144	2,116	26.0
1810	75,703	36,796	48.6	15,471	5,126	33.1
1820	81,059	34,358	42.4	23,336	7,599	32.6
1830	89,328	37,083	41.5	30,261	9,109	30.1
1840	88,077	35,329	40.1	33,745	9,819	29.1
1850	109,786	39,457	35.9	51,687	13,746	26.6
1860	141,215	41,545	29.4	75,080	14,316	19.1
1870	203,108	72,210	35.6	131,700	43,404	33.0
1880	262,405	94,070	35.8	177,624	59,596	33.6
1890	318,909	108,772	34.1	230,392	75,572	32.8
1900	378,615	120,744	31.9	278,718	86,702	31.1
1910	445,399	126,871	28.5	331,069	94,446	28.5
1920	571,882	141,545	24.8	437,571	109,966	25.1
1930	672,198	167,409	24.9	486,869	132,068	27.1
1940	967,985	229,225	23.7	663,091	187,266	28.2
1950	1,456,604	341,743	23.5	802,178	284,031	35.4
1960	2,001,897	487,183	24.3	763,956	411,737	53.9

Business Profits

and the Population Explosion

by

Adolph W. Schmidt

T. Mellon & Sons

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Presented at
Conference on the Economic Consequences of the Population Explosion
Plaza Hotel, New York City, October 1962
Sponsored by the Hugh Moore Fund

More People -- More Business?

Many businessmen are convinced that our soaring population is the golden key to solving whatever kinks and creaks our economy may develop. This basic feeling of optimism even appears in a statement by Richard M. Scammon, Director of the Bureau of the Census, who said, "We must never forget that each new mouth to feed is also a new pair of hands to produce. As the United States rapidly approaches the 200 million mark for population, we are also setting new highs every year in the welfare of our people."

Let us examine a few of the facts and assumptions underlying this viewpoint. As a result of such an analysis, I find myself less optimistic on the beneficial impact on business of the current population explosion than some of my friends who feel that every increase in the population automatically means increased benefits for business.

If that were in fact true, Asia with a billion people, would today be by far the greatest market on earth. The United States -- with only 6% of the world's inhabitants -- would be one of the smaller outlets for merchandise. The fact is that industrial productivity and the standard of living rather than the number of people determines purchasing power. In large areas of the world each additional mouth which must be fed cuts the per capita availability of food and goods for the existing population. Even in the United States, with the highest living standard in the world, the current rapid population growth is not an unmixed blessing. We must begin to apply to our own situation some of the concerns we have been having for other lands.

U.S. Population Explosion

Here are the bare statistics on how fast U.S. population is growing. In 1940 there were 132 million people in the U.S. In 1960 we had 180 million. By the year 2000, our present rate of increase could give us a population of over 380 million people -- in other words, our population could more than double in another generation. This is as many years ahead as the "Roaring Twenties" are behind us, and there are many people who read these lines who can remember the Twenties as if it were yesterday.

In the 1930's our net rate of population increase was 0.7%. In the 1940's it rose to 1.4%. In the 1950's it rose again to 1.7%. This figure is more than three times the rate of population increase of Sweden or the United Kingdom. It is almost twice that of Japan, and is on a par with the population increase rates of some of the underdeveloped nations, notably India.

Now let's take a closer look at what this increase means to business. Here I will deal, not with future projections, but with conditions that we will be dealing with in the American business community today, tomorrow,

and for the rest of this decade. First, let's examine Mr. Scammon's observation that "each new mouth to feed is also a new pair of hands to produce."

Before each new pair of hands can produce, society must invest in those hands. Because of our urban revolution, our social revolution, and our educational revolution, the per capita investment in each new pair of hands in the U.S. is going up much faster than the net rise in population. You can see this if you realize that a city of two million often requires three or four times the budget for basic services that is required by a city of one million. Before the new pair of hands can produce, it will have to enjoy schools and colleges, health facilities, housing, water supplies, transportation, power and communications facilities -- to say nothing of the fact that this pair of hands will also require some public support in its adult years if it should fail to qualify as a producer in our rapidly automating society.

New Hands Must Be Educated

We are now adding 3 million new pairs of hands per year. The annual capital requirements for providing the basic structure of services for these new hands each year is estimated at $20 - $25 billion, which is about 5% of our Gross National Product. Most of this represents capital expenditure that is non-revenue producing. Also, most of it will come from public funds. Between 15% and 20% of all tax revenues will have to be spent simply to provide basic services for the 3 million new hands. This means two things -- dangerously higher taxes and bigger government. It is an inescapable trend if current conditions of population growth continue.

How about the education these new hands will receive? This is an important matter to business men, since we are living in a society in which "common work" and unskilled labor as we used to think of it is shrinking and even disappearing. The future problem will be with the growing number of the least able and those unable to learn the higher skills.

During the 1950's our grade schools were called on to absorb a 50% increase in enrollment. As a result, many municipalities in the United States have come close to taxing their citizens to death, and in addition are in precarious condition as a result of over-extension on bond issues. Even with these heroic efforts, the quality of education undoubtedly declined in many overburdened schools.

In the 1960's the high schools and colleges will feel the impact. High school enrollment will increase by 48%. College enrollment, reflecting both population increase and the increasing necessity for higher education in the job market, will go up no less than 92%. Since shortage of good teachers will be more serious than lack of buildings, businessmen may well wonder if the quality of education provided under such circumstances will always be adequate for the demands of our economy.

The most serious problem lies in the realm of liberal education. This is being steadily neglected in favor of the demands for vocational training. Thomas Jefferson warned that "a democracy can only be maintained by an educated citizenry," and he meant a liberally educated and not a vocationally trained citizenry.

Now, let's look at the work force itself. Here is where the immensely costly investment in all these additional hands is supposed to pay off. But will it?

The simple fact is that the business firms of the United States are about to be swarmed over by hordes of young people looking for jobs. I see no indication that the business community really wants or needs these hordes. And, if they have no work, or have only small incomes in a highly competitive labor market, their contribution to the expected increase in national demand for the products of our economy will be nil.

During the 1950's young labor in the 20-34 age bracket was in relatively short supply, while the big relative increases in our population came at both ends of the spectrum -- among people too young to work, and among those too old to work. Young workers of all kinds therefore enjoyed a great bull market for their services.

As a result of this scarcity of young labor, wages went up faster than ever before -- real wages went up 3% a year during the entire decade, compared to 1% or 2% a year during the two preceding decades. The shortage and high cost of labor also caused automation to be accelerated -- creating, in effect, a capital plant and an economy geared to do without large numbers of the young labor which had been scarce.

"The Labor Force Explodes"

Now we are about to reap the consequences. Automation, launched during years of labor scarcity, is taking full hold during a decade when the labor market will be swamped with young hands clamoring for jobs. At the same time the conditions which created the postwar boom are no longer operative, and cannot even be sustained artificially by a labor shortage. There is, in short, every indication that the labor force is going to grow faster than the need for labor, and therefore, faster than the expansion of consumer buying power.

In the 1950's about 2 million people annually reached the age of 18. In 1961, the number rose to 2 3/4 million. It will stay there until 1965, when the 1947 babies start to flood in on us. In that one year the supply of new 18-year-olds will rise to 3 3/4 million, and from then on we are in for it for a number of years. Bear in mind that these are not guesses of future population growth, because these youngsters are already born and are already with us.

An estimated 13.5 million new young workers will be pounding at the doors of the U.S. business in the 1960's, compared to less than 9 million in the 1950's. This is a 50% increase for the 1960's. This will happen at a time when demand for new hands is remaining constant in some fields and is actually diminishing in other fields as automation becomes more and more complete, and as computers take over many of the decision-making functions of management. Our present rate of unemployment, which represents one of the most serious drags on our growth, can hardly be reduced while competition for jobs becomes more intense.

Other indicators are also in the wind. Increase in per capita physical output has been declining for some time under the impact of population increase. Our gains, in other words, are increasingly nullified by the number of new hands that we must support. During the 1930's, annual increase in per capita physical output amounted to $85 for every man, woman and child in the U.S. In the war period it dropped to $59 per person; from 1945 to 1960, it dropped to $30. It is continuing to go down. In the not-too-distant future, we are faced with the likelihood that we will have to devote all the physical growth of our economy just to the task of standing still. From then on, the possibility exists that a net decline in our standard of living may set in under the pressure of population.

This is not an idle spectre. Take, for example, the period 1960-1961, when economic activity was fairly brisk as we recovered from the recession of 1960. From 1960 to 1961, personal income rose from $401 billion to $416 billion, an increase of 3.9%. Population increase during that same period was 3 million, a rate of increase of about 1.7% on an annual basis. This cancelled out a large part of the personal income increase on a per capita basis.

Who Will Pay the Bill?

If the population of the United States should double in the next generation, it means that everything about us must also double if our present standard of living is to be maintained. Do you believe that everything you see about you in your home community -- houses, apartments, roads, office buildings, schools, the endowments of your colleges, universities and hospitals -- will be doubled in the next 37 years? If not, this means that many people are going to have to do with less than they now have. I do not believe these individuals will give up their standard of living without a struggle. As long as they have the vote, they will attempt to supplement any deficiency from the public purse. And where will the taxes come from to pay for these subsidies? It is agreed that taxes on individuals have already reached diminishing returns. The most likely source, therefore, will continue to be business and industry. Hence, every increase in corporate sales stemming from the population explosion had the prospect of being more than nullified by a higher rate of federal tax on corporate profits.

When Americans in the past have been faced with a difficult challenge, they have done something about it. Explosive population growth is not inevitable. It has occurred because we have applied Western scientific and medical advances to death control, to one side of the equation only, and have dangerously upset the balance of nature for many peoples. As a result, death rates have fallen rapidly while birth rates have remained traditionally high. In Western Europe birth rates have been brought into balance with modern death rates, thus controlling growth. Japan, faced with terrible population pressures in the 1930's, found that it could not achieve lebensraum through war. From 1945 to 1960, it reduced its birth rate and has achieved a declining growth rate, now at 1.0%.

Business Men Can Do Something About It

We in the United States have not time to lose, and businessmen in particular should begin to do something about this threat and challenge. Here are some things the businessman can do now.

1. He should study the demographic facts now available and then decide for himself whether our national goal should be quantity of life or quality of life, and which is best for business in the long run. He should understand that this is a problem that can no longer be swept under the rug but must be debated openly and widely in our national interest.

2. He should support all efforts which will bring the seriousness of the population problem to the attention of our people so that young and older married couples can decide for themselves what the optimum size of their future families should be.

3. He should advocate and support intensive research by the National Institutes of Health and private agencies into inexpensive and effective contraceptive methods -- particularly those which will be acceptable to all religious groups. He should understand that the religious areas of agreement are much greater than the areas of disagreement.

4. He should advocate planning in regard to national population goals, as he approves planning for national economic goals, and as he believes in annual budgets and reasonable sales, production, and financial projections in his own business. If we decide as a nation that ten years from now it is much more in our national interest to have an annual growth rate in population of 0.8% instead of the current 1.7%, it is obviously necessary to start educating people and planning for it as soon as possible.

Business and industry have conferred great benefits on the peoples of the United States. Business and industry will continue to do so, "but only if its largess is not atomized by being spread over increasing multitudes of recipients."

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Birth control:

Businessmen back it

Call by blue-chip group at Milwaukee meeting for more corporate support to help curb population growth signals shift in business attitude

Strong evidence of increasing involvement of businessmen in the birth control movement was presented at a national gathering of affiliates of Planned Parenthood-World Population last week.

Part of the evidence came in a 52-page report outlining the seriousness of the world population explosion. This was released at the Milwaukee meeting by Planned Parenthood's Commerce & Industry Committee, a blue-chip group of 41 top businessmen headed by Sidney A. Swensrud, former chairman of Gulf Oil Corp.

Significantly, the report—made public by Lammot du Pont Copeland, president of Du Pont—calls for U. S. business support of birth control programs, for reasons that come home to businessmen.

Abroad, the report said, birth control can "help multiply the value of foreign aid and private investment" through raising per capita income growth and creating safer investments and more profitable markets.

Why they join. The committee chairman, Swensrud, enlarged on the domestic reasons given in the report for businessmen's support of birth control.

"For one thing," he said, "businessmen are all too aware of the mounting costs of relief and welfare programs; they are major sources of the taxes needed to sustain these programs. Birth control is the key to reducing these costs through reducing the number of unwanted children born to the poor and poorly educated; this group, as our report points out, represents our most critical population problem."

New view. If Swensrud is typical, at least some U. S. businessmen are coming around to a new view of the profit potential in a mass market economy such as America's.

Swensrud believes there is a growing feeling among businessmen that more people do not necessarily mean more customers but, instead, mean more relief costs and higher taxes.

"The 200-million Americans we now have represent a vast market for unfulfilled wants, enough to keep American business going indefinitely," he contends. "And even if we succeed in saturating the U. S. market, we can turn to the much vaster market of the world population. So the argument that we need an increasing population for economic reasons isn't valid."

More dollars. Though the formation of the committee and its report indicate business interest, the ultimate test comes in financial support; and this, too, is rapidly growing. "Three years ago we had barely a half-dozen donors; now we have 1,000," says Donald B. Straus, board chairman of Planned Parenthood-World Population and president of the American Arbitration Assn.

This is only the beginning, Straus adds. In the past, business donations have been largely from sympathetic executives, who gave individually and persuaded their companies to lend support. The formation of Swensrud's committee puts corporate solicitation on an organized basis this year for the first time. The committee's goal is $500,000 this year, $1-million in 1966.

World shift. Unquestionably, the changing attitude of U. S. businessmen on birth control results in part from great shifts in world opinion. There is now open debate on a subject that not many years ago was taboo.

President Johnson, in his 1965 State of the Union message, specifically mentioned birth control. He said: "I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion of world population and the growing scarcity of resources."

Possible. In the vital area of devices and techniques, too, promising recent developments make it apparent that population control is possible. Besides the well-known contraceptive "pill," a plastic contrivance called IUD—for inter-uterine device—and costing only a few cents each is under study. Pilot programs using IUD in India, Taiwan, and South Korea have shown good interim results.

Population growth:

Will markets develop as hoped?

The much-anticipated 'explosion' seems to be taking new twists. Marketers are concerned that increases in the big buying public aren't keeping pace with over-all rates

As the population surges massively upward, businessmen who watch it devotedly hardly expect surprises. So much of what is happening now was predicted; so much of what will happen can be projected.

Yet the surprises and uncertainties never die. No matter how sophisticated the prognosticators and their computers, people have a way of confounding them.

Take the year-to-year growth, for example. At a time when the phrase "population explosion" is the marketer's password, it is hard to believe what the second chart tells us: that right now we are at a low point in year-to-year growth. The 1.38% increase of 1964 and of 1965 is the lowest in 20 years.

The significant point about this down trend is not that it grew out of statistics; it grew partly out of attitudes as well.

Pickup near. The charts above mainly underscore the known. (Where there is a choice, the charts used show the second highest series of four possible projections.)

They underline the explosion itself. For, despite the slow rate of current growth, the pickup is clearly at hand. The postwar babies, now reaching their 20s, are taking care of that. Sooner or later they will make themselves felt in reversing the downtrend in births, in boosting formation of households.

The first chart also abundantly clarifies what's meant by our "youth-oriented economy." By 1970, those under 25 of age will stand at 99-million, close to half of the projected 208-million total. Between 1960 and 1985, the under-25 group shows the biggest gain, 57.7%.

The chart also gives the elderly their due. People 65 and over show the second highest gain, a neat 50%, between 1960 and 1985. There may well be 25-million of them by 1985.

I. Behind the statistics

The general pattern seems set. The new questions come out of the quirks, the refinements. How far up will the birth line go? How soon will the rising marriages take off? How fast will the households form, and what kind will they be?

What has happened to births and the year-to-year growth in the past few years is a good illustration of changes that seem to have no purely statistical origin.

Shifts within numbers. Up to a point, it was reasonable that the birth rate and the number of births should lag. Until recently, the group of women in the child-bearing period of 15 to 44 was weighted toward the older end of the scale, when children are born less frequently. This helped cut the birth rate and the fertility rate (number of births per 1,000 women of child-bearing years). Eventually, the numbers born sagged, too.

But around 1961 demographers felt the decline in births was too sharp to be explained this way only. Studies suggested that women were deliberately planning smaller families [BW Nov.17'62,p64]. New contraceptives gave them the means to put their plans into effect.

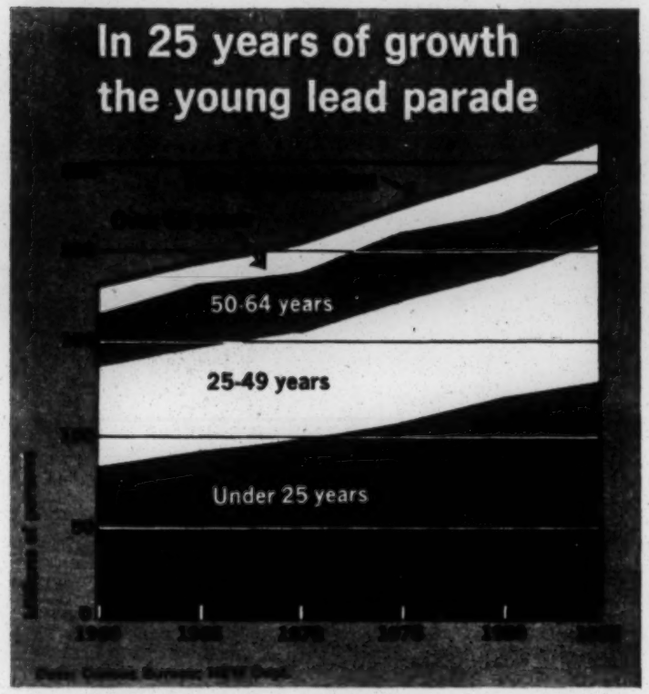
Demographers have a hunch that it is the younger couples who are holding down the fertility rate and that this could conceivably curtail the rise in births. Younger women who have watched their sisters' struggles to raise and educate a large brood may revise their ideal family size downward. These people ask themselves: "How do I improve the quality of my family?" A possible answer is fewer and better products, or children.

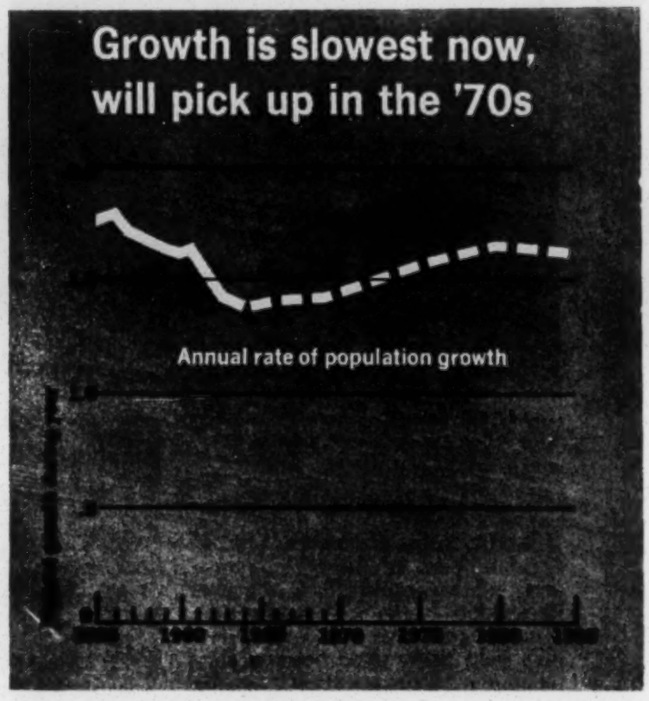
There's no guarantee that this kind of thinking—if it prevails at all—will continue to prevail as the postwar youngsters marry. But among influential organizations—the government, the Catholic church, the medical profession—a new point of view toward planned parenthood suggests "quality" of living will more and more be the criterion.

Many marketers are having second thoughts about the contribution to them as businessmen that the huge segment of population aged under 25 will make. And some advisers are urging businesses not to pin their entire hopes on it.

II. The business effect

Henry Bach Associates, Inc., issued a study early this month. It noted that children under 15 constitute two-thirds of the under-25 group. "Obviously," the study comments, "these youngsters are wholly dependent and have little or no economic weight of their own." They inspire spending, of course, but hardly add to the family kitty.





Besides, the report points out, there are 4-million more men in the over-25 group than under-25.

Disappointment. One businessman has a somewhat jaundiced view of these much-vaunted young. Second marriages are increasing slightly faster than first marriages, if data that go back to 1962 are still good. It's the first marriage that evokes the lavish wedding, the barrage of presents, and of household equipment.

Another businessman—the homebuilder—has been complaining that the promised housing boom hasn't quite come off yet. The Bureau of the Census had a partial answer to that. Until 1970, the big increase in households will be among those with heads under 25. These are not the best market for houses.

Finally, the Bureau of Labor Statistics made some pointed comment, in the way of data, on the impact of young families. Its monumental study of consumer expenditures and income in the urban U. S., 1960-61, made it abundantly plain that, whereas young families spend a larger than normal share of their outlays for housing and transportation, in actual dollar expenditures, the older households outspend them by far.

III. How prosperous?

More fundamental than such questions is the one that has bothered economists for some time. How prosperous is the big new market going to be, or feel?

Last fall, the Census Bureau pointed out the change in what it called the dependency ratio of the population [BW Nov.14'64,p70]. This is the ratio of persons under 18 and over 65 per 100 people aged 18 to 64. In 1950, the dependency ratio was 64; last year it was 85. The bigger than average growth of both the young and the old is, of course, the reason.

Labor force. Furthermore, the flood of newcomers to the labor force has concerned many. Early this year, A. J. Jaffe of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University told the American Statistical Assn. that the working force will double within the next 50 years; in the long term, it will grow faster than total population. Already, Jaffe pointed out, the highest rate of unemployment is among the young.

Unemployment could slow down the marriages—as it did during the depression. And another factor could have the same effect: today's emphasis on higher education. The Population Reference Bureau, Inc., which analyzes population trends, has found that a college career delays a girl's marriage about four years [BW Jun.13'64,p98].

A recent Census report on marital status may have the beginnings of evidence that the young are not in quite such a rush to marry as they have been. For young men, the median age at first marriage was 22.6 in 1955; last year it was 23.1. For young women, the median age last year moved up to 20.5 from 1959's 20.2.

Uncertainties. The future consists of far more questions than answers. The data just don't tell. How can you project a labor force accurately, Jaffe asked, when you don't know whether more women will want to get jobs; whether older employees will opt for early retirement; whether, in fact, people will vote for more leisure rather than for more income?

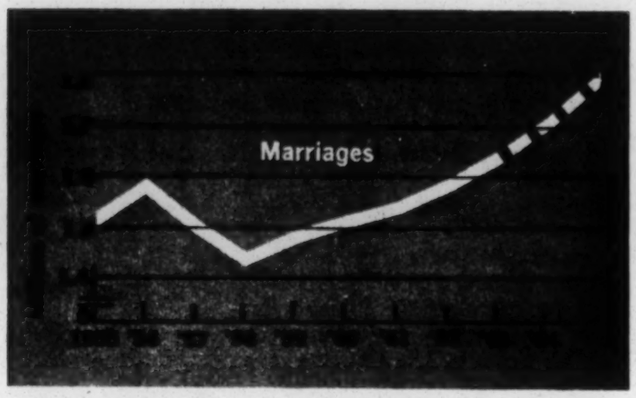
And, of course, a flare-up in Vietnam or in the Caribbean could upset every current trend by sending youngsters rushing to the altars again at even younger ages.

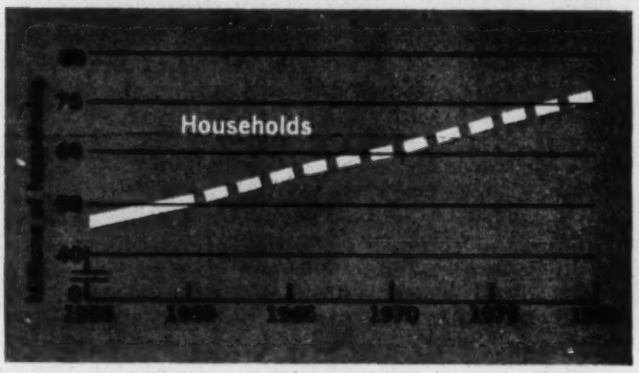
Yet history does have its place. In fact, Richard M. Scammon, formerly of the Bureau of the Census, and Ben J. Wattenberg in a recent issue of Reporter magazine used history to take issue with the pessimists—those to whom the population explosion equates with pure catastrophe.

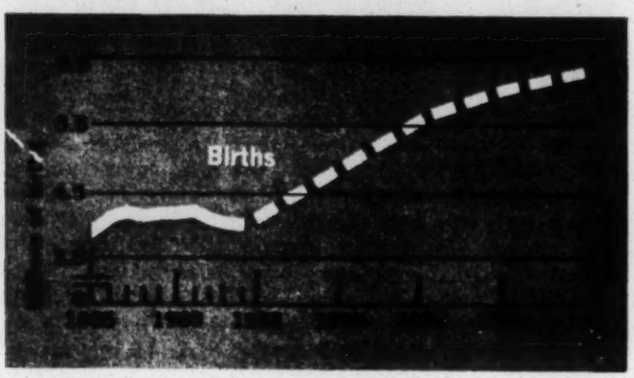
The gist of their article is that there's an underlying reasonableness about people's attitudes toward population growth, just as there is toward undertaking new expenditures. "Unrestrained proliferation" of population is less likely now than ever, the authors argue. People know more, are in a position to make judgments on what they want. If the situation got unbearable in the U. S., people would undoubtedly cut down their family plans—as they did back in the 1930s—or at least delay them.

It is not so much a question of how large a population the U. S. can support, they say. Rather the question should be what the "optimum" is. More than ever, people are in a position to make their own decisions as to what the optimum is.

As marriages start to climb, households will increase fast, and births will come faster yet







United Press International Photo

CLOSE QUARTERS: MANHATTAN—Three hundred million's a crowd, and that's the projected U.S. population within a generation. The increase, says Lilienthal, "will undermine our traditions, erode our public services and impose a rate of taxation that will make our current taxes seem tame."

300,000,000 Americans Would Be Wrong

By DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

BY the year 2000, just one generation away, the population of the United States will probably be about 300 million—100 million higher than it is now and 200 million higher than it was in 1920. Yet, in comparison with many underdeveloped nations, population growth would not seem to be a serious problem in America.

Certainly this vastly increased population will not lack for food. While population growth in Latin America, for example, has brought per capita food production below pre-World War II levels, we in the U.S. worry about overweight, spend huge sums to restrict farm production and give away enough food to prevent famine in poor nations throughout the world. In contrast to less developed nations, we have enough space, too. Just fly over this country and see the huge, sparsely populated areas that could easily accommodate additional tens of millions.

Great differences in resources, technology and education help explain why Americans regard overpopulation as a menace only to other peoples. It can't happen here, they think. I used to think so, too; I don't any more.

During the past 10 years, much of it spent overseas, I came to the easy conclusion that if we succeeded in tripling or quadrupling food production in hungry nations—and in some areas in which I worked we did just that—the problem of overpopulation could be solved. But gradually I learned I was mistaken to believe that increased food production was the complete answer to the crisis of population abroad. Gradually, I also learned that America's overflowing cornucopia has obscured a deeper crisis developing here: a population of at least 300 million by 2000 will, I now believe, threaten the very quality of life of individual Americans.

AN additional 100 million people will undermine our most cherished traditions, erode our public services and impose a rate of taxation that will make current taxes seem tame. The new masses, concentrated (as they will be) in the already strangling urban centers, cannot avoid creating conditions that will make city life almost unbearable. San Francisco, to take a still tolerable example, once was one of my favorite cities — cosmopolitan, comfortable, lovely. Now the high-rise buildings have sprouted like weeds and suburban blight is advancing on the Golden Gate. The value of real estate has increased while people's enjoyment of life declines.

Historically the United States owes much of its vigor and power to population growth. (Only 50 million people rattled around in America in 1880.) Large markets, skilled manpower, huge factories, a country able to spend billions on war, space and social welfare—all this, plus 75 million passenger cars—is surely a consequence of rising population. But no economy and no physical environment can sustain infinite population growth. There comes a point at which a change in quantity becomes a change in quality—when we can no longer speak of "more of the same." And another 100 million people will, I fear, make just that change in the joy of life in America.

IT is probably true that as the population will grow, so will the dollar value of our output. U.S. wealth, measured by Gross National Product, is now $670 billion; barring a major economic setback, total output will be doubled in about two decades. With G.N.P. climbing at the rate of $40 billion a year, the U.S. probably can afford to build the schools, housing projects, roads and other necessities of life for 300 million Americans.

But if our resources are mainly spent merely to survive, to cope with life in a congested America, then where is the enjoyment of living?

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL is chairman of the Development and Resources Corporation, a private firm with much of its business abroad, and a former chairman of the T.V.A. and the A.E.C.

Our teeming cities are not pleasant places today; imagine them by the middle of the next century when the areas of some might be 100 times larger than they are now. This is the real possibility envisioned by Roger Revelle, director of the newly established Center for Population Studies at the Harvard School of Public Health. And it will be to the cities that tomorrow's millions will flock.

Or consider the picture, drawn with characteristic wit, by economist John Kenneth Galbraith: "It is hard to suppose that penultimate Western man, stalled in the ultimate traffic jam and slowly succumbing to carbon monoxide will be especially enchanted to hear from the last survivor that in the preceding year Gross National Product went up by a record amount."

Nor does the nightmare consist only of traffic jams and a bumper-to-bumper way of life. As we have seen in the history of the last 25 years, public services only the Federal Government can provide will continue to expand. Moreover, state governments, until now unable (or unwilling) to pay their share of the bills, show signs of awakening to their responsibilities. But bigger government efforts do not produce better results for human beings; they are simply a way of getting a job done when no more feasible methods exist.

Even today, most of the nation's most serious problems are caused largely by the pressures of a too rapidly rising population. In the next generation, the problems may become unmanageable. Take four basic needs: education, water, air and power.

The quality of education is closely related to the problem of numbers. Within the next five years, we are told, the number of high school students will rise to 15 million (a 50 per cent increase over 1960), forcing hundreds of communities to consider imposing stiff new taxes. Many taxpayers will refuse to accept the added burden and their children will attend even more crowded classes. Far-sighted citizens will approve new school bond issues, but the increased financial drain probably will not result in an improved education.

Our standard of democracy entitles everyone to free schooling through high school. But our educational standards are rising. Two-year junior colleges, many of them supported by cities and states, loom as the next step in our system of free, universal education. Along with the surge in enrollment at traditional four-year colleges and universities, higher education is expected to attract about 12 million students in 1980 (triple the 1960 figure).

Merely building the physical facilities for such huge increases is a formidable prospect. Creating a sympathetic atmosphere for education, and filling the need for qualified teachers is a much more staggering problem. Of course, we may argue for the radical reform of U.S. education. We may plead for overhauling the existing system of teacher training, as James B. Conant has eloquently done. But I see few signs we are about to undertake such vast changes in the machinery of U.S. education; nor does it seem possible, even if the mood for drastic reform was overwhelming, simply to order new procedures, new goals and new solutions and then put them into practice. Good teachers cannot be turned out by fiat. We do not live in a planner's paradise. Ask Robert Moses.

Henri Cartier-Bresson (Magnum)

IN INDIA—"Many Americans regard overpopulation as a menace only to other peoples. It can't happen here, they think. But it can."

WITH increased urbanization and industrialization, demands on the water supply will be much greater than most Americans have remotely imagined. The drought in the northeast United States last summer was an indication of shortages even greater to come. And though engineers and scientists can, and will, tap new sources of water and devise ways to purify polluted rivers like the Hudson, the cost will be fantastic—hundreds of billions of dollars. Add to the current strain the pressure of a 50 per cent increase in population and the result may well be a chronic water shortage that can hardly be solved at any tolerable price.

Imaginative but impractical water schemes have been proposed, such as one to bring to the United States the almost limitless supply of far northern water, carrying it a thousand miles and more to our own boundaries. Assuming that Canada would agree to the politically prickly diversion of her waters, the cost is estimated in the neighborhood of $100-billion. But it has taken more than a generation of hot dispute and interminable litigation to decide priorities of water among our own sister states of the West. How much greater the difficulties of diverting Canada's water to care for U.S. needs?

As for nuclear-powered desalination plants, quite apart from the cost of constructing the huge installations we would need and the pipelines to carry the water inland, there is the additional problem of safety in disposing of radioactive waste. Technicians may solve the problem, but at what social cost? The conversion of precious open spaces into atomic garbage dumps?

JUST as easily accessible water supplies dwindle, air pollution will increase. Air pollution is the result of congestion, industrialization and the multiplication of automobiles—factors in direct relation to population density in urban areas. Los Angeles is not an industrial city, yet at times its air is hardly fit to breathe. And with the spread of industry in the sprawling cities of the nation, more and more places will be Los Angelized.

We have long assumed that at least the air we breathe is free. It won't be for much longer as we expand our efforts to purify the atmosphere. In California, for example, an aroused public finally insisted that automobile manufacturers install exhaust filters to trap toxic chemicals. Keeping automobile fumes and industrial poisons out of the air we breathe is going to be an increasingly costly business. By the year 2000 the high cost of breathing will be a real issue, not just a phrase.

PACKING too many people into an urban area increases the cost of providing still another essential of everyday living: electric power. Even more serious, such concentrations of people may make absolutely reliable electric service more and more difficult to maintain. I doubt if it was a mere coincidence, for example, that New York City needed 10 hours to restore electricity after the recent Northeast power failure while smaller communities were able to turn on their lights in a much shorter time. Growth is desirable up to a point; then the advantage of size diminishes and the multiplication of complexity multiplies the headaches. And by

1980 we can expect at least a 300 per cent increase in the nation's electrical energy needs. Most of this will flow into urban areas. The present difficulties of maintaining absolutely reliable service to such concentrations of people and industry, and holding down costs, will thus be magnified.

As chairman of T.V.A. and the Atomic Energy Commission, and in my present work in Asia and Latin America, I have become familiar with the problems of producing and distributing electricity on a large scale. Indeed, it was T.V.A. a generation ago that pioneered the concept that the greater the use of electricity the lower the cost per kilowatt hour. This is still generally true. But for great cities the exact contrary is coming to pass. To *distribute* electricity in a large, densely populated area such as New York is more costly than in smaller urban markets. Huge generating power plants produce ever lower generating costs; but to bring this power to the consumer in massive concentrations of population grows more and more expensive. Consequently, the price of this essential of modern life probably will go up in the great cities as population growth continues.

WITHOUT realizing it, we are fast approaching what may be called the population barrier beyond which lie unpredictability and, I fear, problems of unmanageable size. Consider, for example, the relationship between population growth and the poor.

The Federal Aid to Dependent Children program has doubled to more than four million cases during the last decade, while the costs have soared from about $600 million to more than $1.8 billion. Even more depressing than the numbers of families who cannot survive without welfare assistance is the phenomenon known as the "cycle of dependency."

More than 40 per cent of parents whose children receive A.D.C. funds themselves had parents who received relief checks. This cycle is sad but not surprising. Poor people tend to have more children than they want or can afford, and the children have less chance to receive the education and training they need to break the pattern. Thus, even the third generation appears on relief rolls in the U.S., the most socially mobile nation in the world. In America, reports the National Academy of Sciences in a recent study, "The Growth of U.S. Population," "the burden of unwanted children among impoverished and uneducated mothers . . . is much like that experienced by mothers in underdeveloped countries."

Since the poor cannot contribute their share of the mounting costs of education, medical care, public housing and similar necessary government enterprises, the money must be supplied by the rest of the population through taxation. But the most painful loss is not measured in dollars but in human resources. And one measure of the potential loss is the fact that one-fourth of America's children are the offspring of poor parents.

Belatedly, we are helping poor couples who need and want financial and medical help in family planning. The White House Conference on Health in November gave high priority to birth control as part of Federal efforts to halt the cycle of dependency and poverty. Tax-supported activities in 40 states, combined with such large-scale private efforts as Harvard's Center for Population Studies and the $14.5 million grant by the Ford Foundation for basic research by the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center and the Population Council, herald new progress in a long-neglected field.

We tend to patronize the poor by preaching to them about birth control; though poverty-stricken parents with four, five or six children are the most publicized aspect of population growth, they are by no means the most important numerical aspect of the problem. As a matter of simple arithmetic, the four-fifths of the nation's families who earn more than the poverty-line income of $3,000 a year — and who can afford two, three or four children—produce a greater total of children than the one poor couple out of five which may have six youngsters.

In fact, the latest census information reveals that though poor families may have more children than do better-off families, the difference is much smaller than many people believe. According to the National Academy of Sciences analysis, in 1960 married women 40 to 44 years old in families with incomes below $4,000 and above $4,000 differed in the average number of children by less than one. The postwar baby boom, for example, was more pronounced among middle- and upper-income families than among the poor.

Thus, these relatively well-off families are the ones mainly responsible for our rapidly rising population curve. They and their children are the ones who will account for most of the 100 million additional Americans by the end of the century.

How many children a couple should have is a decision only they should make; a government inducement or deterrent —a tax, for example—is morally repugnant and politically impossible. We cannot penalize the poor in order to limit the size of their families while we allow more prosperous parents to have as many children as they want. The large majority of middle- and upper-class parents need no birth-control help from government, nor will they welcome outside advice on so personal a matter. Yet it is this group of families who will want to have three, four or more children for the very natural reason that they like children and can afford to suppport them. The question is, can the *country* support them?

Any notion that The Pill or some other scientific device is the sole and complete answer is very dubious. At a symposium on birth control not long ago, Dr. Stephen J. Plank, a professor in the Harvard School of Public Health, cautioned against "the facile assumption . . . that we may be able to contracept our way to the Great Society." Birth control, he said, is a question of motivation rather than technology alone.

THE neglected arithmetic of the population problem facing us is depressing. Look at this table showing the birth and death rates over the past quarter-century in the United States:

Year	Births	Rate (per 1,000 pop)	Deaths	Rate (per 1,000 pop)
1940	2,360,399	17.9	1,417,269	10.8
1945	2,735,456	19.5	1,401,719	10.6
1950	3,554,149	23.6	1,452,454	9.6
1955	4,047,295	24.6	1,528,717	9.3
1960	4,257,850	23.7	1,711,982	9.5
1964	4,027,490	21.0	1,798,051	9.4

Although the birth rate has been declining since the mid-50's, while the death rate has remained relatively stable, the drop in the birth rate is too little and too late to prevent an oversized population. The surge in the number of births over deaths continues (2.3 million were added to the population in 1964).

Or examine these low and high population projections prepared by the Census Bureau:

	Low	High
1970	206,000,000	211,000,000
1985	248,000,000	276,000,000
2010	322,000,000	438,000,000

The high figure would be reached if birth rates returned

Fecund Future

At the estimated 1965 U.S. birth rate of 19.5 per 1,000 of population, a woman who reaches the age of 45 will have an average of three children. To achieve a stationary population, in which parents only replace themselves, the average number of children would have to drop to about 2.1. If childbearing gradually declined to this level by 1980 —a highly unlikely possibility — the U.S. population would then be about 250,000,000, and by 2020 the population would hit 300,000,000 and remain unchanged thereafter. At that point the birth rate would have declined to 14 per 1,000 and the death rate would have climbed to 14 per 1,000 (because a nongrowing population includes a much higher percentage of the aged).

On the other hand, if present fertility and mortality trends continue, a long-range projection by the National Academy of Sciences foresees that in about 650 years there will be one person per square foot throughout the United States, and in less than 1,500 years the weight of the U.S. population will exceed the mass of the earth — that is, 6,588,000,000,000,000,000,000 tons!

to the levels of the early 1950's. The low estimate — enormous as it is—is based on the possibility that the rates may decline by 1985 to the comparatively low levels of the early World War II years.

One theoretical way out of the dilemma would be to say that since America can no longer sustain complete "family freedom," some form of compulsory birth control is, regrettably, necessary. It would not be the first time in our history that government intervened to restrain individual impulse in the name of collective welfare. Yet, where children and parents are concerned, I do not believe we can yet advocate the sacrifice of one freedom for the sake of preserving another. Such a "solution" would make no sense at all, theoretically, practically or ethically.

Government policies and private programs must make plain the kind of life we all face if economically comfortable families reproduce at rates they personally can afford. With equal urgency we must make plain the dangers if poor families have children in numbers they cannot afford.

OBVIOUSLY, a stationary population—one in which the birth rate matches the death rate—is out of the question for many years to come. It is probably not feasible, nor even desirable. All we can hope to achieve is a slower rise in the size of our population rather than the present steep increase. What is needed is a far more drastic cut in the birth rate—a voluntary curtailment of the right to breed. It is needed, but I have no great conviction that it will happen.

For though scientific ingenuity may be able to solve many of the technological problems we are only beginning to understand people always change more slowly than technology. It is easier, after all, to design a new industrial process than redesign a cultural tradition. Yet that is the order of change we face if we are to preserve life's dignity and quality. Confronted by the crisis of population growth, we must, at present, appeal to private conscience for the sake of the general good.

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PLANNED PARENTHOOD—WORLD POPULATION • 515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

An address by JAMES F. OATES, JR.,
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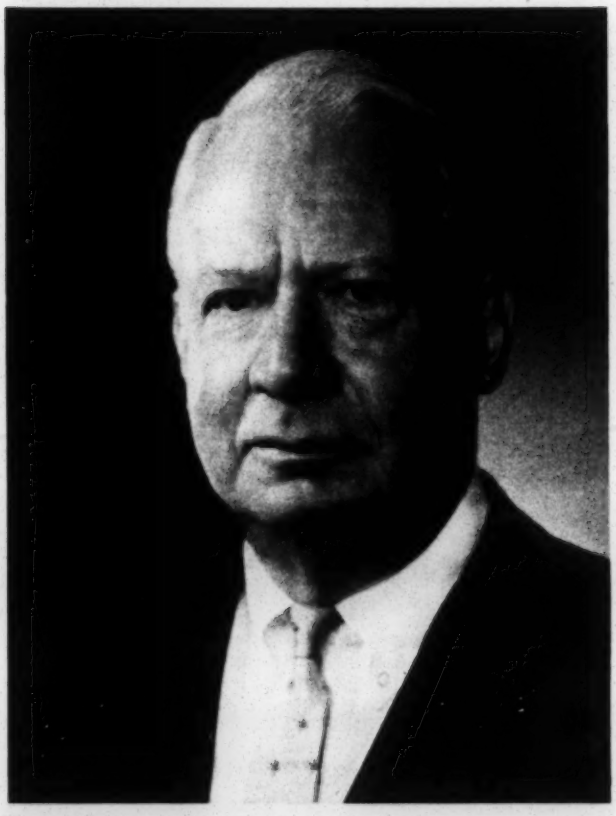
of the United States

The Businessman's Stake in the Population Problem



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Delivered at the
National Industrial Conference Board
Conference on Population and Growth
New York City, June 28, 1966

COVER: These unusual symbols, portraying the saga of family life, were used in earliest times by primitive peoples of the world.

I. Introduction

Today, I am the lonely, single person on the program who is not an expert on population. As you know, I am in the life insurance business, an enterprise which seeks to ameliorate the consequences of the great uncertainties of life—uncertainty as to the time of death, and other uncertainties which affect the well-being and material status of people.

Needless to say, we keep such basic matters as the course of population changes under careful and constant scrutiny. Indeed, we have in our company an office of Social Research headed by a well known and experienced sociologist, a friend of many of you, Dr. John W. Riley, Jr., who keeps us in touch with many dimensions of social change. For example, the Equitable is presently cooperating with the Bureau of the Census and the Social Science Research Council in developing the so-called Census Monographs, a series of studies in depth of various aspects of the population of the United States. In the light of the rapidly increasing public interest in demography, we sponsored with great pride and satisfaction the Equitable Demograph at the recent New York World's Fair. Social, cultural, and demographic changes obviously carry important implications for our business.

We live in an age of spectacular social change, and businessmen must be concerned, not only with such changes which directly affect their own businesses but also with those changes which substantially affect the welfare of entire communities and the nation itself. Population change is a prime example. Consider the fact that our World's Fair population counter revealed and continuously recorded a net increase to the population of the world of two persons every second. Such a rate of increase is potentially self-destructive and cannot continue indefinitely, if only for the fact that the area of the world is a fixed quantity.

While these preliminary remarks may establish the legitimacy of my concern, they also aggravate my sense of ignorance. Therefore, I must ask you to bear with me, as I speak during the intermission of learned discussion of this impressive program, not as an expert on demographic problems, but rather as a businessman who sees the population problem as one of the central problems of our time.

II. The Importance of A World Perspective

THE ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS.

Today we continually seek a better insight into "systems analysis." This has taught the lesson that we live in an interdependent world; imbalance in any part affects the rest of the system. Since divergent rates of population growth in different countries produce economic consequences which

necessarily have world-wide significance, the immediate results of human reproduction no longer are solely the concern of the two persons involved, their immediate families and the communities, or even of the nation of which they are citizens. The demographic development of the human race has brought the world to the point where the rate of reproduction in any part of the globe affects the *economic stability* of the whole, to say nothing of the health and welfare of the rest of the world's population.

Since businessmen by definition are committed to the profitable production and distribution of goods and services, we are inevitably concerned with population problems and policies.

THERE ARE ALSO HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS.

I believe that many businessmen would agree that it is of very dubious moral acceptability or economic health for some countries to enjoy a high level of living while others fight a losing battle against deprivation and suffering. Our humanitarian instincts are aroused. We are currently required to recognize and deal with the moral as well as economic implications of a situation where man has demonstrated his skill at saving the lives of large numbers of people who would not have survived in the past, but who now seem destined to survive in poverty, ignorance, and sickness.

This posture of events has been dramatically revealed in the recent report of the Food and Agricultural Organization which discloses that the increase in food production in 1963-64 was too small to offset world population growth, despite record output of several agricultural commodities. Furthermore, the 1963 Food and Agricultural Organization World Survey found that at least sixty per cent of the people in the less developed countries are undernourished and *that one half of the world suffers from hunger, malnutrition, or both.* 3/

On Monday, June 20, 1966, there was quoted in *The Wall Street Journal* the following comment of an important grain broker: "Some people have lost sight of the fact that the world grain situation has completely changed. Asia, Africa and Latin America were all net exporters of grain prior to World War II. Now they are importers. One of the most alarming facts of the population explosion is that a major portion of the increase is developing in the very regions that are least equipped to feed themselves."

This morning the outgoing president of the American Medical Association was quoted in *The New York Times* as saying that "because of the likely health hazards resulting from overpopulation, 'birth control is a vital part of preventive medicine and comprehensive health care.' "

It is submitted that such a situation cannot be allowed to worsen or persist.

THE REVOLUTION OF RISING EXPECTATIONS: AN ESTIMATE OF WHERE WE ARE.

Obviously this situation also involves potentially serious political implications. In the developing countries it seems likely that the desire for more goods and services will, for some time, grow more rapidly than the local means for satisfying them. Our means of communication are steadily growing in scope and effectiveness. As knowledge grows of how people in industrialized countries live, feelings of deprivation are enhanced among peoples in the developing countries. Rapid population growth in many of these countries—even when accompanied by slight increases in per capita income—may, therefore, threaten the basis of our civilization because of its revolutionary potential. James Reston, writing in *The New York Times* on June 10, 1966, respecting "The Politics of Birth Control," said: "It would be impossible to overstate the anxiety felt here about the political trouble ahead for the overpopulated and undernourished countries of the world."

The concern of the businessman is consequently real. He can no more ignore world conditions than he can hold himself aloof from the problems of the community in which he lives and works. He has, in short, an important stake in the complex relationship between demographic trends and economic development. It is thus of first importance that businessmen strive mightily to understand better and better the truth about the relations between population growth and economic strength and development.

III. Population and Economic Development

A SIMPLE FORMULA.

Population has long been recognized as an important factor in any equation of economic development. But the theories are complex and often contradictory. We are present at this conference in an attempt to unravel some of the issues. A basic formula which I am advised that Professor Philip Hauser often uses in approaching this question has a self-evident authenticity. The formula declares:

if "L" equals the level of living, with "O" the aggregate output, and "P" population, then $L = \frac{O}{P}$.

In other words, the level of living cannot rise unless output increases more rapidly than population. There are, however, three factors of special significance in the relationship between P and O.

These are:

1. the changing age composition of the population,
2. the supply of investment capital, and
3. the availability of natural resources.

Let us consider each of these factors very briefly.

THE BURDEN OF YOUTH DEPENDENCY.

A high and growing birth rate in low income countries, by generating a population with a higher and higher proportion of the very young, creates an imbalance between consumers and producers and thus economic development is effectively impaired. Furthermore, as infant mortality rates are reduced, the proportion of children in the population increases still more. Approximately forty per cent of the populations of underdeveloped countries now typically consists of persons under fifteen years of age. Thus, a continuation of high fertility creates a rising ratio of youth dependency, rather than moving in the opposite direction. There are more mouths to feed but fewer hands proportionately to produce.

THE RELATIVE LACK OF INVESTMENT CAPITAL.

This condition necessarily reduces savings and adversely affects the capacity of a country to generate capital investments in productive equipment.

It is appalling, as well as discouraging, to consider how the pattern of population growth in the world today serves to nourish the existing imbalance between population distribution and the distribution of wealth and natural resources. A recent NICB study reported that although the total income of many less developed countries had increased at a faster rate than that of many industrialized nations during the last six years, the gap in per capita income between the two groups had actually widened. 5/

IMBALANCE BETWEEN POPULATION AND NATURAL RESOURCES.

The depletion of natural resources is an ever present influence which inhibits the development and expansion of a country's productive capacity. Per capita food production has begun to decline in many countries.

Some geologists see the basic problem of resources as a death struggle between people and salt, because of the pressure which increasing populations exert upon the limited natural resource of water. To be sure, nuclear-powered desalinization plants have been proposed as an answer to this problem; but even if these were to become economically feasible, scientists warn against the consequences of the amounts of atomic waste which would be discharged.

THE CONCERN OF BUSINESS.

Let us now return briefly to a reconsideration of the stake that the businessman has in the problem of world population. He has, of course, a direct or indirect interest in world trade, in the balance of payments, and in the development of world markets. In addition, he has an important stake in foreign aid, if only as a taxpayer. He feels deeply that foreign aid cannot be successful in the long run in raising living standards unless population growth levels off. Indeed, in many countries where foreign aid programs have been most highly organized, annual per capita product has begun to decline. As we have seen, the dollar gap between incomes in the developing and industrialized countries is widening.

The businessman sees the need for a broad-based and effective program for improving the level of living in various parts of the world. When we return to the basic formula with which we began, ($L = \frac{O}{P}$) we clearly recognize that the population component is out of line. To the extent that foreign aid permits the survival of millions of people, without actually raising their levels of living, we are engaged in an essentially ineffective, inhumane, and uneconomic enterprise.

Programs for the control of population growth, which are acceptable on moral, cultural, and religious grounds, are obviously indicated. And such programs should be devised and implemented without further delay.

IV. Is There A Population Problem in the U. S.?

There has been a decline in the U.S. rate of natural increase since the mid-1950's. In the mid-1930's there were approximately 2½ million births per year; but during the baby boom which followed the war, the annual birth class approximated 4 million infants. Only during the past year did the number of births fall below that figure, for the first time in twelve years.

Meanwhile, it has become painfully obvious that even moderate rates of population increase seem to exacerbate social and economic problems in our own and in other highly populous and industrialized societies.

THE PROBLEM OF EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

One area of concern is the fact that the labor force will continue to expand sharply for the next twenty-five years (quite apart from changes in fertility). By 1980, the U.S. labor force is expected to be in the neighborhood of 100 million people. It has been correspondingly estimated that we will have to produce over 1 million new jobs each year for the next fifteen years in order to absorb these new workers.

Quite apart from the ability of the economy to create new jobs, we must also take into account the effect of fertility differentials between economic levels. Many of the new workers will come from culturally disadvantaged groups. The established high relative fertility of groups enjoying limited educational advantages will continue to have a significant effect on unemployment. It is estimated, for example, that about 7½ million youngsters will have left school without a high school diploma during the 1960's alone. Increasing numbers of dropouts, in a labor market which is constantly upgrading its educational and technical requirements, spells a serious dilemma indeed.

PROBLEMS OF URBANIZATION.

Other "costs" of population growth are found in the rapid process of urbanization: slums and overcrowding, inadequate educational facilities, congested traffic conditions, air and water pollution, the deleterious effects of increased internal migration on intergroup relationships—just to list a few examples.

To ignore the problems of our cities, or to close our eyes to such issues as chronic unemployment or rising welfare costs, could well be the road to economic suicide. As businessmen, we must participate actively in constructive programs on all such fronts. This participation will prove to be helpful only if we approach these problems armed with the facts. That's why the proposed research in depth on population problems by the National Industrial Conference Board appeals to me so strongly.

RAPID POPULATION GROWTH NOT NECESSARY TO ECONOMIC HEALTH.

One point should be heavily emphasized. A rapidly growing population is not a necessary precondition for the continued development of our economy. A declining birth rate need not have an adverse effect on business. Although the traditional assumption in this country has been that a rapidly growing population leads to increased demand and, hence, stimulates investment, a careful analysis of the world situation, as set forth above, shows that rapid population growth may and frequently has operated to inhibit economic development.

If it is surmised that there will be developed a twenty per cent increase in purchasing power during the next five or ten years (certainly not an outrageous assumption), the effect on the growth of the economy would offset a considerable decrease in the rate of population growth. To be sure, rapid population growth in our own economic history and in the history of the West in general seems to have stimulated economic development. But in these instances, unlike the situation in many

developing countries, the man-land ratio was low and a greater population was needed to achieve the economies of large-scale production. Today, however, the situation is very different. We no longer live in a traditional frontier society. We are living, however, on an entirely new kind of frontier.

The American business system will continue, most assuredly, to be characterized and propelled by inventiveness, imagination and enlarged appetites and interests. Mankind has thousands of unmet needs and, in the future, we will learn to express and fulfill needs of which we are at present unaware. Increasing productivity to meet such new and diversified needs is the future to which we should look. Our economy no longer requires the stimulation of rapid population growth to keep it healthy.

V. The Importance of Human Values

In closing, I respectfully submit that business should never become so involved with statistics as to lose sight of the importance and dignity of the individual.

Whether we are talking about population problems here in the U.S., in the developing countries, or in the world at large, we must never forget that we cannot measure progress simply by aggregate statistics reflecting per capita living standards. We must also strive to see that each person is assured the opportunity to possess the ingredients of a full and satisfactory life. These include not merely the basic necessities such as food, housing, health, and education, but also the satisfaction of those political, cultural, and spiritual needs that are fundamental to all men. Only in this way can we meet the need and responsibility to supply moral leadership in a tormented world.

If we truly accept this responsibility and sincerely and thoughtfully become concerned with the quality of life, we have no choice but to be also concerned with the quantity of life. Since we are growing to believe in the right to die with dignity, perhaps we will eventually espouse a comparable belief in the right to be born with dignity. It seems that we might well endorse the current proposal to add a fifth freedom—freedom of the right of everyone to make intelligent choices as to parenthood and the birth of children.

Whatever may prove to be the ultimate resolution of this essentially moral question, we in the business community must work together with government and private groups to forge a common point of reference in this most sensitive area of human behavior. We must find a high and feasible principle which can be embraced by all people regardless of economic or ethnic background and religious belief. In all probability we will not live to see this work fully completed, but we will know that it has been begun.

From Commercial and Financial Chronicle
August 11, 1966, after presentation before
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few additions have been interpolated and
figures have been brought up to date.

IMPLICATIONS OF POPULATION CHANGE FOR BUSINESS

by
Joseph J. Spengler
Duke University

"The true cause of their [the Americans'] superiority . . . is wholly attributable to their moral and intellectual qualities."

Alexis de Tocqueville,
Democracy in America, II, chap. 10.

Crabbed old Thomas Carlyle once remarked that if you wanted an economist you had only to teach a parrot to say "Supply" and "Demand." I am going to use these words, but I hope I shall use them with more meaning than old Carlyle's parrot. After all, the price of capital, the profits of the individual firm, the level of employment, and the state of a nation's international balance depend upon what happens both on the supply and on the demand side.

How important is the role that population growth plays in generating demand for goods, services, and capital, and in facilitating their supply? This role is much smaller in a technologically dynamic land like the United States than in one with a low rate of growth of output per capita. In discussing this role I

shall simply assume that other conditions affecting demand and supply stay put. For these conditions may be numerous and quantifiable only within an elaborate econometric model. I shall concentrate upon the economic effects of a decline in the rate of population growth, since a decline is more probable than an increase in the national rate. I shall not touch upon consequences of the population implosion, a sequel to the so-called "population explosion," although the population implosion is currently a greater source of difficulties than the population explosion.

I. Aggregate Demand and Supply

A decline in the rate of population growth affects both the availability of capital and the growth of aggregate demand and supply. I shall consider these in order and then turn to particular effects of declines in the rate of population growth.

(1) Population growth absorbs resources which might otherwise be used to increase the rate of capital formation per head. Addition of an individual to a population calls for a stream investment in his own education and development and for equipping him with science and culture as well as industrial, household, and public capital. While we have no precise estimates of this capital cost we may note the order of magnitude. If we suppose that it costs the equivalent of 4-5 per cent of the national income to cover all the costs of a rate of population growth of one per cent per year, we may assume that our recent annual rate of population growth of about 1.0 per cent per year costs something like $31-39 billion. This mode of estimating fails, of course, to allow for

all forms of capital -- for all forms of expenditure today which increase tomorrow's income stream. Another mode of estimating is possible; let us put the costs of adding an average person to the population of productive age at $15,000 and $20,000; then the annual cost in the past 15-20 years would have fallen within a range of $30-40 billion. The annual cost estimated in these ways is quantitatively equivalent to something like one-third of gross private investment. These estimates probably are on the low side.

It is evident, therefore, that if the rate of population growth in the United States should decline from 1.0 per cent to zero per cent, the rate at which capital per head was formed could and would rise. Savings within families would rise, since rearing and educating children would absorb a smaller fraction of given incomes in families averaging close to 2.11 children instead of three or more. Corporations might be able to form more capital, since they would probably be taxed somewhat less if the rate of natural increase were appreciably lower than recently. This might be true also of unincorporated enterprise. We may assume, therefore, that the American economy could increase capital or physical wealth per head at a rate of 1-1½ percentage points above the present rate. It does not follow, however, that such increase would result. More likely, half or more of the potential savings made possible by a decline in natural increase would be devoted to consumption and to shortening the average work week.

In the late 1930's and early 1940's it was feared that, because of the decline in natural increase, ex ante savings at full employment would exceed ex ante investment and result in an underemployment economy. This is a possibility, but a highly improbable

one; for with the vast information we have and great scope for intelligent cooperation between private enterprise and government, it should be possible to hold unemployment down to 4-5 per cent or less, particularly if unemployment-generating wage and labor-cost props (e.g., uneconomic minimum wage legislation) are done away with. A decline in interest rates, if consequent upon a decline in the rate of population growth, would help balance savings and investment by reducing the incentive to save and by rendering feasible investments not so at higher interest rates.

(2) The growth of potential aggregate demand is governed as is that of potential aggregate supply by the sum of the rate of growth of population and the rate of growth of output per capita. In the United States, with population growing around 1.0 per cent per year and average output growing 2-3 per cent, the potential aggregate would grow about 3.0 to 4.0 per cent per year. The realized aggregate would grow at about the same rate unless there were a decrease or an increase in the employed proportion of the population of working age and desirous of employment.

II. Two Sides to the Question

When we take an aggregate view we become aware of two implications. (a) A decline in the rate of population growth does not greatly reduce the rate of growth of gross or net national product. (b) Much of the importance that some writers attach to population growth as a stimulator of profits at the firm level is discovered to be without foundation. In order to illustrate my point I am going to compare two populations, one growing faster than the other.

It is essential to keep in mind, however, that it takes time for the effect of a decline in the Gross Reproduction Rate to become nearly complete, since 20-25 years must pass before all persons born now enter the labor force, and since even more years must pass before all important adjustments have been made.

Suppose for purposes of illustration, however, that population is growing one per cent per year, and per capita income, two per cent per year; then aggregate demand for goods and services as a totality is growing roughly three per cent per year. Should the annual rate of population growth decline from the assumed one to zero per cent, the rate of growth of aggregate demand would fall less than one-third, less than from three to two per cent, for the resources formerly absorbed by the one-per-cent rate of population growth -- equal to about four per cent of national income -- could be used to increase capital per head and average income at a faster rate. Moreover, output could increase also because of improvement in the producer-dependent ratio, in the amount equivalent to about one per cent of the national income. In short, the non-growing population would have available on a per capita basis potential additional savings equivalent to about five per cent of national income. If these were invested to yield 10 per cent, they would elevate the rate of growth of output per capita from 2 to 2½ per cent. Were only one-half of the 5 per cent saved, investment of these savings would raise the rate of growth of output per capita to 2¼ per cent. Had we started with a 2 per cent rate of population growth and then have assumed it to fall to zero, we would have

found the rate of growth to fall roughly from 4 per cent to between 2½ and 3 per cent.

We may make a more general statement. A decline of one percentage point in the rate of population growth tends to produce a decline of between ½ and 3/4 of a percentage point in the rate of growth of both aggregate demand and aggregate supply. Furthermore, the higher the rate of growth of output per capita, the less important is the contribution of population growth to aggregate demand and supply.

(b) In much of the more popular business literature we find stress upon the demand effect of changes in the rate of population growth, but neglect of the supply effect. Yet, at the aggregate level, both demand and supply correspond to Gross National Product and hence to each other, and so therefore does the incidence of a change in the rate of population growth. (That is $\underline{D}'$ = [$\underline{p}'$ plus $\underline{y}'$] = $\underline{S}'$ = [$\underline{p}'$ plus $\underline{y}'$], where $\underline{D}'$, $\underline{S}'$, $\underline{p}'$, $\underline{y}'$ represent respectively the rates of growth of aggregate demand, aggregate supply, population, and output or income per capita.) What I have just said used to be put very simply: With every mouth God sends a pair of hands and a set of tools. The mouth stands for demand, and the hands and tools stand for the supply that balances demand. It is a bit more complicated, of course. Yet, what I have just said suggests that a mere increase in population, or in its rate of growth, will not by itself make a firm's sales prospects better or worse. There will be more buyers, of course, but there will also be more suppliers, and in small communities they will often displace small established

firms. As a rule, prospective demand and supply tend to increase in about the same proportion and in such manner as to have little if any influence upon profit margins. Phrased otherwise, population growth is unlikely to increase "profit" per unit of output in the absence of the emergence of economies of scale or scarcity rents, or of increase in the imperfection of competition.

III. Labor-Force Allocation

If a population and labor force is growing, the annual gross number of recruits to the labor force will consist of the increase in the labor force each year plus replacements for those withdrawing from the labor force because of death, disability, or retirement. It is mainly through the distribution of these recruits to the labor force that an optimum inter-occupational balance is preserved. These recruits flow mainly into new or expanding industries and occupations. Some writers believe that it would be much harder to preserve an optimum balance if a population were stationary and the ratio of recruits to the labor force were decidedly lower, perhaps only about half as high as in a population growing 1½ per cent. Given our extensive current market information, however, together with our increasing capacity to retrain and adjust shifting workers, this belief seem dubious. Labor mobility is probably increasing, and it certainly could be made to increase. The allocation task would not be seriously changed, of course, for nearly two decades. Should the number of births decline enough to reduce the rate of population growth from, say, 2 to 1 per cent, nearly 20 years would

pass before the rate of growth of the labor force began to decline as a result.

IV. Demand for Specific Products

The rate of growth of demand for any one specific product is conditioned by the rate of population growth but seldom is dominated thereby. In general, the growth of demand for a product depends upon the rate of population growth, the rate of increase in average income, the income elasticity of demand for this product, and changes in tastes or technology. The rate of population growth in the United States remained above 1.5 per cent between 1946 and 1962, mainly because the rate of natural increase was close to this level; it has since fallen below 1.5 per cent because the birth rate has fallen and, despite a prospective upsurge in natality in the later 1970's and 1980's, is unlikely to return to the 1.5 per cent level. Between 1955 and 1965 when unemployment levels were similar Gross National Product increased about 3½ per cent per year; output per member of the civilian labor force, just over 2 per cent; and membership in the civilian labor force, just over 1 3/8 per cent compared with a rate of population growth of about 1 5/8 per cent. The income elasticity of demand for most categories of products probably falls within a range of just below ½ and just over 2. Accordingly, given a rate of increase of 1 per cent in population and 2 per cent in average income, aggregate demand for categories of products would usually grow between just over 2 per cent per year and nearly 5 ½ per cent.

Two qualifications are in order. First, data on the actual growth of demand for specific products show that population growth has played a very minor role. Between 1948 and 1965 population grew about 1 3/4 per cent per year and Gross National Product per capita, about 2 per cent per year. Yet, according to the Department of Commerce, the average annual rate of growth of output of selected products and services ranged from over 25 per cent to minus 15 per cent and lower. The demand for services of all sorts rose enough to supply most of the increase in employment in 1948-65. These widely ranging changes are not so much the result of changes in income and population as of changes in tastes and technology. Technological change introduces new and displaces old products. Tastes adjust to technology, and change for other reasons as well. We live in an age of discretionary time and income. Most people have some time and income which they can dispose of any way that suits them. Under these conditions tastes are volatile, especially when new opportunities to spend are continually being created.

Second, population growth becomes the main source of increase in demand for a product or a set of intersubstitutable products when income elasticity of demand for this product (say potatoes or cereals) or set is very low and individual demand becomes saturated. Suppose a new type of product is innovated and variously imitated until it has become one of a set of substitutes. The sale of this set will grow more or less logistically until the market has become saturated, given the existing income structure. For a time thereafter demand will approximate replacement of a

portion of the stock in use, itself a growing quantity, plus additional consumption which grows somewhat less rapidly than the sum of the rate of population growth and the rate of increase of per capita income. Eventually, however, as income elasticity of demand at the individual level approaches zero, the growth of total demand, consisting of replacements and additions, will be dominated by the current and the recent rate of growth of the population, or of the number of households if the product is household-oriented.

In view of the statistical evidence regarding the behavior of demand and the importance of technological change, rising discretionary income, and changing and volatile tastes, most business firms serving national markets are unlikely to attach much importance to population growth as a major source of increase in demand. A firm will rely upon rising per capita income and its own capacity to supply better or novel goods and services, confident that population growth is not multiplying its competitors. The exceptions will consist in business firms supplying only or mainly products, the individual income-elasticity of demand for which is very low; and relatively few firms answer closely to this description.

This argument is less valid for firms serving regional or localized markets. For in general, the smaller a regional or a more localized town or small-city market, the higher may its population growth rate be and hence the more important this rate as a determinant of the rate of growth of demand. Here, however, we are dealing with the redistribution of population in space rather

than with the rate of growth of a nation's population. This redistribution, while not independent of the rate of growth of the total population, is affected by many other circumstances as well.

V. Composition of Demand

A decline in the rate of population growth will affect the composition of demand. Until a population's age composition becomes stable, such a decline will reduce the rate of growth of those under five and then of those in their teens but not correspondingly those aged over 19 or over 65. Since the demand for some products is age-connected, the composition of aggregate demand will shift somewhat in "favor" of those over 19, over 65, and against those under 19. When a population becomes stable, this or analogous shifts will end; then all age groups grow at the same rate. Let us, however, examine the changes in prospect.

The rate of growth of the teenage market will decline. Between 1950 and 1965 the population aged 5-9 increased about 3 per cent per year, but it will increase very little if at all in 1975-1985. The number aged 10-19 increased 3½ per cent per year in 1950-65, but it will decline 8½ per cent between1970 and 1985. These declines reflect the slowing down in recent and expected natality. The total number of births rose to 4.3 million in 1958-61 from 2.4 million in 1935-39 and 3.6 million in 1946-49; it descended to about 3.6 million in 1966-69 but it will probably rise to between 4.5 and 5 million in 1975-85 as the number of females aged 20-29

increases, 25 per cent in 1970-80 and 4 per cent in 1980-85. Even on the assumption that expenditure per teenager rises at least as fast as median family income -- 2 3/4 per cent per year in recent years -- it is likely that the teenage market will grow less than half as fast over the next 15 years as in 1950-65 when it grew around 6 per cent.

The population 65 years and over will grow not over one per cent per year between 1970 and 2000 unless cracking the age barrier and extending life expectancy should significantly augment the rate. Average income of the older population could grow somewhat faster than average per capita income, particularly if persons in their 60's and early 70's are permitted to work if they wish, even at substandard remuneration when necessary, instead of being pushed out by trade-union, corporation, and government bureaucrats. Care of the aged, especially if highly subsidized as under Medicare, will augment aggregate demand for medical and related service beyond our capacity to meet it unless efficient and increasing use is made of paramedical personnel. With inflation persisting at around 5 per cent per year or more, while a seemingly helpless government dawdles and makes undeliverable promises, it may now be expected that most aged will be pressed into dire poverty. Over the past ten years the purchasing power of the dollar has been reduced by about one-fourth, and it is now falling faster.

The degree to which the composition of demand changes is traceable in part to the durability of goods and to how remote they are from consumers. The demand for every good consists in a

demand for replacements plus a demand for additions to the total stock. Services and goods of short-life must be replaced almost entirely and at once whereas durable consumer goods and producer goods are replaced only in part in any given year and sometimes not at all. It follows that a given fluctuation in the rate of population growth may produce considerable fluctuation in the demand for durable consumer goods, or for producer goods, but relatively little fluctuation in the demand for services and goods of short life.

Suppose the rate of population growth declines to (say) 0.5 per cent and stays there. The economy would then tend to become more stable should capital formation play a reduced role and fluctuate less. Greater stability would be assured also by the accompanying shift of labor to personal services in whose production physical capital often plays a lesser role. Today less than half the labor force is engaged in producing goods, and this fraction is still falling. In consequence there will be less variation in replacements of the sort associated with goods production, since personal services are much more subject to direct than to derived demand.

The decline in the rate of population growth could somewhat accelerate the rate at which per capita income rises and thus accentuate trends associated with income growth and increasing opulence. For example, as per capita income rises, the shift to services or to what is predominantly services, may increase. It has been estimated that G.N.P. must increase over three per cent per year

to permit any increase in employment in goods production; otherwise employment must be sought in services. These services can be supplied by private enterprise, even by large corporations if they learn how to develop what remains and is likely to remain a field especially suited to small scale enterprise, though currently handled with often shocking inefficiency. Some services may have to be supplied mainly by private collectivities such as foundations, or by agencies of the state. It follows, therefore, that if further and continuing expansion of the role of the state and concentration of power in Washington is not to result, alternative arrangements will have to be made. I have mentioned foundations as alternatives to private enterprise because often, at least up to now, private enterprise cannot effectively and economically provide various services currently in demand. This is the case when pronounced externalities are present, or the services in question yield indiscriminate benefits. Foundations remain under private auspices; they are or should be cost conscious even though not essentially profit-oriented; and their multiplication keeps power dispersed instead of increasingly concentrated in the hands of our state and public bureaucracy which even at best will probably have large responsibilities in service production or distribution.

VI. International Considerations

It is difficult enough to assess the economic impact of a decline or an increase in the rate of population growth at home. It is far more difficult to assess the effects here of changes in the growth of population abroad. No great change is anticipated

between now and the year 2000 in the rate of growth of the population of the developed world, outside the United States, constituting about one-fourth of the world's population living outside our borders. Between 1970 and 2000 this population will grow about 1¼ per cent per year; if its average income should grow 2 per cent per year, its total income would expand about 3¼ per cent per year. Around 1960 about seven-tenths of the world's population lived in the less developed parts of the world; much of this population is likely togrow 2-3 per cent per year between 1970 and 2000. If, as is possible, its average income should grow 1 to 1½ per cent, its total income would grow over 3 and possible close to 4½ per cent per year. It must be remembered, however, that per capita incomes are very low in these countries and long will remain low.

The significance of these trends for our foreign trade is hard to determine. Our real market should continue to be in Europe, Oceania, Canada, Japan, several of the Latin American countries, and in time perhaps in the Soviet Union and its European satellites should those countries convert their swords into plowshares. In all these countries rising per capita income will be the main determining factor. When, however, we turn to the underdeveloped world, we are forced to question if important markets are to be found in countries whose economic progress is prevented or at least hampered by population's growing about 3 per cent per year. They will be short of capital and skilled personnel, anxious for foreign aid or loans, but incapable of earning much of the hard currency needed to pay for imports. They may experience political

instability, always a deterrent to economic progress. Should current emphasis on unrequited foreign expenditure continue, it will of course absorb a part of the capital released by decline in American natural increase, but at the expense of the tax payer and often without much real economic or political benefit to the American polity. Sooner or later, however, the American taxpayer will demand an end to all such expenditure that fails to produce a proven capacity for self-help and long-run improvements.

VI. Historical Perspective

In the nineteenth and early twentiety century, Kuznets's findings show, growth of population and growth of national income were positively correlated in the developed world. It does not follow, however, that growth of population was the prime mover; if anything, heightened technological progress made possible the higher rates of population growth. Indeed, there is no evidence that population growth appreciably accelerated the growth of income per capita even though there may have been some scope for increasing returns. In the United States savings were inadequate at times to meet both the needs of population increments and the needs of the existing population. Population growth per se is seldom if ever capable of generating the additional capital required to meet the needs of the resulting stream of increments to the population.

In the present-day underdeveloped world, even in Africa and Latin America, population growth is a deterrent to the acceleration

of average income. It absorbs capital, and by preventing average income from keeping pace with rising expectations, may make for political instability and thus retard economic progress. Mexico, India, and Pakistan are cases in point; estimates have been made which reveal the great gains to be had from low natality. Even where additional population is beneficial, it had best be achieved through low rather than high rates of growth; then release could be given more effectively to the advantages that could be associated with greater density in some countries, particularly if some of the non-viable smaller countries were consolidated into larger and hence economically more viable units.

In the future, economic growth will depend mainly upon invention, innovation, technical progress, capital formation, and institutionalized growth-favoring arrangements. Population growth will play an even smaller role than I have assigned it in earlier discussion. It is high time, therefore, that businessmen cease looking upon the stork as a bird of good omen and as means, along with progressive inflation, of liquidating poor judgment, weakness, inflexibility, and capitulation to greed.

Ceus

ADDRESS to the UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

BY

ROBERT S. McNAMARA

PRESIDENT, WORLD BANK GROUP

Notre Dame, Indiana
May 1, 1969

Presidential Message on Population

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Maurice H. Stans, Secretary
Rocco C. Siciliano, Under Secretary
William H. Chartener, Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
A. Ross Eckler, Director

SUGGESTED CITATION

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September 1969

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TABLE 1. METROPOLITAN AREAS—SMSA'S

	SMSA	POPULATION [1]								
		1967 (July 1)	1966 (July 1)		1960 (Apr. 1)	Percent change, 1960–1966		Average annual change, 1960–1966	Projections [2]	
			Rank	Total		Total	Net migration		Average annual change, 1965–1975	1975
		1,000		*1,000*	*1,000*			*Percent*	*Percent*	*1,000*
1	United States	197,863	(X)	195,936	[3]179,311	9.3	1.2	1.4	1.0	214,384
2	SMSA's, 250,000 or more†	(NA)	(X)	113,780	101,483	10.5	2.3	1.6	(NA)	(NA)
3	Akron, Ohio	663	49	652	605	7.8	−0.5	1.2	(*)	(*)
4	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, N.Y.	704	47	702	658	6.8	1.3	1.1	0.7	745
5	Albuquerque, N. Mex	(NA)	102	289	262	10.1	−4.2	1.6	2.0	352
6	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, Pa.-N.J.	525	63	522	492	6.1	1.3	0.9	0.5	542
7	Anaheim-Santa Ana-Garden Grove, Calif.	1,215	25	1,161	704	65.0	50.3	8.3	(NA)	(NA)
8	Atlanta, Ga	1,290	21	1,255	1,017	23.4	12.5	3.4	2.1	1,496
9	Bakersfield, Calif	323	89	324	292	11.1	0.4	1.7	1.6	373
10	Baltimore, Md	1,967	12	1,963	1,804	8.8	0.4	1.4	(*)	(*)
11	Beaumont-Port Arthur-Orange, Tex.	314	93	312	306	1.8	−7.7	0.3	(*)	(*)
12	Binghamton, N.Y.-Pa	301	98	298	284	5.2	−2.6	0.8	(*)	(*)
13	Birmingham, Ala	739	45	737	721	2.2	−4.8	0.4	(*)	(*)
14	Boston, Mass. SEA	3,243	6	3,227	3,109	3.8	−2.8	0.6	0.4	3,334
15	Boston, Mass. SMSA	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	2,595	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
16	Bridgeport, Conn. SEA	773	41	759	654	16.2	9.2	2.4	1.6	874
17	Bridgeport, Conn. SMSA	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	338	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
18	Buffalo, N.Y	1,321	19	1,324	1,307	1.3	−5.6	0.2	0.2	1,349
19	Canton, Ohio	360	81	356	340	4.7	−2.1	0.7	0.5	375
20	Charleston, S.C	(NA)	92	313	255	23.1	9.0	3.4	(*)	(*)
21	Charleston, W. Va	(NA)	127	240	253	−4.9	−12.3	−0.8	−0.7	228
22	Charlotte, N.C	377	79	371	317	17.1	6.5	2.6	(*)	(*)
23	Chattanooga, Tenn.-Ga	303	99	296	283	4.5	−3.1	0.7	0.4	303
24	Chicago, Ill	6,780	3	6,711	6,221	7.9	−0.4	1.2	0.9	7,288
25	Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind	1,362	17	1,353	1,268	6.7	−1.8	1.0	(*)	(*)
26	Cleveland, Ohio	2,056	11	2,050	1,909	7.3	0.1	1.1	(*)	(*)
27	Columbia, S.C	(NA)	95	309	261	18.6	8.4	2.8	1.5	335
28	Columbus, Ohio	861	34	857	755	13.5	3.6	2.0	(*)	(*)
29	Corpus Christi, Tex	292	105	286	267	7.3	−6.4	1.1	(*)	(*)
30	Dallas, Tex	1,412	16	1,363	1,119	21.7	10.6	3.2	(*)	(*)
31	Davenport-Rock Island-Moline, Iowa-Ill.	359	82	353	319	10.5	2.6	1.6	(*)	(*)
32	Dayton, Ohio	823	38	808	727	11.1	2.0	1.7	(*)	(*)
33	Denver, Colo	1,098	27	1,074	929	15.6	5.3	2.3	2.0	1,317
34	Des Moines, Iowa	(NA)	108	274	266	2.9	−5.1	0.5	0.2	276
35	Detroit, Mich	4,111	5	4,073	3,762	8.3	−0.4	1.3	0.5	4,174
36	Duluth-Superior, Minn.-Wis.	274	112	269	277	−2.8	−8.1	−0.5	−0.5	255
37	El Paso, Tex	346	85	347	314	19.6	−5.8	1.6	1.4	395
38	Erie, Pa	(NA)	121	256	251	2.1	−5.1	0.3	(Z)	254
39	Flint, Mich	477	69	473	416	13.5	1.8	2.0	(*)	(*)
40	Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood, Fla.	490	70	466	334	39.5	32.7	5.5	4.3	670
41	Fort Worth, Tex	660	51	637	573	11.0	1.8	1.7	1.3	713
42	Fresno, Calif	414	73	411	366	12.3	2.0	1.9	1.9	485
43	Gary-Hammond-East Chicago, Ind.	603	55	603	574	5.1	−5.3	0.8	0.8	644
44	Grand Rapids, Mich	511	65	505	462	9.3	−0.7	1.4	(*)	(*)
45	Greensboro-Winston-Salem-High Point, N.C.	584	58	579	520	11.4	2.3	1.7	(*)	(*)
46	Greenville, S.C	(NA)	109	273	257	6.2	−3.4	1.0	(*)	(*)
47	Harrisburg, Pa	394	75	393	372	5.8	−0.3	0.9	(*)	(*)
48	Hartford, Conn. SEA	791	40	783	690	13.6	5.3	2.1	1.4	884
49	Hartford, Conn. SMSA	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	549	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
50	Honolulu, Hawaii	618	56	596	500	19.2	4.2	2.8	1.2	646
51	Houston, Tex	1,797	14	1,743	1,418	22.9	11.1	3.4	(*)	(*)
52	Huntington-Ashland, W. Va.-Ky.-Ohio.	(NA)	117	260	255	2.0	−4.6	0.3	0.1	262
53	Indianapolis, Ind	1,046	30	1,030	944	9.0	−0.5	1.4	(*)	(*)
54	Jacksonville, Fla	507	66	501	455	10.0	−1.1	1.5	1.5	579
55	Jersey City, N.J	620	52	620	611	1.6	−3.7	0.2	−0.2	607
56	Johnstown, Pa	270	111	270	281	−4.0	−8.2	−0.6	−0.9	246
57	Kansas City, Mo.-Kans	1,215	23	1,201	1,093	9.9	1.3	1.5	(*)	(*)
58	Knoxville, Tenn	395	74	395	368	7.4	−0.3	1.1	0.4	405
59	Lancaster, Pa	300	100	295	278	5.9	−1.7	0.9	0.6	305
60	Lansing, Mich	356	83	350	299	17.1	6.5	2.6	1.5	389
61	Little Rock-North Little Rock, Ark.	321	91	314	272	15.5	5.4	2.3	(*)	(*)

See notes on pp. 916-918.

WITH 250,000 POPULATION OR MORE

Non-white population, 1960 [1]	Land area [3]	Population per square mile, 1966 [1 3]	BIRTHS, 1967 [4] Total	BIRTHS, 1967 [4] Rate [5]	DEATHS, 1967 [4] Total	DEATHS, 1967 [4] Rate [5]	MARRIAGES, 1966 [4] Total	MARRIAGES, 1966 [4] Rate [6]	DIVORCES, 1966 [4 7] Total	DIVORCES, 1966 [4 7] Rate [6]	
Percent	*Sq. mi.*										
[8] 11.4	3,540,939	55	3,520,959	17.8	1,851,323	9.4	1,857,294	9.5	494,615	2.5	1
11.7	250,242	449	2,071,444	(NA)	1,051,879	(NA)	947,175	8.3	284,378	2.5	2
7.3	905	721	11,591	17.5	5,626	8.5	4,767	7.3	1,920	2.9	3
2.6	2,216	317	12,603	17.0	7,816	11.1	4,818	6.9	655	0.9	4
3.3	1,169	247	6,188	(NA)	1,850	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	[9] 1,094	[9] 3.8	5
0.8	1,086	481	7,926	15.1	5,510	10.5	[10] 3,865	[10] 7.4	795	1.5	6
1.4	782	1,485	23,141	19.0	7,290	6.0	8,719	7.5	4,437	3.8	7
22.8	1,727	727	25,619	19.9	9,900	7.7	12,172	9.7	4,070	3.2	8
7.8	8,152	40	6,051	18.4	2,520	7.7	2,321	7.2	1,117	3.4	9
21.6	2,259	869	36,196	18.4	18,602	9.5	19,110	9.7	4,164	2.1	10
20.7	1,310	238	5,337	17.0	2,351	7.5	3,790	12.2	1,520	4.9	11
0.6	2,072	144	5,490	18.3	2,895	9.6	2,327	7.8	206	0.7	12
32.1	2,721	271	12,397	16.8	7,223	9.8	7,375	10.0	2,748	3.7	13
2.9	1,769	1,824	57,678	17.8	34,541	10.7	23,603	7.3	5,601	1.7	14
3.4	987	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	15
5.3	627	1,211	12,453	16.1	6,682	8.6	5,795	7.6	1,074	1.4	16
5.3	193	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	17
6.8	1,591	832	23,152	17.5	13,438	10.2	9,202	7.0	999	0.8	18
5.4	576	619	6,183	17.2	3,448	9.6	2,774	7.8	853	2.4	19
38.5	2,049	153	6,850	(NA)	2,176	(NA)	3,252	10.4	588	1.9	20
5.8	907	265	3,840	(NA)	2,239	(NA)	2,030	8.4	613	2.5	21
24.2	1,183	314	7,074	18.8	2,811	7.5	1,847	5.0	905	2.4	22
17.6	995	297	5,489	18.1	2,768	9.1	2,092	7.1	1,246	4.2	23
14.8	3,720	1,804	128,830	19.0	66,706	9.8	60,179	9.0	17,619	2.6	24
10.4	2,150	629	25,176	18.5	13,394	9.8	11,667	8.6	3,593	2.7	25
13.7	1,519	1,349	35,699	17.4	19,544	9.5	15,491	7.6	5,285	2.6	26
29.0	1,465	211	5,579	(NA)	2,225	(NA)	3,175	10.3	487	1.6	27
11.0	1,494	574	16,412	19.1	6,986	8.1	7,008	8.2	2,524	2.9	28
4.2	1,531	187	6,153	21.0	1,912	6.5	3,167	11.1	1,091	3.8	29
15.0	4,564	299	27,835	19.7	10,470	7.4	15,263	11.2	7,559	5.5	30
2.1	1,704	207	6,972	19.4	3,280	9.1	3,411	9.7	1,301	3.7	31
9.7	1,708	473	15,122	18.4	6,731	8.2	6,803	8.5	3,012	3.7	32
4.2	3,660	293	20,102	18.3	8,549	7.8	10,927	10.2	4,579	4.3	33
4.1	594	461	5,093	(NA)	2,611	(NA)	2,245	8.2	1,034	3.8	34
13.1	1,952	2,087	77,531	18.9	35,304	8.6	36,489	9.0	10,482	2.6	35
0.8	7,397	36	4,184	15.3	3,044	11.1	1,982	7.4	454	1.7	36
3.3	1,058	328	8,241	23.8	2,006	5.8	3,744	10.8	1,189	3.4	37
2.8	813	315	4,842	(NA)	2,592	(NA)	2,448	9.6	435	1.7	38
9.0	1,300	363	10,200	21.4	3,524	7.4	4,879	10.3	1,490	3.2	39
16.6	1,219	382	7,023	14.3	5,303	10.8	4,093	8.8	1,797	3.9	40
10.7	1,607	396	12,609	19.1	5,453	8.3	6,329	9.9	3,684	5.8	41
7.5	5,968	69	7,728	18.7	3,451	8.3	3,135	7.6	1,206	2.9	42
15.3	937	643	11,998	19.9	4,833	8.0	6,111	10.1	673	1.1	43
3.4	1,420	355	9,743	19.0	4,316	8.4	4,854	9.6	1,256	2.5	44
19.9	2,207	263	10,319	17.7	4,628	7.9	4,860	8.4	1,637	2.8	45
16.3	1,294	211	5,295	(NA)	2,372	(NA)	3,681	13.5	633	2.3	46
6.3	1,624	242	6,381	16.2	4,002	10.2	2,725	6.9	726	1.8	47
4.7	739	1,060	13,737	17.4	6,946	8.8	5,705	7.3	920	1.2	48
5.4	672	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	49
64.3	596	1,001	12,574	20.3	2,778	4.5	4,933	8.3	802	1.3	50
19.8	6,286	277	35,550	19.8	12,454	6.9	18,008	10.3	7,875	4.5	51
3.0	1,408	184	4,388	(NA)	2,561	(NA)	2,274	8.8	806	3.1	52
10.8	3,080	334	20,672	19.8	9,740	9.3	10,474	10.2	4,232	4.1	53
23.4	766	654	9,954	19.6	4,299	8.5	3,767	7.5	2,075	4.1	54
6.9	47	13,199	10,696	17.2	7,470	12.0	[19] 4,780	[10] 7.7	618	1.0	55
1.3	1,780	151	4,159	15.4	3,158	11.7	1,688	6.3	256	0.9	56
10.9	2,767	434	21,251	17.5	10,898	9.0	11,021	9.2	4,612	3.8	57
7.5	1,418	279	6,394	16.2	3,307	8.4	3,325	8.4	1,321	3.3	58
1.3	946	312	5,221	17.4	2,683	8.9	2,057	7.0	462	1.6	59
2.8	1,702	206	7,291	20.5	2,527	7.1	3,841	11.0	1,034	3.0	60
19.9	1,488	211	6,012	18.7	2,681	8.3	3,087	9.8	1,604	5.4	61

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U. S. Bureau of the Census, Metropolitan Area Statistics, Reprinted from Statistical Abstract of the United States 1969.

TABLE 1. METROPOLITAN AREAS—SMSA's

	SMSA	HEALTH, 1967 [1]					EDUCATION			
		Physicians [2]		Hospitals [3]		Dentists [3]	Median years of school completed, 1960 [4]	Pupils in public school, through grade 12, 1968 [5]	Public school teachers, Oct. 1967 [6]	
		Total	Rate per 100,000 population	Number	Beds				Total	Average earnings
								1,000		*Dollars*
1	United States	277,177	140.1	5,844	781,068	106,662	10.6	42,406	2,306,079	682
2	SMSA's, 250,000 or more†	202,251	(NA)	2,171	471,541	73,603	(NA)	24,123	1,196,726	(NA)
3	Akron, Ohio	838	126.5	7	2,209	325	11.4	154	7,122	747
4	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, N.Y.	1,336	189.7	16	3,270	416	11.0	132	8,193	763
5	Albuquerque, N. Mex	478	(NA)	6	1,038	152	12.2	77	3,388	629
6	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, Pa.-N.J.	656	125.0	6	1,966	288	9.8	105	5,068	637
7	Anaheim-Santa Ana-Garden Grove, Calif.	1,773	145.9	21	3,091	746	12.2	323	14,215	881
8	Atlanta, Ga	2,017	156.4	17	4,112	658	11.1	282	14,456	632
9	Bakersfield, Calif	336	102.4	10	1,234	120	10.9	87	4,290	751
10	Baltimore, Md	4,387	223.0	23	7,916	860	9.6	425	22,094	741
11	Beaumont-Port Arthur-Orange, Tex.	304	96.9	8	1,135	137	10.8	71	3,862	588
12	Binghamton, N.Y.-Pa	399	132.7	7	1,404	155	11.0	75	4,545	715
13	Birmingham, Ala	1,126	152.3	18	3,344	393	9.6	[10] 179	7,697	569
14	Boston, Mass. SEA	8,242	254.2	81	15,055	2,587	12.0	647	33,487	689
15	Boston, Mass. SMSA	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	12.1	(NA)	27,709	700
16	Bridgeport, Conn. SEA	1,343	173.7	9	2,562	612	11.6	154	8,250	817
17	Bridgeport, Conn. SMSA	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	10.6	(NA)	3,642	783
18	Buffalo, N.Y	2,282	172.8	26	6,590	907	10.5	266	14,714	850
19	Canton, Ohio	379	105.3	5	1,322	174	10.7	82	3,702	627
20	Charleston, S.C	430	(NA)	7	1,203	83	10.0	78	3,075	540
21	Charleston, W. Va	317	(NA)	9	1,267	116	10.1	57	2,380	609
22	Charlotte, N.C	458	121.4	6	1,733	163	11.4	91	4,524	638
23	Chattanooga, Tenn.-Ga	390	128.7	11	1,395	139	9.6	64	3,365	626
24	Chicago, Ill	11,227	165.6	114	29,419	4,610	10.9	1,304	63,952	758
25	Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind	2,157	158.3	18	4,954	575	10.2	271	14,308	703
26	Cleveland, Ohio	3,986	193.9	32	8,362	1,359	11.1	411	19,695	702
27	Columbia, S.C	351	(NA)	4	1,094	129	10.5	71	3,133	524
28	Columbus, Ohio	1,532	177.9	12	3,089	633	11.9	196	8,780	584
29	Corpus Christi, Tex	315	107.7	10	1,088	114	10.7	69	3,945	562
30	Dallas, Tex	2,182	154.5	44	4,974	737	11.7	287	14,711	561
31	Davenport-Rock Island-Moline, Iowa-Ill.	301	83.8	8	1,515	164	11.0	80	4,009	660
32	Dayton, Ohio	831	101.0	8	2,575	359	11.4	197	9,416	677
33	Denver, Colo	2,505	228.2	21	4,751	775	12.2	275	13,873	615
34	Des Moines, Iowa	366	(NA)	6	1,505	181	12.2	65	3,074	695
35	Detroit, Mich	5,651	137.5	65	14,172	2,286	10.8	950	46,023	887
36	Duluth-Superior, Minn.-Wis.	304	111.1	14	1,925	179	11.0	67	3,141	656
37	El Paso, Tex	288	83.2	9	1,340	107	11.2	87	4,846	651
38	Erie, Pa	264	(NA)	4	1,049	150	11.1	56	2,504	635
39	Flint, Mich	484	101.5	7	1,823	198	10.8	131	6,217	777
40	Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood, Fla.	772	157.7	8	1,698	358	11.9	96	3,707	717
41	Fort Worth, Tex	664	100.5	20	2,156	284	11.4	147	7,339	580
42	Fresno, Calif	510	123.2	10	1,492	216	10.5	109	5,103	765
43	Gary-Hammond-East Chicago, Ind.	493	81.7	5	1,643	165	10.5	145	7,457	824
44	Grand Rapids, Mich	604	118.1	8	1,627	296	10.9	117	5,156	630
45	Greensboro-Winston-Salem-High Point, N.C.	778	133.2	10	2,357	234	9.9	134	6,056	619
46	Greenville, S.C	290	(NA)	7	969	90	9.8	70	2,879	512
47	Harrisburg, Pa	575	146.0	7	1,957	208	11.1	93	4,761	602
48	Hartford, Conn. SEA	1,506	190.4	9	2,883	520	11.1	172	9,316	777
49	Hartford, Conn. SMSA	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	11.5	(NA)	8,089	786
50	Honolulu, Hawaii	868	140.4	11	1,514	392	12.0	169	(NA)	(NA)
51	Houston, Tex	2,720	151.3	48	7,888	880	11.4	397	20,347	599
52	Huntington-Ashland, W. Va.-Ky.-Ohio.	262	(NA)	8	1,610	116	9.4	57	2,687	569
53	Indianapolis, Ind	1,605	153.4	16	4,026	665	11.4	233	11,624	713
54	Jacksonville, Fla	575	113.4	8	1,576	192	10.8	120	5,605	578
55	Jersey City, N.J	824	132.9	12	3,489	385	9.2	85	4,328	672
56	Johnstown, Pa	251	92.9	9	1,459	125	8.9	55	2,485	624
57	Kansas City, Mo.-Kans	1,788	147.2	26	5,412	770	12.0	282	13,738	589
58	Knoxville, Tenn	533	134.9	10	1,965	194	9.9	82	3,969	567
59	Lancaster, Pa	299	99.5	4	1,008	148	9.5	70	3,280	618
60	Lansing, Mich	351	98.6	8	1,219	183	12.0	87	4,070	778
61	Little Rock-North Little Rock, Ark.	612	190.6	8	1,690	149	11.1	65	2,964	548

See notes on pp. 916–918.

WITH 250,000 POPULATION OR MORE—Continued

Median family income, 1959 [7]	PERSONAL INCOME, 1966 [8]					NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RETURNS, 1967 [9]					
	Per capita			Total	From wages and salaries	Total	With adjusted gross income of—				
	Rank	Total	Percent of national average				Under $3,000	$3,000–$5,000	$5,000–$10,000	$20,000 or more	
Dollars		*Dollars*		*Mil. dol.*	*Mil. dol.*	*1,000*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	
5,660	(X)	2,963	100	580,483	391,066	71,653	29.7	15.6	33.2	3.2	1
(NA)	(X)	3,393	115	386,104	271,659	41,839	26.6	14.4	33.8	3.9	2
6,667	50	3,111	105	1,997	1,459	236	22.2	16.1	36.7	3.2	3
6,095	56	3,068	104	2,197	1,568	258	27.3	10.7	38.1	3.1	4
6,252	81	2,820	95	814	590	97	26.6	17.9	33.3	3.4	5
5,845	53	3,090	104	1,636	1,164	217	22.4	18.7	40.4	2.6	6
7,219	26	3,380	114	3,230	2,237	484	26.8	11.2	28.4	4.6	7
5,758	34	3,247	110	4,123	3,114	457	29.5	14.6	29.6	4.2	8
5,933	73	2,902	98	975	627	104	32.5	13.6	30.2	2.7	9
6,185	42	3,180	107	6,292	4,600	742	28.8	16.2	31.9	3.1	10
5,910	87	2,758	93	884	630	100	29.1	9.5	36.4	2.4	11
6,118	52	3,097	105	865	615	95	32.9	10.1	33.2	3.1	12
4,931	94	2,636	89	1,946	1,354	219	27.4	16.1	36.6	3.1	13
6,554	[11] 25	[11] 3,423	[11] 116	[11] 12,034	[11] 8,476	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	14
6,687	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	1,017	27.9	15.7	32.8	3.9	15
7,371	24	3,439	116	2,603	1,699	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	16
6,796	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	153	24.2	11.6	29.6	3.6	17
6,455	44	3,155	106	4,180	2,972	466	24.5	11.7	40.0	2.7	18
6,161	63	3,017	102	1,093	780	119	27.0	12.8	38.8	2.6	19
4,366	110	1,941	66	601	447	89	29.1	16.4	39.0	2.0	20
5,862	77	2,861	97	706	499	81	30.9	12.7	35.6	2.7	21
5,362	43	3,158	107	1,185	900	124	25.4	11.5	37.9	3.6	22
4,958	84	2,788	94	867	615	104	40.1	16.3	26.8	2.8	23
7,342	2	3,982	131	26,229	18,755	2,758	24.1	13.4	33.4	4.4	24
6,271	49	3,119	105	4,229	2,884	504	27.2	16.0	34.4	2.9	25
6,938	16	3,559	120	7,375	5,276	741	25.6	11.3	35.5	3.8	26
4,540	97	2,565	87	768	592	109	30.1	15.8	40.1	2.1	27
6,311	67	2,990	101	2,594	1,938	316	22.4	15.1	38.7	3.3	28
4,759	104	2,365	80	680	433	97	34.3	13.4	36.7	2.5	29
5,859	38	3,201	108	4,350	3,128	494	24.7	20.3	31.1	3.9	30
6,265	21	3,461	117	1,202	867	123	29.1	12.7	32.4	2.9	31
6,626	28	3,310	112	2,753	2,079	285	23.8	10.7	38.1	3.7	32
6,551	36	3,233	109	3,517	2,488	405	26.4	11.8	36.4	3.6	33
6,464	6	3,824	129	1,057	760	104	30.3	15.4	24.7	3.2	34
6,825	11	3,695	125	15,013	11,008	1,511	23.3	11.9	33.4	3.8	35
5,456	93	2,665	90	715	493	98	28.6	10.4	45.2	1.7	36
5,157	108	2,288	77	802	608	97	30.1	24.4	27.1	2.5	37
5,736	65	3,005	101	766	525	103	22.5	14.6	45.6	2.2	38
6,230	27	3,348	113	1,587	1,150	129	19.8	11.2	33.9	3.3	39
4,996	79	2,841	96	1,129	594	176	31.3	17.8	33.5	3.5	40
5,617	74	2,887	97	1,831	1,322	246	26.5	12.4	37.8	3.0	41
5,634	[12] 91	2,688	91	1,107	671	135	28.1	23.9	27.6	3.2	42
6,548	41	3,182	107	1,960	1,511	227	25.3	9.9	43.5	1.6	43
6,232	40	3,185	107	1,610	1,124	194	27.9	14.5	34.5	3.3	44
5,270	69	2,975	100	1,767	1,269	228	37.2	14.7	29.4	2.8	45
4,707	85	2,778	94	759	564	109	32.4	19.0	32.1	2.3	46
5,794	76	2,872	97	1,157	862	160	23.0	16.6	41.1	2.1	47
7,054	10	3,707	125	3,173	2,297	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	48
7,173	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	240	29.9	10.6	31.8	4.4	49
6,792	37	3,202	108	1,873	1,419	198	28.4	17.5	27.4	4.2	50
5,900	71	2,929	99	5,113	3,674	622	26.6	13.1	34.5	3.9	51
4,977	98	2,561	86	671	461	84	31.0	20.2	29.7	2.4	52
6,422	19	3,487	118	3,589	2,592	373	25.3	14.4	32.7	3.5	53
5,345	86	2,774	94	1,401	1,046	159	30.2	20.1	32.2	2.6	54
6,151	15	3,567	120	2,262	1,680	246	30.0	16.3	37.8	1.6	55
4,574	109	2,156	73	587	400	83	32.0	9.1	48.4	1.1	56
6,262	32	3,275	111	3,961	2,846	453	25.9	13.6	34.6	3.1	57
4,908	99	2,557	86	999	723	121	32.2	16.0	35.1	2.7	58
5,810	51	3,106	105	899	607	103	26.7	16.3	34.4	2.7	59
6,177	60	3,030	102	1,052	753	124	21.1	16.5	36.4	3.5	60
4,892	88	2,740	92	877	607	109	20.5	19.8	33.4	2.3	61

TABLE 1. METROPOLITAN AREAS—SMSA's

	SMSA	EMPLOYEES ON NONAGRICULTURAL PAYROLLS [1]								
		1967	1968							
			Total	Manufacturing	Wholesale and retail trade	Services	Transportation and public utilities	Contract construction	Finance, insurance, and real estate	Government
		1,000	*1,000*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
1	**United States**	66,030	68,146	29.0	20.7	15.4	6.4	4.8	4.9	17.9
2	**SMSA's, 250,000 or more[f]**	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
3	Akron, Ohio	225.4	238.4	41.6	19.4	12.9	6.1	3.5	2.7	13.7
4	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, N.Y.	262.4	267.9	24.2	19.5	16.6	5.5	4.6	3.9	25.8
5	Albuquerque, N. Mex	98.0	98.2	7.6	24.5	24.5	6.6	6.0	5.7	24.9
6	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, Pa.-N.J.	207.0	211.9	50.1	16.4	11.9	5.4	4.1	3.0	8.8
7	Anaheim-Santa Ana-Garden Grove, Calif.	352.2	378.9	33.7	22.5	15.4	3.1	5.0	4.4	15.4
8	Atlanta, Ga	534.3	552.9	21.2	26.5	14.5	9.8	6.4	7.0	14.6
9	Bakersfield, Calif	86.8	89.1	9.4	22.9	15.4	6.7	3.5	3.3	28.7
10	Baltimore, Md	757.7	776.3	26.6	20.9	16.1	7.1	5.4	5.2	18.6
11	Beaumont-Port Arthur-Orange, Tex.	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
12	Binghamton, N.Y.-Pa	104.3	104.6	42.9	16.4	10.9	4.6	4.7	3.0	17.4
13	Birmingham, Ala	244.3	247.0	27.4	23.1	13.6	7.4	5.9	6.8	13.4
14	Boston, Mass. SEA	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
15	Boston, Mass. SMSA	1,231.4	1,255.1	23.6	22.6	23.7	5.4	4.2	7.0	13.5
16	Bridgeport, Conn. SEA	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
17	Bridgeport, Conn. SMSA	148.1	150.3	51.6	17.3	12.0	4.0	3.7	2.9	8.5
18	Buffalo, N.Y	483.6	494.1	36.0	20.1	14.3	6.6	4.3	3.7	15.0
19	Canton, Ohio	127.1	131.2	46.1	18.5	13.1	5.2	4.3	3.4	9.2
20	Charleston, S.C	81.1	84.6	17.7	19.4	11.5	6.1	6.5	3.9	34.9
21	Charleston, W. Va	84.5	84.3	24.1	22.1	13.5	10.4	4.7	4.4	16.7
22	Charlotte, N.C	156.0	165.7	24.5	25.9	14.1	10.8	7.0	6.7	11.0
23	Chattanooga, Tenn.-Ga	119.2	120.9	41.9	18.2	12.0	5.3	4.5	5.6	12.4
24	Chicago, Ill	2,899.4	2,959.6	32.8	22.3	16.3	6.9	4.1	5.9	11.5
25	Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind	470.7	487.1	34.9	20.9	14.5	7.1	4.4	5.1	13.1
26	Cleveland, Ohio	816.7	841.5	37.1	20.6	14.8	6.0	4.3	4.7	12.4
27	Columbia, S.C	94.1	99.9	19.2	20.6	13.0	6.2	7.3	5.7	28.0
28	Columbus, Ohio	335.3	352.7	25.2	20.8	15.7	5.6	5.3	6.4	20.8
29	Corpus Christi, Tex	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
30	Dallas, Tex	554.5	584.7	27.4	26.1	14.0	8.1	5.3	7.9	9.9
31	Davenport-Rock Island-Moline, Iowa-Ill.	133.6	133.4	34.9	21.5	12.8	5.3	5.3	3.8	16.3
32	Dayton, Ohio	310.2	318.1	40.1	17.8	13.7	3.8	3.6	2.8	18.1
33	Denver, Colo	413.2	434.0	17.6	25.2	18.1	7.9	5.5	6.1	18.6
34	Des Moines, Iowa	121.5	124.5	21.1	25.4	16.7	7.2	4.7	10.9	13.9
35	Detroit, Mich	1,413.4	1,440.6	41.2	20.5	13.5	5.3	3.1	4.3	12.1
36	Duluth-Superior, Minn.-Wis	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)
37	El Paso, Tex	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
38	Erie, Pa	91.7	93.6	45.5	17.5	12.9	5.7	4.2	3.3	10.9
39	Flint, Mich	149.0	153.6	54.0	15.2	10.2	3.4	3.6	2.5	11.3
40	Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood, Fla.	125.8	139.5	12.9	28.5	20.2	4.8	12.0	6.3	15.3
41	Fort Worth, Tex	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
42	Fresno, Calif	106.4	110.5	15.1	26.7	17.4	7.3	4.9	4.9	23.1
43	Gary-Hammond-East Chicago, Ind.	212.8	213.4	48.9	16.4	9.7	6.1	6.4	2.7	9.8
44	Grand Rapids, Mich	174.7	177.5	42.3	21.8	12.6	5.5	5.1	3.8	9.0
45	Greensboro-Winston-Salem-High Point, N.C.	240.9	246.4	44.9	17.7	11.0	5.7	5.0	4.7	11.0
46	Greenville, S.C	114.1	118.5	46.1	16.7	9.8	3.7	8.5	3.6	11.5
47	Harrisburg, Pa	160.7	165.7	23.7	18.9	14.2	7.7	5.0	4.8	25.8
48	Hartford, Conn. SEA	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
49	Hartford, Conn. SMSA	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)
50	Honolulu, Hawaii	204.8	215.6	7.8	23.6	18.6	8.0	7.5	6.3	28.2
51	Houston, Tex	650.9	694.0	19.7	24.7	17.1	8.9	9.3	5.1	11.4
52	Huntington-Ashland, W. Va.-Ky.-Ohio.	80.6	80.4	31.6	21.1	12.3	10.0	5.3	3.4	15.2
53	Indianapolis, Ind	402.3	412.2	32.7	22.1	11.9	6.6	4.4	6.8	15.4
54	Jacksonville, Fla	176.8	180.7	12.8	28.0	15.3	10.6	6.0	9.1	18.1
55	Jersey City, N.J	262.7	263.9	43.0	15.3	11.0	13.7	2.7	3.3	11.0
56	Johnstown, Pa	75.8	77.5	32.6	17.2	14.8	6.7	4.3	2.6	15.4
57	Kansas City, Mo.-Kans	483.2	497.4	26.2	24.1	14.8	10.1	5.2	6.2	13.3
58	Knoxville, Tenn	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)
59	Lancaster, Pa	112.6	114.5	48.4	17.9	13.5	4.6	5.1	2.3	8.3
60	Lansing, Mich	120.9	125.6	30.5	16.7	11.5	2.6	4.1	3.7	30.8
61	Little Rock-North Little Rock, Ark.	115.4	117.1	21.5	21.7	14.9	7.7	7.3	7.2	19.8

See notes on pp. 916–918.

WITH 250,000 POPULATION OR MORE—Continued

TOTAL WORK FORCE [2]		UNEMPLOYMENT (annual average) [3]								HOURS AND EARNINGS, PRODUCTION WORKERS IN MANUFACTURING, 1968 [1]			
		1966		1967		1968							
								Insured					
1967	1968	Total	As percent of total work force	Total	As percent of total work force	Total	As percent of total work force	Total	As percent of covered employment	Average weekly hours	Average weekly earnings	Average hourly earnings	
1,000	*1,000*	*1,000*		*1,000*		*1,000*		*1,000*			*Dollars*	*Dollars*	
77,317.0	78,737.0	2,875.0	3.8	2,975.0	3.8	2,817.0	3.6	1,110.6	2.2	40.7	123	3.01	1
(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	2
257.3	266.8	6.4	2.6	7.1	2.8	6.6	2.5	1.7	0.7	42.5	160	3.75	3
301.7	305.4	9.6	3.2	9.9	3.3	9.2	3.0	3.5	1.6	40.6	130	3.21	4
115.2	114.8	5.1	4.5	5.1	4.4	5.0	4.4	1.7	2.2	41.3	112	2.70	5
234.9	237.7	5.1	2.2	5.5	2.3	4.5	1.9	2.7	1.4	39.0	115	2.94	6
419.0	445.7	16.4	4.2	17.5	4.2	16.8	3.8	7.8	2.5	41.0	139	3.39	7
613.1	633.1	16.2	2.8	16.5	2.7	16.6	2.6	3.2	0.7	40.6	120	2.96	8
(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	41.0	142	3.47	9
855.0	879.0	23.7	2.9	24.3	2.8	25.7	2.9	9.7	1.7	40.6	126	3.11	10
121.5	122.2	4.8	3.9	5.5	4.5	5.5	4.5	1.5	1.8	41.2	152	3.68	11
124.3	123.6	4.2	3.4	4.1	3.3	3.9	3.2	1.3	1.5	40.8	120	2.93	12
290.8	293.0	12.1	4.2	11.9	4.1	12.7	4.3	4.4	2.2	41.5	127	3.06	13
(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	14
1,380.0	1,402.9	47.9	3.6	45.3	3.3	45.2	3.2	19.5	2.0	39.8	122	3.07	15
(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	16
167.6	170.7	5.7	3.5	6.0	3.6	7.2	4.2	3.7	2.7	42.2	133	3.16	17
554.3	562.2	21.1	3.9	22.5	4.1	21.5	3.8	9.3	2.2	41.9	147	3.52	18
146.3	150.1	4.1	2.9	4.6	3.1	4.5	3.0	1.5	1.3	40.6	136	3.36	19
102.4	105.4	4.1	4.1	4.4	4.3	4.1	3.9	0.8	1.4	41.5	111	2.68	20
97.7	97.7	4.7	4.9	4.4	4.5	4.5	4.6	1.2	1.8	41.6	146	3.50	21
186.8	195.8	5.5	3.1	5.6	3.0	6.2	3.1	0.9	0.7	41.1	93	2.27	22
140.5	142.0	4.1	3.0	4.2	3.0	4.2	3.0	1.4	1.4	40.6	108	2.67	23
3,227.6	3,282.0	81.9	2.6	88.0	2.7	87.0	2.7	24.8	1.1	40.8	134	3.28	24
541.2	556.3	15.9	3.0	16.7	3.1	16.6	3.0	4.6	1.2	42.0	133	3.18	25
918.1	936.3	23.1	2.6	25.8	2.8	23.4	2.5	5.5	0.8	42.1	147	3.49	26
(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	27
380.0	396.3	9.3	2.5	9.5	2.5	8.9	2.2	1.7	0.6	40.5	132	3.27	28
94.1	95.1	3.4	3.7	3.7	3.9	3.3	3.5	0.6	0.9	42.5	139	3.28	29
634.0	662.3	14.7	2.4	12.8	2.0	10.7	1.6	1.7	0.3	41.3	113	2.74	30
157.2	157.6	3.8	2.5	4.4	2.8	5.9	3.7	2.2	2.1	39.8	146	3.66	31
351.6	360.6	8.1	2.4	8.2	2.3	8.5	2.4	1.8	0.8	42.6	161	3.77	32
479.4	499.8	14.8	3.2	14.5	3.0	14.5	2.9	1.9	0.6	41.0	133	3.24	33
139.0	141.2	2.4	1.8	3.0	2.2	2.9	2.0	0.7	0.7	40.0	137	3.43	34
1,630.6	1,651.0	52.4	3.3	68.6	4.2	66.4	4.0	24.6	2.0	44.0	173	3.93	35
(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	36
115.4	117.4	4.8	4.4	4.5	3.9	4.7	4.0	1.3	1.7	39.9	82	2.06	37
107.4	108.3	3.1	2.9	3.8	3.5	3.3	3.0	1.4	1.7	42.0	129	3.07	38
176.6	176.4	6.0	3.4	6.0	3.4	6.3	3.6	3.0	2.3	42.9	184	4.29	39
(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	40.2	104	2.59	40
275.4	287.5	7.5	2.9	6.5	2.4	5.9	2.1	0.8	0.4	42.0	129	3.08	41
174.8	177.0	11.4	6.5	12.2	7.1	11.0	6.3	5.0	7.5	38.4	116	3.02	42
234.0	235.7	6.3	2.7	6.9	2.9	7.9	3.3	2.3	1.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	43
207.1	210.3	6.5	3.2	8.4	4.1	8.4	4.0	3.1	2.0	41.1	134	3.27	44
284.4	293.5	7.2	2.6	7.1	2.5	6.6	2.2	1.8	0.8	39.3	94	2.38	45
135.4	139.1	3.6	2.8	4.6	3.4	4.1	2.9	1.1	1.2	40.9	90	2.20	46
181.8	186.9	4.3	2.4	4.2	2.3	4.5	2.4	1.6	1.4	40.1	109	2.73	47
(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	48
(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	49
236.0	246.3	7.0	3.1	7.9	3.3	6.9	2.8	3.0	2.2	39.8	112	2.81	50
759.8	802.8	17.2	2.4	15.7	2.1	15.6	1.9	2.1	0.4	43.2	141	3.27	51
97.6	97.6	4.7	4.8	5.1	5.2	5.8	5.9	2.1	4.4	39.6	133	3.35	52
454.8	464.1	9.7	2.2	10.4	2.3	11.9	2.6	2.9	0.9	41.4	139	3.36	53
205.7	209.4	4.4	2.2	4.5	2.2	4.8	2.3	1.0	0.7	40.3	107	2.66	54
294.2	296.3	12.9	4.4	14.5	4.9	15.7	5.3	9.1	4.2	40.6	126	3.10	55
91.6	93.2	4.2	4.6	5.0	5.5	5.0	5.4	2.9	4.3	37.5	117	3.12	56
571.1	585.2	22.4	4.0	23.1	4.0	22.5	3.8	5.0	2.1	40.8	127	3.12	57
(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)	58
137.3	139.3	2.0	1.5	2.5	1.8	2.9	2.1	1.2	1.1	40.0	108	2.69	59
142.1	147.6	3.4	2.5	4.0	2.8	4.4	3.0	1.8	2.3	43.4	174	4.02	60
135.7	136.5	3.2	2.4	3.8	2.8	3.6	2.6	0.8	0.9	40.3	94	2.32	61

Notes

Standard Notes

† Totals include SEA figures shown for New England areas when SMSA data were not available.
* Available data not comparable with current area definition.
– Represents zero.
NA Not available. S Suppressed because of limited reliability.
X Not applicable. Z Less than 0.05 percent.

Pages 864 and 865

[1] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *U.S. Census of Population: 1960*, Vol. I. *Characteristics of the Population;* and *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25. [2] Consistent with State population projection, Series I-D. Migration Series I assumes the continuation of gross migration patterns within the range observed during the 1955-65 period. The letter D relates to fertility assumption from the national projections in Series P-25, No. 381, and assumes a slight decline from present levels of fertility.
[3] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Area Measurement Reports*, Series GE-20.
[4] Source: Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Health Statistics; *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1966* and *1967*. Rates computed using population estimates shown in Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25. [5] Per 1,000 residing in area July 1, 1967. [6] Per 1,000 residing in area July 1, 1966.
[7] Includes annulments. [8] Adjusted to exclude 12,520 (of whom 1,697 were nonwhite), double count of Ft. Belvoir, Fairfax County, Va. [9] Partial report only. [10] Excludes marriages occurring on military posts in N.J., not distributed by county.

Pages 866 and 867

[1] Excludes Federal agencies. [2] Source: American Medical Association; *Distribution of Physicians, Hospitals, and Hospital Beds in the U.S.*, 1967. Copyright 1968. [3] Source: Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Health Statistics; *Small Area Data: Selected Health Occupations* (forthcoming).
[4] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *U.S. Census of Population: 1960*, Vol. I, *Characteristics of the Population*. Data for persons 25 years old and over.
[5] Source: Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education; *Education Directory 1968-69*, Part 2, *Public School Systems*. Includes all school systems with 300 or more pupils. The majority of States reported average daily membership; others reported average daily attendance, or enrollment. [6] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Census of Governments: 1967*, Vol. III, *Compendium of Public Employment*. [7] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *U.S. Census of Population: 1960*, Vol. I, *Characteristics of the Population*. Data are for families, 1960. [8] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Office of Business Economics; *Survey of Current Business*, August 1968. [9] Source: Treasury Dept., Internal Revenue Service; *Statistics of Income, 1967; Individual Income Tax Returns*. [10] 1967 enrollment. [11] Includes Brockton, Lawrence-Haverhill, and Lowell SMSA's and the non-SMSA portions of Essex, Middlesex, and Plymouth Counties. [12] Fresno and San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario SMSA's are identical in rank.

Pages 868 and 869

[1] Source: Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics; *Employment and Earnings and Monthly Report of the Labor Force*, Vol. 15, No. 11, May 1969. [2] Source: Dept. of Labor, U.S. Employment Service, unpublished data.
[3] Source: Dept. of Labor, Manpower Administration; *Statistics on Manpower*, March 1969.

Pages 870 and 871

[1] Source: Governmental Affairs Institute; *America Votes 7*, copyright by Congressional Quarterly, Inc., Washington, D.C., and unpublished data. [2] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Census of Governments: 1967*, Vol. I, *Governmental Organization*. [3] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Census of Governments: 1967*, Vol. V, *Local Governments in Metropolitan Areas*. [4] Excluding capital outlay. [5] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Census of Governments: 1967*, Vol. III, *Compendium of Public Employment*. [6] Includes votes for Wallace, candidate for regular Democratic Party in Ala. [7] No election in 1968. Data are for 1966. [8] Includes votes of Liberal Party. [9] Excludes N.J. portion. [10] Excludes Pa. portion. [11] Represents total of National Democratic Party and Independent Democratic Party (Humphrey, candidate). [12] Excludes Ga. portion; includes full-term election only. [13] Excludes Ky. and Ind. portions.
[14] Excludes Iowa portion. [15] Excludes Wis. portion. [16] Excludes Ky. and Ohio portions.
[17] Represents vote for Wallace, candidate for George Wallace Party. [18] No election in 1968. Data are for 1965.
[19] Excludes Kans. portion.

Pages 872 and 873

[1] Source: Dept. of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation; *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States, 1968*.
[2] Source: Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration; *Old-Age, Survivors, Disability, and Health Insurance, by State and County, December 1968*. [3] Source: Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration; *Health Insurance for the Aged, United States, 1966*, Section 2, *Enrollment*.
[4] Source: Office of Economic Opportunity; *Poverty Program Information, Fiscal Year 1967*, and *1968*.
[5] Includes multicounty funds for some counties outside SMSA, not allocable separately.

Pages 874 and 875

[1] Source: Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Service; *Recipients of Public Assistance and Total Assistance Payments, by Program, State, and County, June 1966* and *February 1969*.
[2] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *U.S. Census of Housing: 1960*, Vol. I, *States and Smaller Areas*. [3] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Construction Reports*, C42-68S, *Housing Authorized in Permit-Issuing Places*, and C40/C42-67-13, *Housing Authorized by Building Permits and Public Contracts: 1967*.
[4] Source: Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, Federal Housing Administration; *FHA Homes, 1967*.
[5] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Census of Governments: 1967*, Vol. 2, *Taxable Property Values*. Property subject to local general property taxation. [6] Estimates. [7] Includes Puerto Rico.
[8] Includes payments for medical care in N.J. [9] Excludes cases in State mental hospitals.
[10] General assistance portion, not shown separately, includes State funds only. [11] Excludes Class C cases.
[12] Excludes children in foster homes and institutions for Wis. portion of SMSA.

Pages 876 and 877

[1] Source: Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; *National Summary of Accounts and Deposits in All Commercial Banks, June 29, 1968;* and *Summary of Accounts and Deposits in All Mutual Savings Banks, June 29, 1968.*
[2] Includes commercial and mutual savings banks. [3] Excludes mutual savings banks. [4] For mutual savings banks, savings deposits only. [5] Source: Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System; *Bank Debits to Demand Deposit Accounts Except Interbank and U.S. Government Accounts—1968* (Report No. C.5). Data are for commercial banks only. [6] Source: Federal Home Loan Bank Board; *Combined Financial Statements, 1967*, and unpublished data. [7] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *County Business Patterns, 1967*. Data exclude railroad employees and self-employed persons. [8] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Annual Survey of Manufactures, 1966*. [9] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *1963 Census of Manufactures*, Vol. III, *Area Statistics*. [10] Excludes San Patricio County, withheld to avoid disclosure.
[11] Excludes Rockwall Co., added to SMSA, April 1967. [12] Excludes Rockwall Co., withheld to avoid disclosure.
Annual Survey of Manufacturers, 1966. [9] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *1963 Census of Manufacturers*, Vol. III, *Area Statistics*. [10] Excludes San Patricio County, withheld to avoid disclosure.
[11] Excludes Rockwall County, added to SMSA, April 1967. [12] Excludes Rockwall County, withheld to avoid disclosure.

Pages 878 and 879

[1] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *1963 Census of Business*, Vol. II, *Retail Trade—Area Statistics*. [2] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Current Retail Trade Reports, Monthly Retail Trade*. Data are not adjusted for seasonal variations or trading-day differences. [3] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *1963 Census of Business*, Vol. VII, *Selected Services—Area Statistics*. [4] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *1963 Census of Business*, Vol. V, *Wholesale Trade—Area Statistics*.
[5] Excludes Rockwall County, withheld to avoid disclosure.

Pages 880 and 881

[1-7] See notes 1-7 for pp. 864 and 865. [8] Excludes marriages occurring on military posts in N.J., not distributed by county. [9] Estimated. [10] Adjusted to exclude 12,520 (of whom 1,697 were nonwhite), double count of Ft. Belvoir, Fairfax County, Va.

Pages 882 and 883

[1-10] See notes 1-10 for pp. 866 and 867. [11] Fresno and San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario SMSA's are identical in rank.

Pages 884 and 885

[1-3] See notes 1-3 for pp. 868 and 869.

Pages 886 and 887

[1-5] See notes 1-5 for pp. 870 and 871. [6] No election in 1968. Data are for 1966. [7] Excludes Ind. portion. [8] No election in 1968. Data are for 1967. [9] Excludes Ark. portion. [10] Represents vote for Wallace, candidate for regular Democratic Party. [11] Includes votes of Liberal Party. [12] No election in 1968. Data are for 1965. [13] Includes full-term election only. [14] Excludes Iowa portion. [15] Excludes N.J. portion. [16] Excludes Wash. portion. [17] Excludes Ill. portion. [18] Excludes Mich. portion. [19] Excludes N.J. and Md. portions.

Pages 888 and 889

[1-5] See notes 1-5 for pp. 872 and 873.

Pages 890 and 891

[1-6] See notes 1-6 for pp. 874 and 875. [7] Excludes children in foster homes and institutions. [8] Includes vendor payments for medical care in N.J. [9] Excludes intermediate care for the aged, blind, and disabled.
[10] Includes work project cases. [11] Excludes cases in State mental hospitals.

Pages 892 and 893

[1-9] See notes 1-9 for pp. 876 and 877. [10] Excludes Loudoun County, withheld to avoid disclosure.

Pages 894 and 895

[1-4] See notes 1-4 for pp. 878 and 879. [5] Excludes Bristol County, R.I., withheld to avoid disclosure.
[6] Excludes Loudoun and Prince William Counties, withheld to avoid disclosure.

Pages 896 and 897

[1-4] See notes 1-4 for pp. 864 and 865. [5] Per 1,000 residing in area July 1, 1966. [6] Includes annulments.
[7] Adjusted to exclude 12,520 (of whom 1,697 were nonwhite), double count of Ft. Belvoir, Fairfax County, Va.
[8] Estimated. [9] Excludes marriages occurring on military posts in N.J., not distributed by county.
[10] SMSA data not available. Portion of SMSA in Mass. included in New Bedford SEA, shown below.
[11] SMSA data not available. Part of Worcester SEA; see table 1. [12] SMSA data not available. Portion of SMSA in Mass. included in Boston SEA; see table 1. [13] SMSA data not available. No equivalent SEA; data are for Androscoggin County. [14] SMSA data not available. Part of Boston SEA; see table 1.

Pages 898 and 899

[1] Source: American Medical Association; *Distribution of Physicians, Hospitals, and Hospital Beds in the U.S., 1967*. Copyright 1968. Excludes Federal agencies. [2] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *U.S. Census of Population: 1960*, Vol. I, *Characteristics of the Population*. Data for persons 25 years old and over.
[3] Source: Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education; *Education Directory 1968-69*, Part 2, *Public School Systems*. Includes all school systems with 300 or more pupils. The majority of States reported average daily membership; others reported average daily attendance, or enrollment. [4] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Census of Governments: 1967*, Vol. III, *Compendium of Public Employment*. [5] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *U.S. Census of Population: 1960*, Vol. I, *Characteristics of the Population*. Data are for families, 1960.

Pages 898 and 899—Continued

[6] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Office of Business Economics, *Survey of Current Business*, August 1968.
[7] Source: Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics; *Employment and Earnings and Monthly Report of the Labor Force*, Vol. 14, No. 11, May 1969. [8] SMSA data not available. Portion of SMSA in Mass. included in New Bedford SEA, shown below. [9] Combined with Services. [10] SMSA data not available. Part of Worcester SEA; see table 1. [11] SMSA data not available. Portion of SMSA in Mass. included in Boston SEA; see table 1.
[12] SMSA data not available. No equivalent SEA; data are for Androscoggin County.
[13] SMSA data not available. Part of Boston SEA; see table 1.

Pages 900 and 901

[1-5] See notes 1-5 for pp. 870 and 871. [6] No election in 1968. Data are for 1966. [7] No election in 1968. Data are for 1965. [8] Excludes S.C. portion. [9] Represents vote for Wallace, candidate for Independent Party.
[10] No election in 1968. Data are for 1967.
[11] Represents vote for Wallace; American Independent Party candidate in Ga. and regular Democratic Party candidate in Ala. [12] Excludes Ala. portion. [13] Excludes Ky. portion. [14] SMSA data not available. Portion of SMSA in Mass. included in New Bedford SEA, shown below. [15] Excludes Minn. portion.
[16] SMSA data not available. Part of Worcester SEA; see table 1. [17] Excludes Okla. portion.
[18] Represents vote for Wallace, candidate for regular Democratic Party. [19] SMSA data not available. Portion of SMSA in Mass. included in Boston SEA; see table 1. [20] SMSA data not available. No equivalent SEA; data are for Androscoggin County.
[21] SMSA data not available. Part of Boston SEA; see table 1.

Pages 902 and 903

[1] Source: Dept. of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation; *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States, 1968.*
[2] Source: Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Service; *Recipients of Public Assistance and Total Assistance Payments, by Program, State, and County, February 1969.* [3] Source: Office of Economic Opportunity; *Poverty Program Information, Fiscal Year 1967*, and *1968.* [4] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *U.S. Census of Housing: 1960*, Vol. I, *States and Smaller Areas.* [5] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Construction Reports*, C40/C42-67-13, *Housing Authorized by Building Permits and Public Contracts: 1967.* [6] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Census of Governments: 1967*, Vol. 2, *Taxable Property Values.* Property subject to local general property taxation. [7] Source: Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; *National Summary of Accounts and Deposits in All Commercial Banks, June 29, 1968;* and *Summary of Accounts and Deposits in All Mutual Savings Banks, June 29, 1968.* [8] Includes commercial and mutual savings banks. [9] For mutual savings banks, savings deposits only. [10] Source: Federal Home Loan Bank Board; *Combined Financial Statements, 1967*, and unpublished data. [11] Includes multicounty funds for some counties outside SMSA, not allocable separately. [12] Includes vendor payments for medical care.
[13] Excludes cases in State mental hospitals. [14] Excludes Class C cases. [15] SMSA data not available. Portion of SMSA in Mass. included in New Bedford SEA, shown below. [16] SMSA data not available. Part of Worcester SEA; see table 1. [17] Excludes children in foster homes and institutions. [18] SMSA data not available. Portion of SMSA in Mass. included in Boston SEA; see table 1. [19] SMSA data not available. No equivalent SEA; data are for Androscoggin County. [20] SMSA data not available. Part of Boston SEA; see table 1.

Pages 904 and 905

[1] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *Annual Survey of Manufactures, 1966.* [2] Source: Dept. o Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *1963 Census of Manufactures*, Vol. III, *Area Statistics.* [3] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *1963 Census of Business*, Vol. II, *Retail Trade—Area Statistics.* [4] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *1963 Census of Business*, Vol. VII, *Selected Services—Area Statistics.*
[5] Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; *1963 Census of Business*, Vol. V, *Wholesale Trade—Area Statistics.*

Pages 906 and 907

[1-4] See notes 1-4 for pp. 864 and 865. [5] Per 1,000 residing in area July 1, 1966. [6] Includes annulments.
[7] SMSA data not available. Part of New Haven SEA; see table 1. [8] SMSA data not available. Part of Hartford SEA; see table 1. [9] SMSA data not available. No equivalent SEA; data are for New London County.
[10] SMSA data not available. Part of Bridgeport SEA; see table 1.
[11] Excludes marriages occurring on military posts in N.J., not distributed by county.

Pages 908 and 909

[1-7] See notes 1-7 for pp. 898 and 899. [8] SMSA data not available. Part of New Haven SEA; see table 1.
[9] Combined with Services. [10] SMSA data not available. Part of Hartford SEA; see table 1.
[11] SMSA data not available. No equivalent SEA; data are for New London County.
[12] SMSA data not available. Part of Bridgeport SEA; see table 1.

Pages 910 and 911

[1-5] See notes 1-5 for pp. 870 and 871. [6] No election in 1968. Data are for 1966. [7] SMSA data not available. Part of New Haven SEA; see table 1. [8] Represents vote for Wallace, candidate for regular Democratic Party.
[9] SMSA data not available. Part of Hartford SEA; see table 1. [10] SMSA data not available. No equivalent SEA; data are for New London County. [11] No election in 1968. Data are for 1965. [12] SMSA data not available. Part of Bridgeport SEA; see table 1. [13] Represents vote for Wallace, candidate for George Wallace Party.
[14] Excludes Nebr. portion. [15] Excludes W. Va. portion. [16] Excludes Ark. portion. [17] Excludes Ohio portion.

Pages 912 and 913

[1-10] See notes 1-10 for pp. 902 and 903. [11] Excludes children in foster homes and institutions.
[12] Includes multicounty funds for some counties outside SMSA, not allocable separately. [13] SMSA data not available. Part of New Haven SEA; see table 1. [14] Excludes cases in State mental hospitals. [15] SMSA data not available. Part of Hartford SEA; see table 1. [16] SMSA data not available. No equivalent SEA; data are for New London County. [17] SMSA data not available. Part of Bridgeport SEA; see table 1.
[18] Includes expenditures for work project cases. [19] Excludes Class C cases.

Pages 914 and 915

[1-5] See notes 1-5 for pp. 904 and 905.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. 1960 Census of Population: Supplementary Reports, July 30, 1965.

Table 2.--PER CAPITA INCOME AND MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME IN 1959, FOR STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS

(Population and families as of April 1960. Rank for the 212 standard metropolitan statistical areas based on ascending order, from lowest to highest income. Ties in rank by one income measure are broken by rank in the other income measure)

Standard metropolitan statistical area	Population	Per capita income		Median family income	
		Amount	Rank	Amount	Rank
Abilene, Tex.	120,381	$1,702	54	$5,063	41
Akron, Ohio	513,569	2,115	173	6,735	185
Albany, Ga.	75,680	1,387	8	4,401	9
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, N.Y.	657,503	1,983	141	6,095	130
Albuquerque, N. Mex.	262,199	1,941	128	6,252	144
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, Pa.-N.J.	492,168	1,930	125	5,845	100
Altoona, Pa.	137,270	1,574	34	5,141	47
Amarillo, Tex.	149,493	1,990	142	5,820	97
Ann Arbor, Mich.	172,440	2,125	176	6,890	192
Asheville, N.C.	130,074	1,522	18	4,419	10
Atlanta, Ga.	1,017,008	1,924	121	5,758	91
Atlantic City, N.J.	160,880	1,797	79	5,176	52
Augusta, Ga.-S.C.	216,639	1,403	11	4,485	11
Austin, Tex.	212,136	1,658	46	5,058	40
Bakersfield, Calif.	291,984	1,869	102	5,933	111
Baltimore, Md.	1,727,021	1,967	136	6,199	139
Baton Rouge, La.	230,058	1,727	61	5,830	99
Bay City, Mich.	107,042	1,723	59	6,041	123
Beaumont-Port Arthur, Tex.	306,016	1,797	80	5,910	108
Billings, Mont.	79,016	1,945	130	6,150	134
Binghamton, N.Y.	212,661	2,021	149	6,409	158
Birmingham, Ala.	634,864	1,647	44	5,103	44
Boston, Mass.	2,590,040	2,243	190	6,687	180
Bridgeport, Conn.	334,576	2,195	187	6,776	187
Brockton, Mass.	149,458	1,832	92	6,117	132
Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito, Tex.	151,098	1,007	2	3,216	2
Buffalo, N.Y.	1,306,956	2,031	153	6,455	162
Canton, Ohio	340,345	1,928	123	6,161	136
Cedar Rapids, Iowa	136,899	2,076	164	6,359	154
Champaign-Urbana, Ill.	132,436	1,915	115	5,741	88
Charleston, S.C.	216,382	1,359	6	4,518	13
Charleston, W. Va.	252,925	1,771	73	5,862	102
Charlotte, N.C.	272,111	1,889	107	5,632	78
Chattanooga, Tenn.-Ga.	283,169	1,627	41	4,958	36
Chicago, Ill.	6,220,913	2,451	204	7,342	207
Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.	1,071,624	2,101	170	6,318	150
Cleveland, Ohio	1,796,595	2,332	198	6,962	197
Colorado Springs, Colo.	143,742	1,832	90	5,514	72
Columbia, S.C.	260,828	1,387	9	4,540	14
Columbus, Ga.	217,985	1,412	12	4,292	6
Columbus, Ohio	682,962	2,100	169	6,425	160
Corpus Christi, Tex.	221,573	1,485	15	4,908	33
Dallas, Tex.	1,083,601	2,123	174	5,925	109
Davenport-Rock Island-Moline, Iowa-Ill.	270,058	2,070	163	6,491	165
Dayton, Ohio	694,623	2,094	168	6,687	179
Decatur, Ill.	118,257	1,977	140	5,943	113
Denver, Colo.	929,383	2,167	182	6,551	172
Des Moines, Iowa	266,315	2,165	181	6,464	163
Detroit, Mich.	3,764,131	2,147	179	6,825	190
Dubuque, Iowa	80,048	1,662	50	6,026	120
Duluth-Superior, Minn-Wis.	276,596	1,702*	55	5,456	71
Durham, N.C.	111,995	1,620	39	4,876	29
El Paso, Tex.	314,070	1,553	26	5,157	48
Erie, Pa.	250,682	$1,757	69	$5,736	87
Eugene, Oreg.	162,890	1,914	113	5,946	114
Evansville, Ind.-Ky.	199,301	1,684	52	5,181	53
Fall River, Mass.-R.I.	138,156	1,693	53	5,204	55
Fargo-Moorhead, N. Dak.-Minn.	106,027	1,737	63	5,852	101
Fitchburg-Leominster, Mass.	82,486	1,857	101	5,866	103
Flint, Mich.	374,313	1,914	114	6,340	152
Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood, Fla.	333,946	1,976	139	4,996	39
Fort Smith, Ark.	66,685	1,493	16	4,241	4
Fort Wayne, Ind.	232,196	2,049	158	6,562	173
Fort Worth, Tex.	573,676	1,879	104	5,617	77
Fresno, Calif.	365,945	1,802	83	5,634	79
Gadsden, Ala.	96,978	1,327	5	4,387	8
Galveston-Texas City, Tex.	140,364	1,707	56	5,375	64
Gary-Hammond-East Chicago, Ind.	573,540	1,965	134	6,548	170
Grand Rapids, Mich.	363,187	1,992	143	6,329	151
Great Falls, Mont.	73,418	1,933	127	6,032	121
Green Bay, Wis.	125,082	1,745	68	6,016	118
Greensboro-High Point, N.C.	246,520	1,787	77	5,417	67
Greenville, S.C.	209,776	1,524	19	4,754	21
Hamilton-Middletown, Ohio	199,076	1,969	137	6,566	174
Harrisburg, Pa.	345,071	1,917	118	5,882	104
Hartford, Conn.	525,207	2,398	201	7,187	205
Honolulu, Hawaii	500,409	1,975	138	6,792	188
Houston, Tex.	1,243,158	2,031	152	6,040	122
Huntington-Ashland, W. Va.-Ky.-Ohio.	254,780	1,555	28	4,977	37
Huntsville, Ala.	117,348	1,640	42	5,426	69
Indianapolis, Ind.	697,567	2,187	185	6,609	176
Jackson, Mich.	131,994	1,947	131	6,421	159
Jackson, Miss.	187,045	1,555	27	4,783	24
Jacksonville, Fla.	455,411	1,724	60	5,345	62
Jersey City, N.J.	610,734	2,040	156	6,151	135
Johnstown, Pa.	280,733	1,371	7	4,574	15
Kalamazoo, Mich.	169,712	2,002	144	6,526	167
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	1,040,454	2,160	180	6,317	149
Kenosha, Wis.	100,615	2,183	184	6,916	195
Knoxville, Tenn.	368,062	1,541	25	4,908	34
Lake Charles, La.	145,475	1,539	24	5,167	51
Lancaster, Pa.	278,359	1,850	99	5,810	96
Lansing, Mich.	298,949	1,920	120	6,177	138
Laredo, Tex.	64,791	937	1	2,952	1
Las Vegas, Nev.	127,016	2,423	203	7,010	199
Lawrence-Haverhill, Mass.-N.H.	187,601	1,925	122	6,068	127
Lawton, Okla.	90,803	1,605	37	4,624	17
Lewiston-Auburn, Maine	70,295	1,660	43	5,248	58
Lexington, Ky.	131,906	1,810	86	5,377	65
Lima, Ohio	103,691	1,735	62	5,699	84
Lincoln, Nebr.	155,272	1,915	116	5,798	92
Little Rock-North Little Rock, Ark.	242,980	1,661	49	4,935	35
Lorain-Elyria, Ohio	217,500	1,826	88	6,241	143
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	6,746,356	2,496	205	7,066	200
Louisville, Ky.-Ind.	725,139	1,845	98	5,758	90
Lowell, Mass.	157,982	1,742	66	6,047	124
Lubbock, Tex.	156,271	1,841	96	5,425	68

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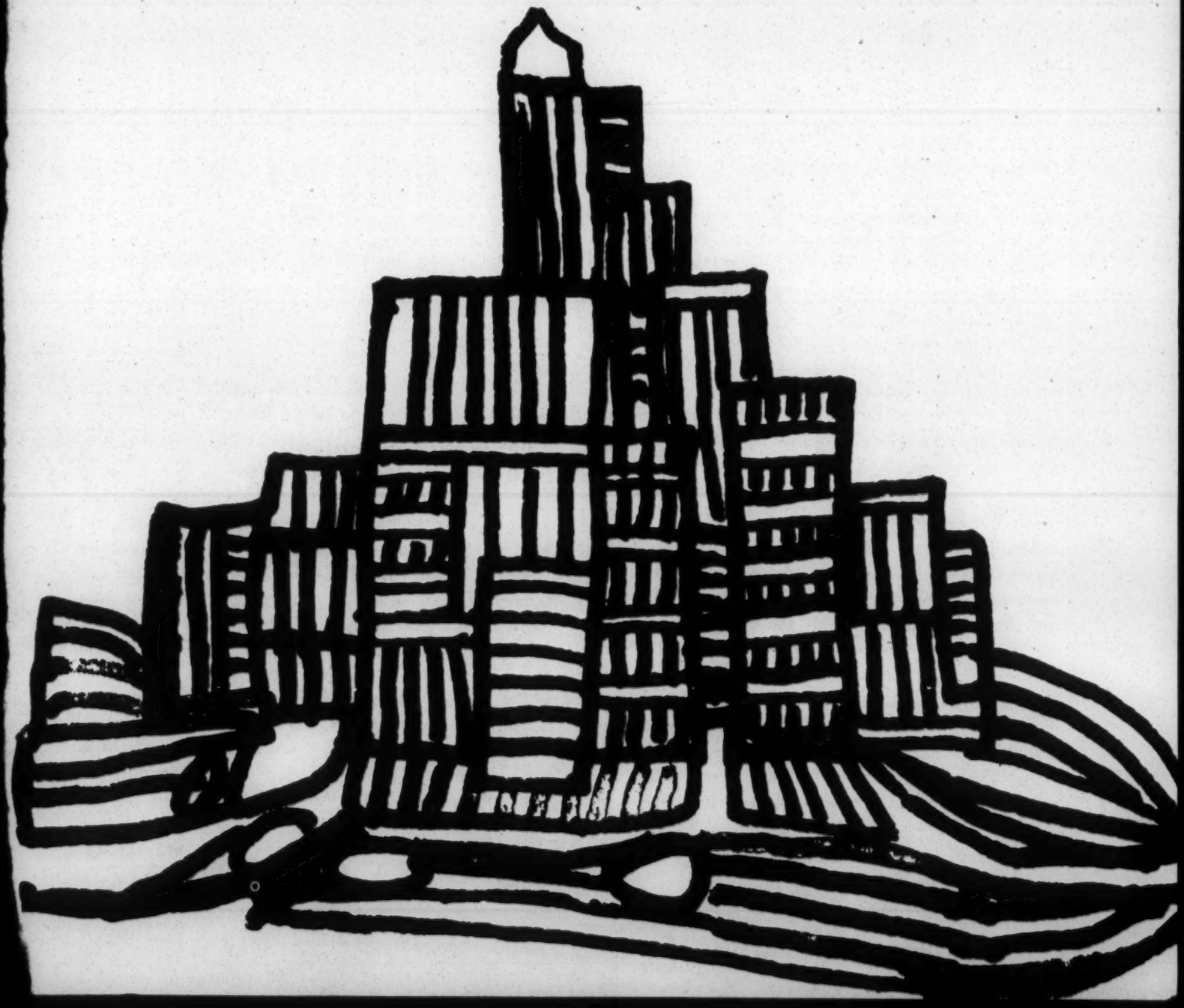
METROPOLITANISM a minority report

Somewhere in the middle of all that is happening in our cities is the Negro, the Mexican American, or other minority group person. What is his stake?



Think of the multitude of ways City threatens and enhances Man.

CITY. Not just so many square miles of buildings and streets marked off by boundary lines. But the complex interplay and interdependence of a myriad of forces: some ordered, some out of control; millions of lives each seeking its own way to a better life; decayed inner cores; insulated suburbs; an explosion and implosion of peoples; an opportunity and a trap.

This totality of City in America has a name, METROPOLITANISM.

Metropolitanism is a phenomenon of modern society, not exclusively American, encompassing our major social issues, yet little understood by the majority of Americans. Those groups of minority background, Negroes, Mexican Americans, Indians, and Puerto Ricans, may very well be the least aware of how this new force affects the quality of their lives.

The first step toward understanding what this concept is and means to people is to see in it a view of what is happening in our metropolitan centers that considers the many elements of City in relation to each other.

For the uninitiated, the term metropolitanism may sound, on first hearing, like the latest sociological catchword. It may be in the sense that the word is an umbrella casting many shades of meaning. From the standpoint of the physical growth of City, metropolitanism refers to the increase of air, water, and land pollution; burdened transportation systems; inadequate public services; relentless suburban sprawl, the whole range of physical problems which affect a much publicized cosmopolitan complex such as New York or a once-suburban boom city such as in the Anaheim-Santa Ana-Garden Grove region in Southern California. The boundless problems of physical growth alone can be imagined from the estimate that in 50 years a megalopolis of 70 million people will stretch from New England to Virginia.

Metropolitanism refers, most importantly, to the manner in which City is governed and its problems resolved, but does not mean a single approach or form of government. It does imply the development of different political processes capable of devising programs, making decisions, using resources, and resolving conflicts on a metropolitan scale. Metropolitan areas may include a variety of political systems and many, sometimes overlapping, jurisdictions of government. The question then becomes one of the adequacy of a particular system to respond to specific social needs while fully adhering to democratic principles.

To satisfy needs and at the same time conform to our democratic sense of values, metropolitanism suggests, for example, that a slum ghetto can be neither understood nor its problems resolved except through strategies that utilize resources equitably throughout a region. A housing program for low income families, for instance, must relate to the location of jobs and to improvements in the transportation system. But it is important to note that metropolitanism can take place without regard to minority group interests.

But surely, somewhere in the middle of all that is happening in our cities, or perhaps more realistically, off to the side, is the Negro, the Mexican American, or other minority group person. What is his stake in metropolitanism? How does he grasp the concept, make it his own, profit or lose by it? Is it simply beyond his capability to do or say anything about the whole matter?

On the premise that metropolitanism does concern vitally the minority group person and his aspirations for a better life, the Civil Rights Digest posed the same questions to a number of persons for their opinion. The questions generated a variety of responses. No two people approached the subject quite the same way, yet a number of common areas of agreement and concern did develop out of their remarks.

The most dominant strain of thought was that the minority person, the black, the Mexican American, the American Indian, the Puerto Rican, was still the victim, the larger society, the victimizer. In the sometimes purposeful, but most often willy-nilly shifting of governmental centers, of redistribution of resources, and of political power plays, the man of color or cultural difference tends to be the loser.

Diluting Black Majorities

"If economic opportunity existed in a vacuum, a metropolitanism which led to better transportation systems between the residential areas of the inner city and the industrial properties would benefit minority groups," begins Dr. G. James Fleming, founder and former director of the Institute of Political Education at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland. "But when it gets to political involvement, I would say that when it looks like Negroes are becoming a majority in a city, whites will quickly find a way to bring about metropolitan units of government."

A professor of political science at Morgan State, a predominantly Negro college, Dr. Fleming suspects that a clear relationship exists between the greater at-

tention being paid by whites to achieving metropolitan systems and their desire "to water down the rising majorities of Negroes in the cities." Yet Negroes, he cautions, cannot blindly oppose metropolitanism without fully considering its prospects for them because they may find themselves in the position of opposing a good thing. He points out that the achievement of the "cake" of open housing holds some dangers for blacks because they will simultaneously lose the political advantage of concentrated numbers: "While more Negroes may have movement out of the ghetto, they will not have the political power of the ghetto."

"As a political scientist and in studying Toronto, and Dade County, and all other voluntary plans (of metropolitanized government)," Dr. Fleming asserts, "I think metropolitanism of some kind is inevitable whether informally or formally established. But it should be formal and legalistic to merit support by the people."

He suggests that Congress has already accelerated the restructuring process by approving reapportionment, "another kind of metropolitanism". "Those who supported reapportionment thought it would liberalize the legislatures, by taking the votes away from the rural districts, but the votes went to the suburbs where we have a different kind of conservative, the one who is keeping out the Negro. Metropolitanism looks good and technologically can't be avoided," Dr. Fleming says, "but it won't necessarily bring anything better in the case of the Negro."

Another perspective to this unfamiliar verbal terrain comes from Richard Scammon, vice-president of the Governmental Affairs Institute in Washington, D.C. He says, "Metropolitan takes place without reference to civil rights or race. Normally there is little relation between the phenomena. Urban decay would still occur in a city of half a million population even if it were all white with no non-Caucasians. We have an entirely difficult enough problem in the city, but it is complicated when race becomes a part of the picture."

Scammon, who is director of the Elections Research Center, an affiliate of Governmental Affairs Institute, served as head of the Bureau of the Census during the Kennedy Administration. He maintains that the harm or benefit to be derived from metropolitanism must be decided by the people in the area where metropolitanism becomes an issue. In any city where some kind of metro-government is proposed, Scammon suggests, "if the Negro people think its purpose is to diminish their political role, it is logical for them to view metropolitanism as harmful." On the other hand, white leaders might not want new structures of government for fear that Negroes might get involved, he points out. Apart from the race issue, suburbs have usually desired independence anyway, he explains, so that suburban whites faced with the added personal threat that some of their institutions might be taken over by Negroes, might also reject metropolitanism as harmful.

While there have been increasing moves toward cooperation on a wider than city or suburb scale for sewage disposal, airport planning, pollution controls, "the most ticklish issues still are the schools and police." "Opinion is split," Scammon believes, "between the need for smaller or larger structures" in regard to sewage disposal, pollution, transportation, but on the matter of schools and police, he sees a trend toward smaller units. "The smaller the unit to be governed, the better for the minority group," Scammon states.

But the dynamics of community control cannot be confined only to minority group interests according to Scammon. Blacks may feel they benefit from local control in the school districts of New York City. Affluent whites may also take up the community control banner, for example, as in the case of recent elections for the first elected school board in Washington, D.C., which resulted in a majority black membership. Residents in the predominantly white upper N.W. section of the District, who had previously been in the minority only in numbers, but not in influence, might opt for local control in school matters to offset the apparent loss of influence on the school board. Blacks, Scammon observes, would still face a dilemma. They could not make decisions wholly oblivious of white interests and risk the increase of the white exodus from the District unless they were willing to lose that degree of integration.

"If metropolitanism tends to deny a balance of control and services and ignore the needs of the people does this exacerbate the problems of the urban area? —it most certainly does. We are faced with the problem that if his own situation does not improve, the minority person may be left in control, but control of what, the slums?"

Survival for the Cities

That rhetorical and somewhat ominous question is taken up by George Schermer, head of a Washington human relations consulting firm which bears his name: "Strictly from the point of view of political involvement, in gaining political experience and sophistication, black people have nothing to gain in metropolitanism. One would be hard put to justify a drive for

metropolitanism in terms of civil rights or welfare of the minority group. But there are many, many arguments from the point of view of the *city*. Our major central cities may not survive except through some system of metropolitanism."

A former director of the Philadelphia Human Relations Commission, Schermer adds that on the basis of equal opportunity, if metropolitan government could incorporate the development of "rational transportation systems" which would provide equal access to all jobs to Negroes, Mexican Americans, and others, he would welcome its advent.

On the issue of school integration, Schermer posits that a metropolitan form of government would be useful toward developing a totally new approach such as the education park which is designed to distribute Negro and white children proportionately throughout a school system. Taking Philadelphia as an example, Schermer points out that since its public schools are more than half Negro, "any program to develop meaningful racial integration is likely to be impossible, impractical without a metropolitan basis." A better quality education for Negro children may depend on creating a milieu in which integration can be promoted, he proposes, or it may require a milieu in which Negro parents through political power can make increasingly meaningful demands upon the authorities for better quality schools.

Schermer's comments emphasize a recurring theme, expressed in some way by every respondent, of contradictory movements: an apparently inexorable metropolitanization as against a decentralization seemingly based on self-interested aversion to the former. In other words, metropolitanism has its opposite, particularly in relation to minority groups' aspirations to full recognition and participation in the social and political scheme of American society.

Developing Sub-communities

The Negro, Schermer indicates, is in the predicament of choosing between longterm and shortterm goals. While he himself would consider metro-government necessary for the "overall viability of our cities," the Negro, he believes, "would want to work toward achieving maximum power within the existing system." The Negro has no way of knowing what kind of government will evolve or what role he will have in it. At the same time according to Schermer, the urban turmoil which is symptomatic of a rejection of the existing system, is occurring without apparent determination.

"We seem to be moving in the direction, first of all, of a metropolitan system that will serve metropolitan-wide needs—transportation, pollution controls, waste disposal. Yet, when we put the management of local affairs on such a large scale, the individual gets lost," he observes. "That kind of community is too big to belong to; you have got to belong to something smaller than that, and therefore, I have an idea that we will be creating substructures, sub-communities. People want to feel that management of community affairs is within their grasp. Therefore, cities the size of Washington, or Philadelphia, will become eventually broken down into community units, maybe 40-50,000, but something less than hundreds of thousands."

Minority groups, Schermer foresees, will have to undergo a period of adjustment to the concept and evolution of metropolitan-wide systems of government. "It is very important for minority groups to have some sense of controlling their own destiny. It takes a few decades of experience to get to the point where simply exercising your authority as a particular ethnic group is no longer so important as having a good life. Two decades from now a number of communities that have been self-consciously very Negro in handling their affairs will find that the good life is not found in the framework of separatism. They will find that there are so many problems that have to be resolved on a scale which involves all people at the metropolitan level and at the national level."

A case in point is the picture of Atlanta provided by Julian Bond, Democratic member of the Georgia State House of Representatives, who is in the thick of a political power struggle between black and white Atlantans over the proposed establishment of a county-wide government. The young Congressman who led the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in its early days, declares: "Always, metropolitanism contributes to the diminution of black political power. I see this from what I know of Nashville, Jacksonville, and Miami (where forms of metro-government have developed). Some people in Atlanta want metropolitan government. I think it's evident that a great many city fathers are less worried of the decreased tax base than about the prospect of a black dominated government."

The issue of metropolitanism in Atlanta will take shape in the elections this summer when candidates for mayor will be asked to take a stand on the subject, Bond forecasts. Some city leaders would like to annex the many white bedroom communities around the city while others propose the dissolution of city govenment into a county-wide government, Bond reports. There are already public service links with outlying commu-

nities, such as police and fire department assistance, he adds.

Black office holders have been fighting annexation attempts for the last two years in the Atlanta-Fulton County environs, but it has not been solely a black effort, Bond points out. The black community is not a monolith in philosophy or action; many different groups compete against each other. In this regard, and on this issue only, have black legislators coalesced with certain white lawmakers whose suburban constituencies fear metro-government for one reason or another.

Form Coalitions That Count

So that blacks can fend off metropolitanization, Bond cites a State requirement that works to the advantage of Atlanta's black community: governmental revisions must eventually be subject to a vote of the senators or representatives of the political districts to be affected. Fulton County consists of 26 representatives and senators. Nine are black, but a two-thirds majority is required to approve governmental realignment. "We don't have the power to pass much legislation, but in this case, we can certainly block it," the Georgia legislator states.

Of the basic concept of broadened political controls, Bond speaks favorably—with some ifs. "If there were no racial consideration, metropolitanism would be desirable, but black people have to fight it until they can get certain guarantees of equitable representation. We couldn't allow any county-wide elections now. Atlanta is 48 percent black, but if government were extended to the county area, our representation would drop to about 27 percent." By guarantees, Bond means elections by wards rather than at large for city offices or school board. The Atlanta Board of Education now consists of three black and 14 white members, while only one black man sits on the Board of Aldermen. Bond has recently introduced a bill in the Georgia legislature that would require elections for the Board of Aldermen be held on a ward basis. If passed, Bond estimates the new law could increase to seven or eight the number of Negro Aldermen in Atlanta.

The "semicities" in Georgia, Bond feels sure, would like to establish a metropolitan form of government for reasons similar to the ones in Atlanta. Bond recommends to Negro groups throughout the State, and by inference to minorities generally, to engage in coalitions where they do not have majorities and depending on the specific issues, shift coalitions as he and his colleagues have done to benefit the minority community. Civil disobedience is likely in those cities where the minority populace cannot otherwise defend itself against possibly harmful governmental change, and "in some cases, it is an acceptable means," says Bond. Atlanta, however, is not at this time a likely place for such actions because of the legal leverage black legislators command. Black Atlantans, Bond indicates, are generally aware of the pros and cons of metropolitanism, the accessibility to blacks of rapid transit facilities and the functions and makeup of the rapid transit authority was a controversial issue in the elections only two years ago.

By and large, most of the respondents indicated that minority groups are not aware and could be kept in the dark about metropolitanism as it might affect their region. Dr. Ernesto Galarza, an economist living in San Jose, California, suggests that the very complexity and seeming abstractness of the issue are critical barriers for the Mexican American and other minority peoples.

Western Trend Toward Regionalism

"The ability of communities, especially Mexican American ones, with which I'm particularly concerned, to identify as communities is being attacked. We have a growing tendency in the West toward the creation of sub-regional governments. In the San Francisco-Oakland Bay area, there is a very strong movement to establish a sub-regional government of nine counties taking over certain functions, pollution control, transportation, and so forth. If this happens, the ability of the Mexican American neighborhood to make itself felt politically will be tremendously watered down. If metropolitanism continues, it will increase rather than decrease their problems in civil rights. Dilution of the Mexican American vote is the practical result," concludes Dr. Galarza.

Long a resident of San Jose, Dr. Galarza has also seen the metropolitan forces at work as recently as last spring. Alviso, a small town near San Jose, virtually disappeared when it was annexed by its big neighbor. The Mexican American population which comprised a majority of the eligible voters nevertheless was unable to muster enough votes to defeat annexation. "They were well on their way to becoming a power in that community, a power for change. Before the election, city hall was no more than a few blocks from any residence. Now most Mexican Americans have to travel 13 miles to make themselves heard on any issue which relates to Alviso. These are people who don't have enough money for gas.

"The minority person does not know how to deal with governmental agencies as it is," Dr. Galarza continues, so metro-government would be adding another

layer of confusion to their troubles. "Who will explain to the people what is going on?" he asks. "What is there to assure the Mexican American a voice in the development of these new forms or structures? In the Bay area, the Mexican American is being crowded out. All devices being discussed in order to make the metropolis more manageable are not addressing themselves to minority groups. The fundamental issue is one of structural content. From the technological and broad social standpoint, something's got to happen in the cities, pressures will increase; metropolitanism is possible but whether it is humanly practical is another matter."

Forces which advocate metropolitanism can operate in such a way that the kind of input Dr. Galarza desires for Mexican Americans and other minority groups becomes virtually impossible, suggests Karl Gregory, assistant to the chancellor for urban affairs at Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan. "The larger the area of decision-making, the more problems there are in communicating what is taking place; the more unequal the distribution of power, the more advantage the advantaged have to use the media, so the more an unequal distribution of power and opportunity is reinforced."

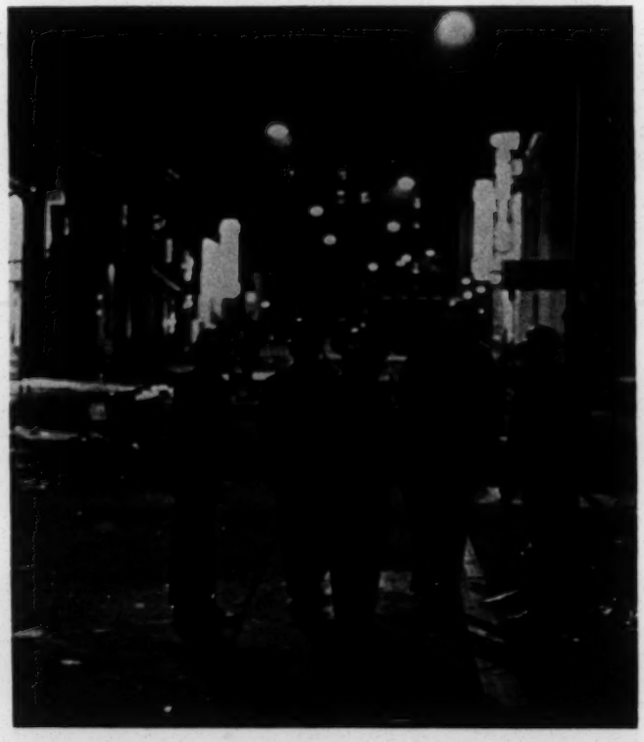
Issue By Issue Analysis

As a consequence of this cycle of informational deprivation, Gregory remarks, "Only decision-making by those who already have the resources is metropolitanized, equal opportunity is not really being metropolitanized." Therefore, says Gregory, who serves as president and chairman of the board of Accord, Inc., a housing rehabilitation corporation, as well as resident agent for a black bank, the First Independent National Bank in Detroit, minority groups who seek self-determination are moving toward decentralization. Gregory is apprehensive that blacks may end up with political control over less resources, although he is quick to note that this is no argument against decentralization or local control. Decentralization is in effect a reaction, he believes, to racism and to the institutions that are failing blacks. However, Gregory points out, decentralization can be established without community control: the white power structure can parcel out pieces of power and "let the natives fight over it," he says, because control of the purse strings is not affected.

Minority groups have to learn to confront metropolitanism and/or decentralization issue by issue and this requires an understanding of two major distinctions: a) how is the public service financed; and b) who makes the decisions. Metropolitanism, he asserts, "doesn't make much sense unless a new tax apparatus is developed for a wider taxing jurisdiction." Even then, massive Federal assistance may be necessary to make open housing, for example, a realistic goal. But in terms of making decisions about where housing is needed and setting up housing standards, a lot of room for decentralized input by minorities is a probability, Gregory argues.

In regard to law enforcement, the financing and decision-making concerning a program to combat the narcotics traffic or organized crime might be too large a conglomerate, in Gregory's phrasing, for other than a metropolitanized approach of broader taxing jurisdictions and combined Federal and State authorities. Only problems of police-community relations, of protecting school grounds or children going to and from school might be more easily addressed on a local community level, he says.

At any rate, Gregory, an associate professor of economics at Oakland University, feels community control is a solution that only buys time: "I see nothing in existence now that begins to solve the problems of minority groups. All the money being spent in Vietnam each year would be needed to make a significant dent in the ghetto. We can overcome the problems but I just don't see the commitment in the country to do it." As long as black people suffer the effects of



racism and don't have political or economic power, Gregory says, echoing the thoughts of other respondents, "they need to organize politically and form alliances, something on which to build."

There begins to develop a sense of urgency for minority groups to become aware of the advent of metropolitanism in whatever form it may take and to take the matter apart, "issue by issue," as Gregory urges. Minority groups need to ascertain how metropolitanism will affect them. As Schermer noted, no one is quite sure what is being created out of the Nation's urban turmoil, but by the same token, it cannot be allowed to occur haphazardly. Certainly, in every way possible, the respondents indicate, the minority communities must exert every force at their command to have some part in the evolution of the metropolitan age.

Housing An Explicit Ingredient

"Two seemingly irreconcilable concepts and processes," black political self-determination and metropolitan-wide decision-making, must be reconciled in metropolitanism, according to Arnold Schuchter, author of the recently published book, *White Power/ Black Freedom,* which deals with the issue of the white and black power struggle in the cities. "The extent to which Negroes gain political power, economic opportunity, and social justice through new forms of metropolitan institutions will depend upon the following: the goals of the institutions; their specific organizational structure and decision-making process in relation to emerging political and community development instruments in black communities; the provisions for Negro involvement, with a *disproportionately influential role,*" Schuchter emphasizes, "in the establishment and operation of these institutions; and the quality of the people who can be attracted to design and implement these new instruments of government and community development."

That Negro participation in the evolvement of new governments must be a prerequisite to their implementation is central to Schuchter's thinking. He also insists that such a metropolitan-wide political and developmental process must include as an explicit and controlling goal, the desegregation of housing. A specific means of assuring an open housing market, Schuchter believes, is creating communities designed to attract and house people of all races and income. Another necessary ingredient in achieving responsible systems and processes of government, says Schuchter, a specialist in urban planning for the management consultants firm of Arthur D. Little Company, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in regard to "this unchartered political universe of metropolitan regions," are "persons with insight, judgment, and competence, black and white." He adds that "without a sustaining sense of confidence among Negroes in the good faith and capabilities of the public and quasi-public institutions shaping urban community life, the prevailing sense of victimization by white society will escalate along with frustration and animosity."

A National Metropolitanism

Dual strategies are required to check the trend toward "separate but unequal central city and suburban societies"; 1) Conscious and deliberate preparation of Negro administrators and technicians to manage and develop black ghettos and to govern the increasing number of almost wholly black cities; 2) Unified national land, housing, and migration policies to create hundreds of new multi-racial cities, incorporating new systems of political, educational, social, and economic development, and able to house about one-sixth of the Nation's population by the year 2000.

"The form of metropolitanism," Schuchter specifies, "should support both decolonization of the ghetto and dispersion opportunities for Negroes, for instance, to house about 40 percent of the urban Negro population in the year 2000 (or about 12 million Negroes). Accomplishing this goal will require a national commitment to create new communities to house as many as 50 million people over the next 30 years."

The scope of the problems and the horizonless demand for solutions with respect to minority group needs suggest to Schuchter a kind of national metropolitanization in terms of program strategies, policies, and standards, and the comprehensive utilization of Federal and State funds and incentives. His specific recommendations, presented briefly here but well detailed in his own writings, include a National Urban Resources Development Corporation, federally-chartered and quasi-public, to serve as a Council of Urban Advisors to the President in the formulation of national urban policies and programs and to foster governmental reform and new city development; Metroregional Development Corporations to collaborate with voluntary metropolitan councils of governments to plan and carry out metropolitan-wide revisions and technical aid programs; New City Corporations to build and manage new communities; Community Development Corporations to rehabilitate and control inner-city areas; and Urban Grant Universities to provide training and technical services in devising political and economic entities for local control, and educa-

tional opportunities for all age groups integrated with inner city community development projects and with creation of new communities.

Schuchter's schema for the future city follows the pattern of human need which Schermer outlined when he said that an individual finds it impossible to belong to too big a community, that he must have a feeling that he can at least grasp some control over his own government and destiny. Schuchter foresees metropolitanism and decolonization (his term for the withdrawal, voluntary or not, of white political and economic control) as emerging concurrently. "Minority groups, especially Negroes, already are building some of the new political and economic development organizations, developing a power base for the bargaining process that will have to take place in order to establish relative shares of power in the new forms of metropolitan institutions." To enhance their control or leverage, he stresses, Negroes "must develop effective leadership, administrative talent, entrepreneurial and business management skills."

Destroy The Slum System

Meanwhile what of the trapped ghetto dweller, Schuchter asks. "The only hope for a large percentage of urban Negroes to achieve decent housing," he states, "is for them to ruin ghetto housing as a profitable real estate commodity by disrupting the slum housing system in a manner that will result in a massive transfer of ownership from absentee-landlords to black owner-occupants. If necessary, widespread civil disobedience (to echo Julian Bond's words) should be directed at municipal governments to force them to exercise their legal responsibility for maintenance of housing standards."

New litigation and new legislation that would place the responsibility for coordinating the development of metropolitanism and assuring a voice to the minority groups where it belongs, with the States, are key recommendations from James Gibson, a staff associate with Potomac Institute, a privately financed research and consultant agency on civil rights in Washington, D.C. Formerly a member of the President's Advisory Committee on Rural Poverty, Gibson estimates that present trends in court suits related to school system inequities in California, Michigan, Texas, and Virginia indicate that metropolitanism might develop through a metropolitan taxation system to provide equitable funding for all schools on a regional basis rather than "pro-rated on the basis of concentrations of wealth".

The stimulus of court decisions in this field, a long-term struggle of perhaps 15-20 years, according to Gibson, could move legislatures to accelerate or initiate legal steps to establish metropolitan forms of government. "It would take legislatures less time to set up the new instruments of government, but legislatures would have to present a formula that is not destructive of the quality of schools in general." States will fight such metropolitan litigation, Gibson is sure, but in this field, as in regard to legislative reapportionment, desegregation of schools, and legal protection for the accused in law enforcement, a litigative impetus can result in progress in the protection of the rights of minority groups. Gibson advances his view of a need for minority group pressure along the legal route because, he asserts, "a real civil rights basis exists for requiring redistribution of tax revenues on a regional level."

Federal-State Roles

According to the Constitution, Gibson asserts, those services of society and those responsibilities of government toward its citizens remain in the hands of only two entities, Federal and State government; local government has no Constitutional prerogatives. He says that on the issue of school district inequities, for example, in a State where priorities and concern are suburb-directed, allocation of school district funding on an equitable basis should be required by the courts and by Congress. "If public schools are inadequate anywhere in a State, the State is responsible; therefore the State constitution which permits an inequitable situation is unconstitutional—I think we will see a considerable development of litigation in this direction," he says.

On the point of financing, George Schermer supports Gibson's views, stating that "the real property tax is not a very good base for supporting public eduation; we need new forms, new sources for taxation. The State today has the basic power for the public welfare, the basic responsibility for public education, under the U.S. Constitution and its own Constitution. We dilute the political power of Negroes when we enlarge the bounds of the city government and reduce the amount of influence that they would have to bring about the necessary decisions for increased taxes to support public education." Even now on a diluted basis, Schermer advises, Negroes have power to force the State to bring about equitable reform.

"Because we do in fact have minority concentrations in the cities," Gibson continues, "minority groups have to press for having political controls placed more equitably in the hands of non-whites." Therefore greater local control of schools and other public institutions

should follow, and an insistence be made, in economic terms, on establishing new ownership patterns.

"There are dangers in following this route," Gibson warns, "in that such redistribution of power along racial and ethnic lines will increase the self-interest of minority groups and the continuation of a separatist movement without reducing the *utimate dependence* of the minority upon the majority community."

Gibson observes that apart from seeking to control or influence metropolitanism on a group basis, the minority person's other recourse is to seek "individual equity, power, wealth, and mobility" which means that minority persons must be fairly distributed throughout the metropolitan region. Thus schools and other public services are not identifiable as Negro schools or Negro services, Gibson says. "To affect the minority person through the majority self-interest, which would have to shortchange itself to shortchange the minority person, is an argument for equal distribution of minorities." Gibson, whose special field is community economic development and rural poverty, also sees grave dangers along this way, although ideally "good for society," dispersal would not necessarily change the majority's opposition. The minority might still be refused jobs, services, civil rights, political office. Again, Gibson stresses, "we would not necessarily rid ourselves of racism nor of the *ultimate dependence* of the minority upon the majority."

Establish Independent Control

Gibson reasons that "self-determination does not provide the ultimate solution for black communities," that "the desirable thing is for blacks to evolve a conscious step to ultimate integration. Racism must be addressed by efforts to purge racial superiority feelings, that is the ultimate solution," he declares.

The whole question of metropolitanism is relatively new. Only recently have public officials and lawmakers begun to think and make decisions with a metropolitan interest in mind. In terms of new structures of government to replace obsolete city halls; new cities to house, economically and decently, the new millions of people and some of the old; new regional programs to solve the logistics of waste disposal, reclamation of the environment, and transportation: metropolitanism is no doubt a necessary stage in the evolution of the Nation. Many of the respondents shared the thought that a balance may still have to be struck between the regional complex and smaller units of community. Thus, even this phenomenon which we are now seeking to comprehend may evolve toward another level.

At any rate, it is quite understandable why minority groups may sense a real threat in this new elaboration of politics and government. They may lack a political power base or fear losing one; they may certainly be dubious of fulfilling their needs through existing or proposed formulations of government. Regionalism in the governmental processes may be vigorously and successfully opposed by minorities in areas where, on the whole, metropolitanism of some kind is vitally needed. The trend among minority groups will no doubt be toward establishing as quickly as possible independent community control of certain public institutions, through political or militant means. Possibly, then, minority political strongholds may be able to gauge their view of metropolitanism with greater confidence. However, many of the persons who answered the Digest's queries warned that minority groups might end up in control of less and less resources with less and less real power.

To recall Dr. Fleming's comment that equal opportunity does not develop in a vacuum, it is obvious that neither does metropolitanization of regional problems nor their resolution. Metropolitanism is also a phenomenon of man and one would hope that man could still influence its evolution. In this regard, it would seem possible to include equal opportunity as a meaningful objective and by-product of the metropolitan age. Provision of an adequate transit system should take into account the job needs of both suburbanites and inner city dwellers. Provision of a quality education to all children may require new school patterns, new schools, and, more than likely, new systems of taxing and equitable revenue distribution governed either on an area or State-wide basis.

Transportation, education, and other problems may be so vast, extending over more than one State in some instances as to require Federal and State collaboration. The Urban Affairs Council established by the new Administration would seem to be the kind of body to deliberate the issues and initiate action on Federal-State involvement. The Digest's respondents made it very clear that Federal and/or State solutions are necessary and quite feasible but that in every case, the interests of the whole community, especially of its minority elements, must be taken into consideration.

Should metropolitanism be erected on existing patterns of segregation and isolation, already known to have caused strife in our cities and not yet resolved, then it would further reduce the chances for an integrated society and for a peaceful resolution of domestic inequities. It will be a metropolitanism built on sand. □

ARMANDO RENDON

Every year schools, Government, corporations, and professional organizations squander one billion dollars on producing films which promote social inequities. Viewers who see these noncommercial educational and industrial films gratis pay a hidden price in the misconceptions they see.

Noncommercial films can reinforce and promote social inequities by using biased casting procedures. School children, college students, consumers, and industrial trainees who view these films see only white actors in lead roles, because minority persons are shunted to walk-on parts, if they're not completely excluded. Some Negroes, Orientals, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans have complained about these biased practices, but their grievances are not popular.

The importance of casting minority persons in educational and industrial movies is multiple: job opportunities are more widely distributed; minority viewers identify with the roles; an affirmative image of minority persons is established; and majority members get a positive view of interracial society.

The New York State Division of Human Rights recently reiterated these themes during its hearings on job opportunities for minorities in the film industry. College professors added another valid reason for including minorities in educational films: students sometimes base career decisions on the films they see. If an Oriental, Negro, or person of Spanish origin never sees his counterpart practicing law, installing electronic equipment, or supervising other employees, he may be convinced that those careers are closed to him. Further, when ma-

BIAS IN NON-COMMERCIAL FILMS

jority group members see only white persons portraying key positions in business and society, beliefs in white competence and white superiority are reinforced.

Professors who use audio-visual materials were interviewed by Dr. Philip Harris of Bernard M. Baruch College, New York, who conducted the bias in film casting study. A survey was made of 131 films shown 1,634 times in different departments of three colleges and universities from 1965 to 1968. Some professors who showed films with integrated casts to their classes could not recall seeing minorities when the movie ended. This kind of response indicates the role minorities play in education films is usually so trifling as to go unnoticed.

College professors and high school teachers said 18 percent of the educational films they used had integrated casts, and most of these are directed toward special interests or designed for nonwhite audiences. If educational films are to present society positively, special interest films are not the entire answer; however, they do serve one beneficial need. Films about Puerto Ricans in New York City, Korean immigrants adjusting to American life, or an anthropological study of Borneo, inform students about subjects which most textbooks otherwise leave uncovered.

Of the billion dollars annually spent for noncommercial films, about half goes for educational movies. This sum is followed by business and industrial films which contribute more than one-third; Government spends about 10 percent, and community, religious, and medical associations spend 2 to 3 percent each. The 1966 industrial film market shows business used 63 percent of the films for sales; 14 percent for training; 11 percent for public relations; 8 percent for advertising, and 4 percent for other purposes.

The industrial film business is highly competitive, and producers say they must yield to the demands and prejudices of their clients in order to survive. This means clients can tell producers to omit minorities from certain productions without meeting much resistance.

The New York State study of casting patterns in industrial films reveals that two kinds of people are hired for parts—actual employees and professional actors. When the employees in a client's factory or office are used, the manufacturer and not the producer, is responsible for biased casting, because the actual situation—of

E.V. — B.A.

EDITORIAL PAGE

CENSUS

DD-T

Delta population and future

6-24-70

The preliminary census figures for the second and fourth congressional districts have been released. Both districts lost population since 1960. Figures for the first district, which includes much of the mid-Delta including Washington County, will probably be released by next week. It is not hard to predict that we in Greenville might as well throw those old Chamber of Commerce population projections out the window and count ourselves lucky if the city did no worse than hold its own over the last decade.

The prediction is not made for the sake of argument. If anything, it is advanced to save some of the shock we expect will be forthcoming when this district's figures are released. Mississippi State University's population research experts have been saying for five years that the county's population was declining significantly, and the Board of Supervisors' recent county-wide study which preceded redistricting indicated that Greenville had not grown in the past ten years.

This isn't very hard to understand when we remember a few facts and figures. Full mechanization on the farms was accomplished during the 1960s, as was the widespread use of chemical herbicides. The need for hand labor, except in special cases, dropped by at least 75 per cent. Industrial and business growth, on the other hand, grew during the same period, but nowhere near as fast as the revolutionary automation of agriculture. Too many people and too few jobs added up to the same result they have for decades: Exodus to urban areas elsewhere.

At the same time, most of the residential growth in the Greenville area was outside the city limits to the south and southeast. That growth is still largely outside the city limits, because legal maneuvers have stalled the city's annexation plan. In the meantime, within the city the housing code has brought down almost 1,000 substandard homes in less than 10 years. There has been no corresponding addition of new housing inside the corporate limits.

An educated guess is that the county overall lost about 10 per cent of its population between 1960 and 1970. (In other districts, Meridian and Yazoo City both lost about that much population in the same decade, as did several Delta counties.) Another, better-educated projection from Mississippi State is that the black percentage of the total county population either went up or stayed about the same as it was in 1960. That means that whites as well as blacks left the county during the decade, seeking better conditions elsewhere. In both cases, we expect the majority of those who left were in the most productive age categories, while a majority of those who remained were either school-age or older citizens.

This is not an encouraging picture, although we believe it will prove to be an accurate one. But it is nothing to panic about either. We have known, subconsciously if not consciously, that changes in agriculture were having a profound impact on this region. Most of those changes have now been thoroughly accomplished insofar as their effect on population is concerned. Future growth, and future emphasis by this area's leadership, must come in industrial development, in exploitation of our river location, and the stimulation of goods and service concerns. The 1960s were a time of near-traumatic economic change. The 1970s could and should be a time of exciting economic growth.

El Dorado Protests Census Figures

EL DORADO (UPI)—Mayo I. L. Pesses of El Dorado Thursday released a letter sent to the Census Bureau complaining of preliminary figures that show the city's population dropped by 2,000 persons between 1968 and 1970. ARK. GAZETTE.

A 1968 enumeration paid for by the city and conducted by the Census Bureau showed 26,176 persons lived in El Dorado. Preliminary figures for 1970 list 24,140 residents. 6-5-70

Pesses said he did not understand how any city could lose that many people in two years.

The letter was signed by W. H. Baker, El Dorado public works director. He asked that the Bureau check to make sure an eight-square-mile section annexed to the city in 1968 was included.

The 1968 census was made in an effort to secure more turnback funds from the state.

Census + Pop.

ARK. GAZETTE 6-5-70

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Selma Mayor Asks for Resurvey As Census Shows Population Loss

6-7-70

& Pop.

Montgy. Adv.

By COLIN (Buster) MacGUIRE
Advertiser State Editor

SELMA — A preliminary census report that shows a population loss of 1,442 residents here since the 1960 survey has caused considerable alarm, and has caused the mayor to make an urgent request for a resurvey.

Shocked by the report, and fearful that its adoption would sharply curtail state and federally shared revenues, Mayor Joe T. Smitherman immediately petitioned the regional director at Atlanta for immediate consideration of his plea.

In a conference here Friday, Smitherman said he had been proceeding under the assumption that there were some 35,000 residents in the city. The report reduced the 1960 figure of 28,383 to 26,941.

He bolstered his argument with figures reflecting an actual count of 15,588 registered voters within the city and the registration of some 8,000 school children in the city schools.

"Combining these figures," Smitherman said, "we come up with a total of 23,588, and this does not include any of those between the ages of 17 and 21 who do not attend school — to say nothing of those who have not registered to vote."

Smitherman said he was dumbfounded by the report, and was seriously concerned about the possible future of his city, if the requested reevaluation should be disallowed.

Arguing his case further, the mayor said that new construction and the installation of gas and water meters, combined with a count of the building permits issued "cause me strongly to believe our population to stand at a minimum of 32,000."

He said further that the city-operated recreation program, and the YMCA program, together have the greatest number of young people participating that those programs have ever had.

In his request to the regional director, Thomas McWhirter, Smitherman pointed out that more than half the city's population is of the Negro race, which migrated into the city from rural areas, "many of whom pay little or no revenue for city services."

The deprivation of additional state and federally shared funds, which are based on a per capita basis, "would cause Selma to lose income at a time when it urgently needs additional revenues," Smitherman said.

The mayor said he was aware that documentation to support his contentions would have to be produced, and that he was prepared to make such information available.

School Diploma

M-E-M-O-R-A-N-D-U-M

June 23, 1970

To: Emory Via

From: Art Campbell AC

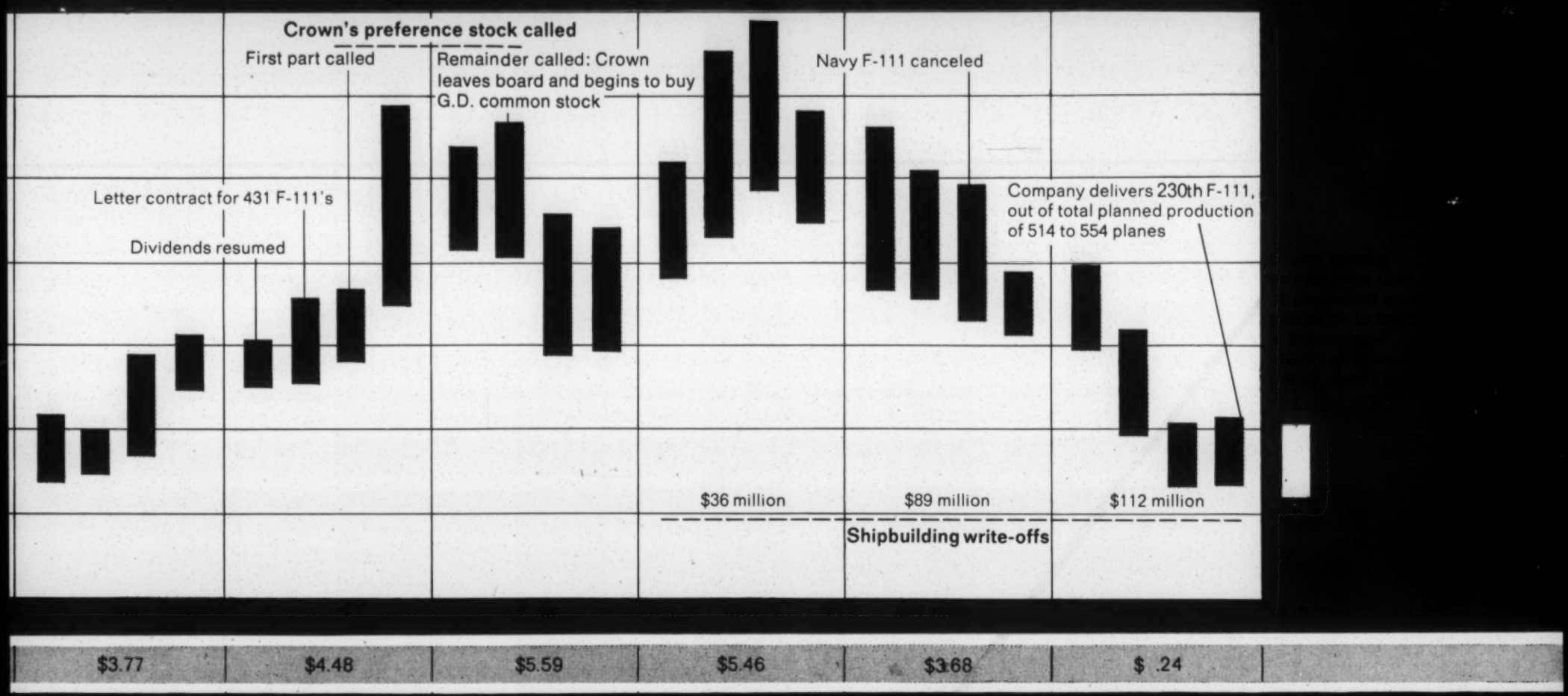
Re: Census Data

~~Eric Hill Associates have~~ been designated a Census Summary Tape Processing Center. They will be engaged in the selling of data. Presently, data files are being designed in order that a potential user would be able to order sets of tables by telephone. A Harvard library program is being acquired to provide graphic display of data. The firm has plans to form an Atlanta Planning Information Center. Such a center is envisioned as a means of getting potential or regular users of census data together to determine what kind of data should be kept at the Processing Center. Presently, means of updating data on a regular basis are being developed. Plans also call for certain cross-correlations of data that the Census Bureau doesn't ordinarily perform.

Even with today's low birth rates, the population is growing fast enough to double in seventy-two years. Someday it will have to stabilize.

U.S. Population Growth: Would

PAGINATION INCORRECT



which was so anxious to unload that it sold the property, 185 acres of land, ways, buildings, and machinery, for only $5 million. G.D. was apparently dazzled by that price; Lewis and other executives still talk about how cheaply they got the yard when they discuss the logic behind the purchase of Quincy. It is not clear at all that equal thought was given back in 1963 to the working capital and managerial talent that would have to be tied up in the operation or to the risks that might have been expected to accompany G.D.'s entry into a relatively unfamiliar business.

Quincy is Lewis' Achilles' heel. He bought the yard originally because the Groton facility did not lend itself to expansion, and because he believed generally in the future of shipbuilding and, specifically, in the future of sophisticated ships to whose construction G.D. could apply systems techniques that it had polished at Electric Boat and in the aerospace industry. He still sees great promise in shipbuilding, to the point that he expects his decision about Quincy eventually to be vindicated. But meanwhile he is stuck with the knowledge that the yard has so far been a lemon, and that all of the sourness seeping from it has undeniably been the product of his administration, and his alone.

Had there been a proxy fight, Quincy might well have kept the G.D. management from winning; it surely prodded Lewis toward the "understanding" with Crown. It cannot please Lewis to recall that Crown, though he ultimately made the G.D. board's decision unanimous by voting for the Quincy purchase, had right up to the last argued against the move. When asked recently about reports that he had opposed the Quincy purchase, Crown was drawn to admit that indeed he had. He could not help looking a little smug.

An uncollectable profit

The F-111 is a far different problem from the shipyards. Lewis once said of the F-111 contract that the only thing worse than having it would be not having it. That wry remark aptly sums up the situation. Probably no corporation has ever had a bigger public-relations problem, yet without the acquisition of that contract in 1962, G.D. might not have been able to pull itself back together.

The current news about the F-111 is, as usual, bountiful. One body of information concerns the condition of the fleet and begins with the fact that at the end of 1969, General Dynamics had delivered 230 of the planes. That score still stands, for at the moment the Air Force is not accepting, or for that matter, flying (except in a few special cases), any F-111's. Instead, in reaction to a crash in December that was found to be caused by a flaw in a metal part of one of the plane's wings, it is putting each of its existing F-111's through an extraordinary testing procedure designed to identify any other such flaws that might exist.

The testing program has put the squeeze on G.D. in a variety of ways. For one thing, if the Air Force's view prevails, the company will have to pay 15 percent of the cost of the testing, which is expected to run to $35 million. For another, the money for the testing is slated to come from funds that would otherwise be available for the procurement of F-111's, with the result that G.D.'s production run will apparently be cut by three or four planes. Finally, though the Air Force continues to make progress payments to G.D. for the planes the company is making but not delivering, these payments are limited to 90 percent of G.D.'s costs. That leaves the company, for the time being, stuck with the remainder of its costs and, beyond that, unable to collect its profit. (However, in line with accepted accounting procedures, G.D. continues to "book," or include in earnings, profits on the program just as if deliveries were proceeding normally.) Partly because of this situation and partly because of its more general financial woes, G.D. has since the end of the year increased its short-term bank borrowings from $62 million to nearly $150 million and was recently seeking to raise its line of credit by another $50 million.

Most of the other items of F-111 news have been coming

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PAGINATION INCORRECT

Slower Be Better?

by Lawrence A. Mayer

The movement to curb population growth in the U.S. has come into prominence, curiously enough, at a time when the birth rate is close to its all-time low. The actual low in the U.S. birth rate came in 1968, at 17.5 per thousand. While the rate rose a bit to 17.7 last year—the first increase in more than a decade—it was still lower than at any point during the great depression of the Thirties. And though the number of births last year was up 2 percent to 3,570,000, that total was about 700,000 below the all-time peak reached in 1957.

The U.S., then, appears to have already moved in the direction that proponents of population stability advocate. But it's not at stability yet. Even at the recent reduced birth rates, the population has been growing 1 percent a year, and that is enough to double it in a single lifetime of seventy-two years. Moreover, birth rates are now bound to go higher, at least for some years to come. One important reason has to do with the changing numbers of women aged twenty to thirty-four, who account for about three-quarters of all births. The size of this group remained practically constant at about 18 million between 1955 and 1965, but from 1965 to 1970 it grew by three million, and in the next fifteen years it will increase ten million more. This wave of younger women is the result, of course, of the baby boom that followed World War II.

While the number of young women began to increase markedly in the years following 1965, the number of births did not. The women who had reached at least the age of twenty-five by around 1965 had borne most of their children by that time, and births to them naturally slowed down drastically thereafter. At the same time, women who were then just moving into the child-bearing ages delayed having children (see "Why the U.S. Population *Isn't* Exploding," FORTUNE, April, 1967). This delay should partly be made up at later ages, however, and meanwhile the ranks of the twenty- to thirty-four-year-olds will increase rapidly. These two factors virtually guarantee that there will be a rise in births during the years directly ahead.

How boomy this baby boom will turn out to be is a question that perplexes demographers. Those at the Census Bureau who made four alternative population projections in 1967 have already discarded the highest as virtually impossible (see chart, opposite). What's more, it has become clear that the second highest is improbable. Up to this moment, it is the lowest that is on target with a figure of 205 million for 1970*. At any rate Census will soon issue a new, lower set of projections.

In the present era of changing mores and social upheavals, it is even more difficult than usual to forecast the probable course of U.S. population growth. Just about everything known, however, suggests to Census demographers that a range of projections for the year 2000 should at the outside be no higher than 325 million (the old Census high was 361 million). Even the 300 million people still commonly said to be inevitable by 2000 are no longer inevitable at all.

Some distance from zero

Population projections have to be built on many assumptions. One key assumption has to do with how large a family the average woman eventually will have. And nobody knows what that figure will be for the young women who will soon begin to bear children, or have recently begun. Surveys have shown that women expect what averages out as about 3.2 children. Demographers largely agree that at present it looks as if today's young women would have fewer children than that. But it would take a drop all the way down to an average of 2.1 children per woman (a bit more than 2.2 per married woman) to bring population growth to a halt. The 2.1 figure is sometimes referred to as the "zero population growth" rate. Obviously it takes two children to replace a set of parents. The extra 0.1 compensates for the girls who die before maturity and takes account of the fact that fewer girls than boys are born. (The 2.1 figure ignores net immigration, which has been contributing 0.2 percent a year to U.S. population growth.)

An important clue to future family size is the total fertility rate. This is the combined rate at which, in any particular year, women of all reproductive ages bear children. The figure for 1969 suggested women were building families at a rate that, if sustained, would give them an average of about 2.5 children by the end of their child-bearing careers. This rate is very close to that underlying the present Census low projection. But the total fertility rate at any point in time may be an unreliable indicator. For example, the rate hit 3.7 per woman in the late 1950's, a figure demographers rightly suspected was too high to

**If this year's Census picked up the number of people thought to have been missed in the Census of 1960, the official figure for 1970 will finally be reported as about 210 million.*

A slowdown in growth has already outdated the Census Bureau's high projection, only a few years old. Population is now following the bureau's low projection. The other curves shown were worked out by economist Stephen Enke of General Electric-TEMPO. The one labeled "recent family size" assumes that today's young women will have an average of 2.9 children, and that women will continue in that pattern. The "zero population growth" line assumes that, starting in 1975, the average per woman declines to 2.1 children—i.e., just enough for replacement. Because of the present age structure, growth would not reach zero for about sixty-five years. Both of Enke's projections assume some increase in life expectancies.

last. Many experts think the present 2.5 is too low to last.

Donald J. Bogue, a demographer at the University of Chicago, argues that the present fertility rate is *not* misleading. The rise in fertility that followed World War II, he believes, was merely a prolonged interruption of the decline in the U.S. birth rate that got started early in the nineteenth century. He thinks it quite significant that by 1968 white women were bearing children at a rate of only 2.37 per woman, 1.26 fewer than in 1957 and not so very far from the stability rate of 2.1. Childbearing by black women (who account for about 17 percent of all births) has come down by about the same proportion, and was at a rate of 3.2 per woman in 1968. Moreover, Bogue thinks the black rate may go below the white rate by the end of this century. He points out, for example, that the percentage of black women who bear five or more children has halved since 1957. Moreover, college-educated black women expect fewer children than college-educated white women expect.

Accordingly, Bogue sees comparatively moderate growth in the U.S. population by the year 2000. The low of about 280 million in the Census Bureau's 1967 projection is the top of Bogue's high range. Bogue's low goes down to 220 million.

The big little difference

A view quite different from Bogue's is advanced by Arthur A. Campbell, a widely respected government demographer now at the National Institutes of Health. He believes that the total fertility rate is probably giving off a false signal. He takes the depression years, when all measures of births were extremely low, as his bench mark. At that time, women born in 1909 were in their peak childbearing years. By age twenty-six (in 1935) they had given birth to but 1.05 children on average, and they finally produced the smallest American families on record, 2.23 children. By contrast, when women born in 1943 were twenty-six years old (in 1969), they had already averaged 1.57 children. It now looks as if these younger women would eventually have an average of close to three. Recent patterns suggest that 90 percent of today's young women will have at least one child; in contrast, nearly 25 percent of the women born in 1909 never had any children at all.

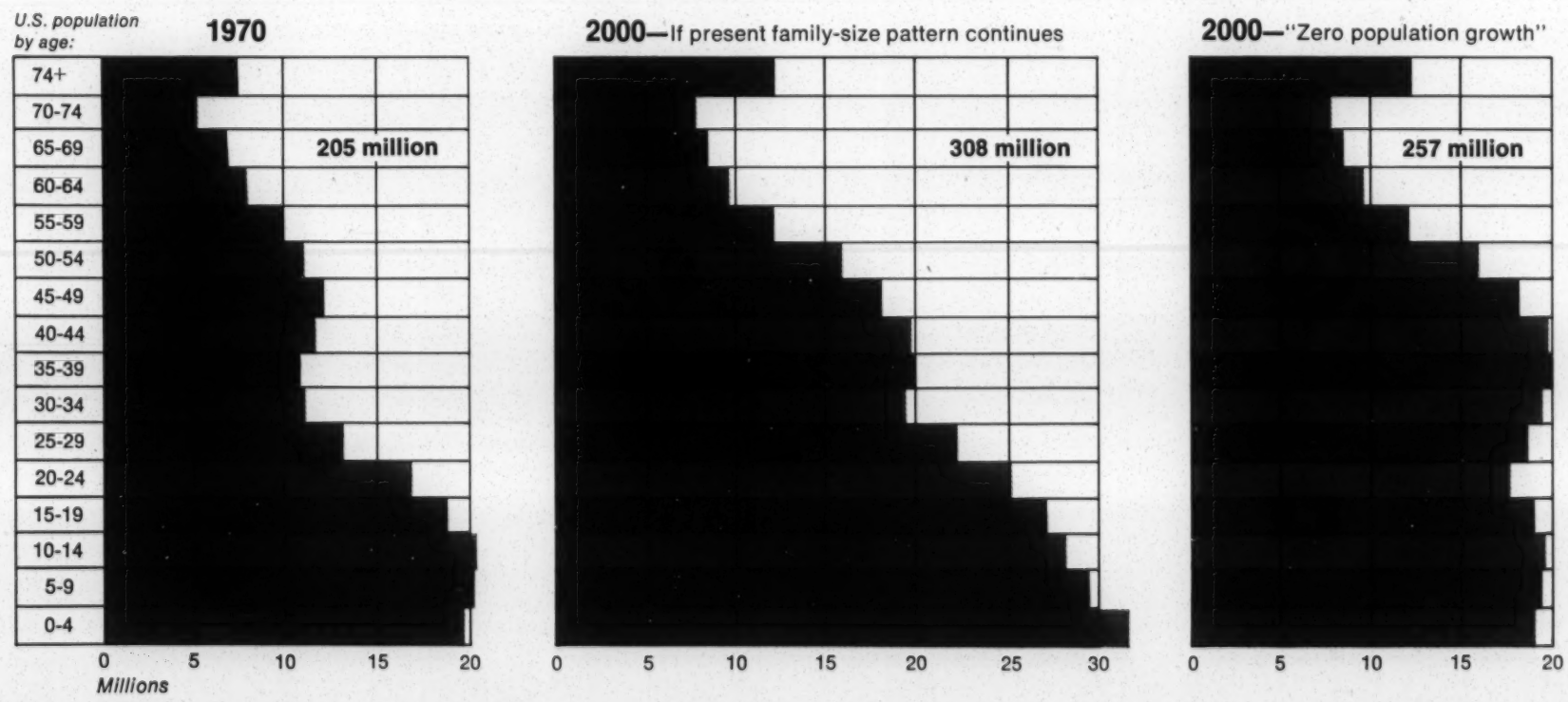
In short, Campbell believes that much of the recent decline in birth rates reflects a delay in childbearing by young women. And even though such delays tend to reduce the eventual size of families ("Later means less," demographers say), he still thinks current reproductive behavior is consistent with an average of 2.8 children per woman rather than 2.5. This seemingly insignificant difference has large implications. If sustained over thirty years to 2000, the higher figure would mean 25 million more Americans.

As surer means of birth control come into use, it becomes more important for demographers to know how many children people really want. One kind of information bearing on this question is what proportion of births represents unwanted children. In a recent paper, Professors Larry Bumpass of Wisconsin and Charles F. Westoff of Princeton maintain that 16 percent of the births to women who were nearing the end of their childbearing years in 1965—when the last national fertility survey was taken—were unwanted. They conclude that these women, on average, would have had only 2.5 children if they had been able to exercise perfect control over their fertility.

This is astounding, since whenever surveys have directly asked women how many children they wanted or expected, the average has always come out a little over three. Bumpass and Westoff, however, went back over the 1965 questionnaires to ascertain what parents said about wanting *each successive child.* In this way the two

Variations on the Population Profile

These charts illustrate how changes in rates of population growth affect not only total numbers but also the age structure. The present profile reflects both the marked rise in births beginning in the 1940's and the leveling out and decline in births since 1957. If women continue to have families of present (or recent) size, the population will grow 50 percent by the year 2000 and will shift to a still younger age structure. But if family size declines to the "zero population growth" level by 1975, there will be similar numbers of people in all age brackets up to about fifty by the year 2000. (Data from Stephen Enke of G.E.-TEMPO.)



demographers arrived at their 2.5 figure. And this result could well be conservative. It can be imagined that parents find it difficult to describe children who may literally be sitting in the adjoining room as "unwanted."

By extending their analysis to the entire population, Bumpass and Westoff conclude that in the 1960's one-fifth of all births were unwanted—meaning about 700,000 annually in the past few years. The extra births are more widely spread among social classes than might be supposed. The poor and near-poor, of course, contributed more than their proportionate share, *but more than half* of the unwanted children were born to parents who were not considered poor. (A family of four that had an income of at least $4,000 in 1964 was classified as "nonpoor.")

The implications of these findings are quite far reaching. If the number of children that couples really want averages 2.5 rather than three or so, it might not require very extensive social alterations to attain population stability, assuming the availability of perfect contraception.

The "popullution" problem

A sense that population growth is becoming a burden rather than a boon has taken hold in the U.S. with surprising swiftness. Last July, only a year after President Johnson's restrained advocacy of family planning and his hesitant mention of "population change," President Nixon spoke out forthrightly about the "pressing problems" associated with population growth. In keeping with Mr. Nixon's request, Congress has established a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future.

All the attention to population has arisen from several interwoven concerns having to do with crowding, pollution, and deterioration of the environment. The U.S. is confronting a "popullution" problem, observes S. Fred Singer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior and director of that department's research on environmental quality. Also, it is disturbing to some that the U.S. is chewing up a disproportionate share of the earth's limited stock of natural resources.

Population growth, of course, is not the only villain in these matters. Under present arrangements, the nation's productive system provides high levels of consumption but also throws off inordinate amounts of pollution, waste, and discomfort. The uneven distribution of the population also affects the quality of life.

It is often said that the U.S. doesn't really have a population problem, because there are only fifty-five people per square mile (sixty-five excluding Alaska). Density in some European countries runs more than ten times as high. But the over-all density figure for the U.S. is misleading, because two-thirds of the population lives in metropolitan areas, where density is much greater. And nearly half of the people in metropolitan areas live in central cities, where the density averages around 7,000 per square mile (and a lot higher than that in city cores). It is true that these urban areas are becoming decentralized, but the continuing helter-skelter growth of suburbs is causing new problems of traffic, water supply, and pollution.

If the U.S. rationally altered the distribution of people, it is often contended, there would be no reason for concern about the size of the population. This is more easily proposed than done. Schemes to distribute the population differently are up against what appears to be an iron law of urbanization: in a technologically advancing society the bigger cities tend to grow in perpetuity. Public authorities have tried over the years to halt the growth of London, Paris, Tokyo, and Moscow. None has succeeded, not even the authoritarian government of the U.S.S.R.

Another often-mentioned possibility is to build new towns. Britain has carried out the largest endeavors along this line, having started twenty-seven new towns—new cities, really—since 1946. But they contain only about 1 percent of the total population. Most observers give Britain's new towns at least passing marks, in large part because they have preserved a lot of open space, especially around London. However, the towns have failed to improve conditions within London; the inferior housing that was evacuated filled up again with newcomers.

Only a few communities that really qualify as new towns have been built in the U.S., and those few are not very populous. Recently the federal government gave its first real support to a new town in more than thirty years by issuing a loan guarantee to Jonathan, about twenty miles from Minneapolis. The location of Jonathan supports those who contend that new towns can succeed only within the ambit of established cities. If that is true, then although new towns prevent haphazard development, they don't really do much redistributing. A number of experts think some redistribution could be accomplished if new towns were built around existing ones and used facilities already in place. They have in mind cities in the Middle West that could stand revival—cities with 20,000 to 40,000 people that have stopped growing or are losing population.

One way to try to get new cities built is for the federal government to grant tax incentives to business, an approach that a number of studies and some bills in Congress advocate. Other measures that Washington or local governments could try include selective placement of procurement contracts, provision of inter-area job information, and special channeling of assistance to home building. This spring the Nixon Administration was considering several alternative approaches to a new-town program.

Romantic nonsense

Many economists take a quite different approach to the problems of population distribution. Attempts to use subsidies and special assistance to get people and companies to relocate in less crowded parts of the country are "romantic nonsense," according to Dick Netzer, an urban-economics specialist at New York University. Of the many underlying reasons, perhaps the most important is that the key decisions about location are ordinarily not made by individuals seeking amenities, but by business organizations that cluster together in places they find economically advantageous.

The sensible way to change present patterns of distribution, Netzer and other economists maintain, is to make organizations and individuals pay the full costs of their activities. The argument is that if business, for one, was forced to pay for all the pollution, waste disposal, and traffic congestion resulting from its activities, and for all the benefits it gets from airports, highways, and other public facilities, the distribution of industry and people would be a lot different and the condition of the environment a lot better. In other words, the costs of producing and distributing goods and services should reflect the "externalities." The additional costs would, in many cases, be passed on to consumers. (See "The Economics of Environmental Quality," FORTUNE, February.)

Another way to reduce adverse effects of population growth on the environment is to reduce standards of consumption. It has been calculated that an attempt to get

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pollution in 1965 back to the levels of 1940 would have required reductions of 50 percent in the number of cars on the road, 50 percent in consumption of paper, 70 percent in generation of electric power, and 87 percent in the use of nitrogen fertilizer.

Still another set of troublesome questions connected with population has to do with the future adequacy of resources. The answers are by no means certain, though judging by the past alone there is nothing much to worry about. Important new materials such as petroleum and aluminum have been brought into use in the past century, and others, such as synthetic fibers and plastics, have emerged from laboratories. Additional reserves of minerals and fuels keep coming along. Better conservation methods have also added to supplies, as in the case of lumber. And improved technology has in some instances played an important role in holding down the consumption of materials. In 1968, electric utilities burned 480 million tons of fuel, measured in coal equivalents; Hans H. Landsberg of Resources for the Future calculates that 740 million tons would have been burned if the technology of 1940 had still been in use.

In principle there are only four real resources: the earth and its minerals, air, water, and fossil fuels. The first three can be constantly repurified or recycled in one way or another, maintains Roger Revelle of Harvard. But the fossil fuels —coal and petroleum—are irrecoverable once consumed, and are bound to run out within a few hundred years. However, most energy experts expect that, before the present century is over, breeder reactors to supply energy will be available, and some believe that controlled fusion will also prove feasible (see page 94).

The world, of course, is a long way from ideal utilization and recycling of materials. Moreover, if one extrapolates demand on the assumption that most or all countries will become industrially advanced, then it is possible to arrive at enormously large estimates of future global requirements for resources. Changes in technology and patterns of resource use will temper these requirements, but even so, demand for materials will certainly rise far above present levels.

The U.S. is already a large user and importer of a long string of raw materials from antimony to zinc. With only 6 percent of the world's population, the U.S. gobbles up about one-third of the world's materials. At present the high U.S. rate of imports helps provide underdeveloped countries with badly needed foreign exchange, but as they achieve a high degree of industrialization they may ration their exports of resources.

An eventual halt

It seems feasible, in theory at least, to mitigate problems arising from the distribution of population, environmental pollution, and scarcity of resources by altering government regulations, taxes, and subsidies, re-allocating costs, and adopting different technologies and life styles. But such measures, even if society is willing to accept the costs, will not enable the U.S. to postpone indefinitely facing questions about population growth. Eventually, growth will have to come to a halt. Though no one can formulate them with any precision, there must be limits to how many people the earth, or any nation, can hold. Accordingly, it might be wise to begin thinking now about ways to stabilize the population. If society waits until limitation becomes a matter of desperate urgency, it may be too late for humane, noncoercive policies, and in any event the quality of life will have been severely and perhaps irreparably impaired.

The economic and social consequences of population stability merit a great deal more research and thought than they have received. Still, it is possible now to foresee some of the effects. Whether the effects seem beneficial or not depends to some extent on individual values and tastes; at any rate, a lot of things would be different.

It was once believed by businessmen and by many economists that population growth was necessary to sustain national prosperity. Nowadays hardly any economist would argue in favor of that view. Despite a widely held assumption to the contrary, big business seems to have swung around too. A FORTUNE-Yankelovich survey of chief executives of the 500 largest corporations (February) showed that almost eight in ten favor some sort of effort that would curb further population growth.

The size of the gross national product would be smaller with population stability than with continued growth. More women would presumably go to work if there were fewer children, but once employment of women reached a ceiling there would be no further growth in the labor force. From then on the economy could grow only as fast as the average output per worker. This means that if productivity is still rising at 3 percent or so a year with the population stabilized, the economy's potential rate of growth would be 3 percent a year rather than the present rate of more than 4 percent.

THE U.S. APPETITE FOR RESOURCES

U.S. Consumption as Percent of World Production

NATURAL GAS	67%	GYPSUM	29%
SILVER	58	MERCURY	28
MOLYBDENUM	50	CHROMIUM	28
SULPHUR	48	ANTIMONY	27
MAGNESIUM	43	ZINC	27
COBALT	41	CRUDE PETROLEUM	26
LEAD	37	TIN	26
PLATINUM	35	NICKEL	25
BAUXITE	30	COAL	21
COPPER	29	IRON ORE	21

The average standard of living is nevertheless likely to be higher with population stability. When population is rising, some proportion of national product must go to provide consumer goods and services and social overhead for additional people. With stability, the U.S. could use the freed resources to increase both private and public investment per capita. Because each member of the labor force would then be working with a larger or more advanced stock of capital, there would be more output and income *per worker*. And since workers would, on average, belong to smaller families, income *per person* would rise even faster. The income position of young families—with fewer children living at home than their counterparts of today—would benefit the most. It thus turns out that businessmen are confronted with a trade-off: a growing population would mean larger markets, and a stationary population would mean richer markets.

Markets would also be affected by the changed age composition of the population. By the year 2000, as the chart on

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page 82 shows, a population moving toward stability would have roughly the same number of people of each age up to about fifty. Several decades later, with population growth actually zero, all age groups except the very old would be approximately the same size. On the particular assumptions used to construct that chart, people under twenty-five would constitute one-third of the population compared to more than 45 percent at present, and the median age would be thirty-eight compared to twenty-eight. The market would thus be far more oriented toward older people and far less toward younger ones than is the case today. Apart from the different marketing strategies this implies, some industries would stand to gain, relatively, and others to lose.

With higher incomes and fewer children, young families could afford to spend more for travel, recreation, adult clothing, and home goods. The businesses that, on the whole, would presumably do worst are those with a kind of fundamental dependence on growth in numbers of people. Purveyors of goods and services for infants, producers of staple foods such as bread, sugar, and canned goods, bottlers of beer and soft drinks, construction, building-supply, and real-estate companies; and manufacturers of such tobacco products as are still being sold—all these could very well be stuck with relatively stagnant markets.

Population stability would also bring with it a somewhat less flexible economy, though it would not necessarily be less efficient. A growing population makes it easier to maintain opportunities for members of all occupations, and for business to make adjustments to changing tastes and technologies. Because markets grow faster, marginal investments are more likely to succeed and obsolete industries to hold on.

Stability is not likely to entail higher production costs. The U.S. market is already large enough to make it possible for most industries to enjoy maximum economies of scale, or it certainly will be by the time population growth levels out. At least one burden would grow, however. Social-security taxes and pension costs are bound to go up as stable population conditions are reached, because of the increase in the ratio of people receiving benefits to those paying.

Will youth be disserved?

Among the social benefits of population stability would be some reduction in poverty because there would be few large families. And smaller families would make for more education per child. That, in turn, implies a more highly skilled labor force and enhanced ability to innovate or to cope with advanced technology. The less the population grows, the less the need for increases in governmental expenditures in such areas as education, health, recreation, and water supply. Indeed, there would be less need for government regulation or intervention of many kinds. With relatively fewer young people around, there would presumably be less juvenile delinquency. With fewer drivers on the road, control of traffic would be less onerous. With fewer families looking for homes, there would be less pressure to alter the zoning of land.

Some people who have considered the matter maintain that population stability would bring some social disadvantages. Ansley Coale of Princeton has pointed out that when there are about as many older as younger people, the average age of those who run things will be greater, and advancement in business, in politics, or in any other form of organized activity will perforce be slower, a situation that will be frustrating to oncoming generations. Things might not work out quite that way, however: a relatively smaller demand for the services of young people would be partially balanced by a relatively smaller supply. In general, it may be misleading to project today's attitudes into tomorrow's world. A changed population structure would have many interacting consequences that might affect the morale and outlook of both young people and their elders in ways difficult to foresee. At any rate, it is not certain that youth would be served any less well in a stable population than it is now.

The most sweeping attack on population stability comes from the pen of Alfred Sauvy. This distinguished French demographer's textbook has finally been published in English (*General Theory of Population,* Basic Books), and may well play an important role in future debate about population. Sauvy presents a long catalogue of social, cultural, and economic ailments that France has experienced from early in the nineteenth century to the present, and he attributes them largely or exclusively to the virtual stagnation of the population during most of that time. The argument is long and rich, but cause and effect are scarcely ever conclusively demonstrated, and there is a noticeable absence of the statistical analysis one might expect. Sauvy's main explanation is that when population stops growing, society loses a sort of creative pressure that stimulates and adds healthy ferment to all of its aspects. This sort of generalization is perhaps more persuasive to French readers than to others, for concern over slow population growth is widespread in France and has been of long-standing concern to the government. Surely there are other reasons for difficulties that the French are bothered about. Coale likes to point out, for example, that just as the Industrial Revolution in England was getting under way, France, under Napoleon, was undertaking a series of ultimately unproductive military adventures.

Assigned to motherhood

A society that wants to stabilize its population runs up against the puzzle of how to go about doing it. One difficulty is that little is known in any systematic way about the psychological and social motivations that impel people to become parents or to have large families. For example, to what degree are decisions to have children consciously arrived at and to what degree are they subconscious? Knowledge about such matters may be an important prerequisite for devising a population policy that would work.

Of course, if Bogue is correct that the U.S. is already moving toward a halt in population growth, there isn't any puzzle to solve. Or if Bumpass and Westoff are correct that the number of children women really want averages out to around 2.5, then perhaps a reasonably uncontroversial program might be able to reduce that number to 2.1. Such a program would include an educational campaign about the long-run consequences of continued population growth; a system for making means of contraception available to all women; elimination of obstacles to abortion; and greatly intensified research efforts to discover more reliable and acceptable contraceptive methods. (At the moment, research is under way on some three dozen or so.) These steps would amount to a broadening and intensification of present family planning. Complete freedom of choice would be left to the individual.

But suppose Bumpass and Westoff are wrong, and people really still want three children? Then intensified family planning, though helpful, would be insufficient. Family planning in the U.S. has traditionally been put forward as a way of widening individual options, not of implementing a population policy. Some claim that family planning is incapable of

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fulfilling the latter role. The heart of the argument is that what demographers call "pro-natalist" influences are far too strong and deeply embedded to be counteracted solely by voluntary family planning.

Government tax and subsidy policies are at least implicitly pro-natalist. The examples that come to mind most easily are tax exemptions for children and, because of the split-income provision, higher tax rates for single than for married people. FHA and VA assistance to buyers of single-family homes has done a great deal to encourage the growth of all those child-centered suburbs. In many ways, customs and social arrangements operate to favor motherhood—a situation that some women are now vigorously protesting. Many people who advocate smaller families maintain that childbearing cannot be reduced substantially until women have real and satisfying alternatives to motherhood as a primary role. Perhaps nothing would do more to ensure the prevalence of small families than widespread success for the "women's liberation movement."

It will, of course, be somewhat easier to make a go of any limitationist policy once biologists learn just how to predetermine the sex of a child. In the U.S., as well as in other countries, many couples with one or more daughters decide to have additional children in the hope of having a son. However, if choosing the sex of children were to bring an appreciable change in the ratio of male to female births, that would not only enormously complicate population policy, but would also have other far-reaching social consequences.

A problem never faced before

There is some question whether a government can deliberately curtail a nation's population growth. Official approval apparently contributed to the postwar decline in Japan's population growth, but otherwise there is no direct evidence that government policies work. And the indirect evidence is negative. Some countries have consciously tried *pro*-natalist policies—France for the past thirty years, Germany under Hitler, Italy under Mussolini—with little success.

A great many proposed methods, some of them quite fanciful, have been put forward. Bernard Berelson, president of the Population Council, has listed twenty-nine different proposals to limit population growth apart from family planning. (Some really apply only to underdeveloped countries.) They include adding temporary sterilants—as yet undevised—to water-supply systems; licensing childbearing through permits that could be bought and sold on the open market, raising the legal age of marriage, and, of course, changing the tax system. The difficulty is to devise programs that are both feasible and effective. Measures that rank high on ethics, such as educational campaigns, might not be very effective. Deliberate changes in social institutions might eventually work, but they could have unforeseen side effects and would be hard to bring about.

Everyone who thinks about these matters is groping for answers to a problem that no democratic society has squarely faced before. The root question is how to reconcile long-run collective interest in limiting the growth of population with the desires of those who want to have more than two children. Uncomfortable choices will be involved if at some point society decides that it is desirable to curtail freedom to reproduce in order to preserve other freedoms or to preserve valued amenities.

Until recently almost all Americans took it for granted that the right to have as many children as one wants should not be abridged in any way. The number of people who openly disagree is a lot larger now than it was a few years ago, as is evidenced by the sudden emergence of the Zero Population Growth movement. The right to have children is not absolute, argues Judith Blake Davis, chairman of the department of demography at the University of California. She points out that much of the cost of the satisfaction enjoyed by families with many children is willy-nilly subsidized by others who must pay for the additional schooling and public services. The freedom to have children, she says, does not exist in a vacuum but in a context where the tax laws, the status of women, and various other social arrangements have a pro-natalist bias.

Symbolic commitment

It seems obvious that any population policy would have to meet certain ethical criteria. It should permit a maximum of individual freedom and diversity. It should not in any way impair the welfare of "extra" children. Also, it should not be used to practice selective coercion against any special group within the population.

The history and ways of Americans suggest that the fiscal system, which is impersonal and has long been used to accomplish social and economic ends, would come into play early in any effort to limit population growth. For example, there might be some form of bonus for not having more than a specified number of children. Or various kinds of tax disincentives might be enacted.

A proposal along these lines has been introduced in Congress by Senator Robert Packwood of Oregon. The bill would take effect in 1973 and would provide exemptions of $750 each for a family's first two children and none for any subsequent children. (Those born before the effective date of the act would not fall under this limitation, nor would adopted children.) Under tax provisions that were enacted last year and will take full effect in 1973, a family of four will get exemptions of $3,000 and a standard deduction of at least $1,000, so families below the poverty line won't be paying federal taxes anyway. The Packwood bill would therefore have no impact on large families among the poor. Nor would it have much impact on the well-to-do. The effect on people in middle-income brackets is uncertain, and Packwood, among others, suspects it wouldn't be great. "I don't regard a tax incentive per se as a key to population stabilization," he declares. "The important thing is that a tax-incentive bill, if passed, is a government commitment to make an effort to achieve stabilization. It would be symbolic."

Whatever the time or the circumstances, any policy of deliberately limiting population growth should be suffused with respect for the quality of individual life. This view was well expressed by Catherine S. Chilman, dean of the faculty at Hood College, in a paper recently presented at the New York Academy of Sciences. "We must care as a society," she said, "about the fulfillment and well-being of individuals as whole people, not just as potential reproducers. . . While a humane population policy would recognize the need to motivate people to have no or very few children, it would lead from a social and psychological base rather than one that is exclusively material and technological. It would emphasize that there are many ways of being a respected, successful person other than having a large family; that there are many benefits, other than economic ones, alone, to be gained from controlling family size. It would build on and enhance the human need to love, cherish, nurture, and protect." END

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July 22, 1970

Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

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2. An approximate estimate of when each kind of data will become available so you may plan timing of your studies.

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Sincerely,

C. Bron Cleveland

CBC:sh

Sardine Syndrome The News and Observer
Raleigh, N.C., Sunday, September 6, 1970

Census Reflects 'People Menace'

By Claude Sitton

Elbow room. The words have a comfortable ring for Americans. Tradition favors the broad reach and the big sky, be it mountain, plain or strand. Even Manhattan's cliff dwellers pay them homage. That is why the tentative 1970 census returns now dribbling out of Washington give North Carolinians reassurance. The state is rural, small town and small city. Only 37.3 per cent of its population is urban. The bigger-is-better boys in the chambers of commerce don't like it. The people do, those who stop to ponder.

Sitton

But North Carolina is atypical. No less than 68.5 per cent of all Americans live in metropolitan areas. Further, and more disturbing, the number of rural and urban Americans is growing rapidly. Once servicemen, transients and others are added to the 1970 count, the total is expected to pass 204 million. But that total already is five months old. Census experts estimate the population as of midafternoon on Sept. 1 at 205,730,682. And it is gaining at the rate of one person every 15½ seconds.

The United States accounts for only 6 per cent of the world's population. And when the skyrocketing growth of all peoples is considered, the looming crisis becomes apparent. Some demographers say the present world population of 3.5 billion will double in 30 years. By 2050 — less than a century away — more than 30 billion will inhabit the earth, according to their estimates. That means 10 bodies for every one existing today, a mind-boggling prospect.

Necessary as it seems, population control is freighted with controversy. Some groups oppose it on religious grounds. Even those who favor it disagree as to how it can be achieved. One school advocates voluntary measures — contraception, sterilization or abortion. Another discounts the voluntary approach. Its members point out that India's 10-year campaign for control has not stemmed the rising tide of people. They argue instead for compulsory measures such as the injection of drugs that create temporary infertility into food and water.

Without control world crisis seems inevitable. Famine already is prevalent in a few developing nations where population has outdistanced food supply. Hunger is by no means the only threat. Overpopulation could wipe out supplies of other resources — metals, minerals, fuels, chemicals and construction materials. Stewart L. Udall, former Interior Secretary, has estimated that the United States alone uses 35 to 50 per cent of the world's annual consumption of irreplaceable materials. Moreover, this nation does more to disrupt and destroy the environment than poorer countries with more people.

A more subtle menace may confront a world of wall-to-wall people — "The Sardine Syndrome." Two British social biologists, Dr. W. M. S. Russell and his wife Claire, describe it in an article under that title in the August issue of "The Ecologist," a new British monthly. They contend that recent violence stems essentially from overpopulation.

The Russells concede the disagreement over the causes of human aggression that lead to crime, riots and war. "Some people have said that human aggressiveness is human nature, an innate disposition in man," they observe. "Other people have taken the view that human aggression is a response to intolerable frustrations; that violence is a reaction to stress, notably the stress of shortage of food." The Russells agree that stress touches off violence. But they cite recent studies of both animals and man to demonstrate that the fatal stress is caused by overcrowding.

The Russells' conclusions may seem farfetched. Nevertheless, the population crisis is upon us. And, while man may not have developed a sardine syndrome, that crisis will certainly rob him of far more than elbow room.

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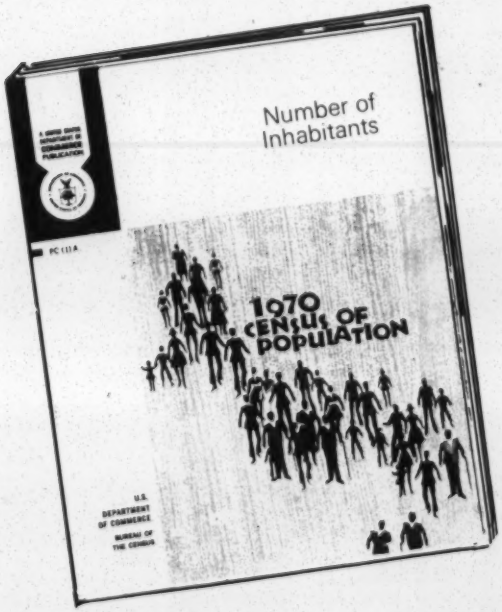

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HOW TO THINK ABOUT POPULATION GROWTH

by

Lawrence A. Mayer

Board of Editors
Fortune

HOW TO THINK ABOUT POPULATION GROWTH

I

The politics, the economics and the social system of the U.S. are all undergoing reassessment today. It would be surprising if, there had not been some rethinking about U.S. population trends as well and, of course, there has. Moreover, something more than rethinking has been going on: there have been revisions in laws, actions and attitudes.

In these circumstances it is to be expected that ~~some~~ many changes are taking place that ~~are not specifically aimed at~~ will ~~can~~ have major effects on population trends. ~~perhaps, but undeniably have an effect on those trends.~~ Changes in divorce laws, marriage customs, the spread of the contraceptive pill, the growing efforts to make contraception more readily available, the new state laws which permit women to have abortions much more freely than before, all now have -- or ultimately will have -- effects on the future size of the U.S. population. These developments, plus new initiatives by government: for example, attempts to influence the places where new population centers should spring up, to provide increased manpower training, and to guarantee

minimum family incomes, are beginning to add up to a population policy. I don't believe anyone, officially or publicly at least, has begun to put all these ~~things~~ factors together in order to determine what they mean for the growth and distribution and character of the U.S. population. But, obviously, there are a lot of strands present that would go into a population policy if we were consciously setting out to formulate ~~such a policy.~~ one.

In one sense there is nothing new here. It can be said that, implicitly at least, the U.S. has always had a population policy. In earlier years the Homestead Act, the abolition of child labor, the denial of abortion, the laws affecting immigration, and many other legislative acts, as well as social attitudes, constituted at least the bones of such a policy.

In another sense, however, there is something new. While certain laws or rules of personal conduct -- at times even economic circumstances -- have affected population growth, the nation's underlying commitment seems always to have been to sustain or nourish population growth. Now, that commitment is in doubt. I would even venture to say that the U.S. has begun to embark on a policy of slowing population. Something like that notion can

at least be read between the lines of President Nixon's message requesting that a "Commission on Population Growth and the American Future" be organized -- a commission now in being and at work. More than that, the recent reproductive behavior of the American people suggests that they may want slower population growth and are succeeding in producing such a slowdown.

The facts of that slowdown are available in detail elsewhere,[1] so I shall merely sketch in the barest data here. As we all know, there was an enormous baby boom after World War II. Older couples, among whom child-bearing had been interrupted while husbands went off to the war, began having the babies they had previously been forced to skip, and young couples who got married after the war had a great many children and had them early. The result was that in 1957 women in the reproductive years,(that is, those aged 15-49) were averaging 3.7 children each. This was an unusually high number. No group of women had borne that many children during their entire reproductive span since before the turn of the century, and average family

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1. For example, in Mayer, Lawrence A., "Why The U.S. Population Isn't Exploding," FORTUNE, April 1967, and "U.S. Population Growth: Would Slower Be Better?" FORTUNE, June 1970.

size soon started to come down. It came down as older women finished catching up on delayed child-bearing, and as younger women completed their child-bearing early in life. Right now, says George H. Brown, Director of the Bureau of the Census, the current level of fertility is down to about 2.5 children per woman.

As the levels of fertility have changed in the drastic fashion just outlined, the net growth of population in the U.S. has slowed from 1.7% a year to 1.0% a year -- with about .2% of these increases due to immigration. We can only guess at why fertility is now down to 2.5 children per woman. The availability of the pill is, of course, one factor. Another plausible reason is that young married women are delaying having their children until they have worked for a while and helped accumulate a nest egg for their family. Or, for whatever reason, they would rather start to have children at, say, age 25 rather than age 20. Moreover, the average age of marriage has been rising. Since a woman who delays having children will probably wind up with a smaller family than she would have otherwise, it is now a better guess that today's average young woman will wind up with about 2.8

children at most, rather than the figure of 3.0 to 3.2 that many demographers previously assumed the figure would settle at. But this 2.8 ~~figure~~ may also be too high. On the basis of present trends, the average young woman of today will have only 2.5 children over her life span, and no one can be sure that the number won't finally turn out to be even less than that.

One is not splitting hairs when talking about the difference between 2.8 and 2.5 children per woman. The Census Bureau tells us that by the year 2000 the larger figure would mean 300 million Americans -- a full 20 million more than the lower figure. By the year 2020 the difference would be 50 million: 385 million compared to 335 million.

A couple of decades or so ago these trends would have caused serious misgivings on the part of the businessman. Isn't economic growth, after all, in some good measure dependent on rapid population growth? This argument doesn't seem to carry nearly the weight it once did. In fact, a poll of leading business executives, published in the February 1970 issue of FORTUNE, showed that almost eight out of ten executives favored some sort of curb on future population growth. The late George Terborgh, in his now

dimly remembered book, "The Bogey of Economic Maturity," made a formidable intellectual assault on the need for population growth in order to produce economic growth, an assualt that has been reinforced and continued most notably by Professor Joseph Spengler, of Duke University.

Recent economic history, although not conclusive, also contains a suggestive rebuttal of the growth proposition. While U.S. population was still increasing rapidly in the late 1950's and early 1960's, there was much worry about the slow growth of the economy. Since 1965, however, the worry has been about inflation, or over-rapid economic growth, at the same time that the rate of population increase fell about 40%. We may tentatively draw the inference that budgetary policy, monetary policy and the policies of business itself can -- in the short run at the very least -- overcome any negative effects of slowing population growth.

But when <u>should</u> population growth be slowed down, or even stopped? In other words, what, for a given country, is the optimum size of population? This raises a mare's nest of questions. One is what should be the criterion of optimum size: growth of per capita income, military power, personal

serenity, social harmony, or what? The optimum population can be theoretically defined as that point where neither an increase nor a decrease in the number of people can improve the maximum achievement of the particular criterion that has been chosen.[2]

So, in brief, runs the theory of optimum population. But in practice it is very difficult to put precise numbers on the optimum, so much so that Professor Spengler suggests[3] we think of an optimum population zone within which the true optimum may lie. That, too, is not easy to determine, and may change with time. While there is not too much we can say factually about the optimum size of population, we can express certain feelings about the matter. Let me put mine in the form of a question. Is it likely that the U.S. would have a larger per capita income (if that is our criteria of the optimum) if it had more people than it has now? Not really very likely, I would guess. It is this sort of opinion that helps some people say we have ~~are~~ already passed ~~past~~ the optimum -- which they estimate may perhaps be 150 million

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2. See International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 12, page 358. In general, see pages 349-362.

3. Ibid, page 362.

rather than the 200 million or so of today.

It would seem then that what the optimum size of population should be is, to a large extent, a matter of taste, and for at least two reasons. One is that the choice of the criterion or criteria is a matter of taste. The second is that objectives that fall within a given criterion can themselves be a matter of taste. Take population density as a criterion: some peopler prefer the excitement that usually attends a high density of population in a large metropolitan area, while some prefer the greater relaxation that usually attends a low density of population further out in the country.

It has been suggested that more important than determining the optimum size of population is determining the optimum rate of population growth, ~~as~~ an idea in order put forward in the writings of the distinguished French demographer, Alfred Sauvy.[4] Among the reasons he advances is that the correction of economic imbalances can take place more easily if population is growing. Another is that economic progress and changing technology is helped if growing population

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4. See Part 1 of his "General Theory of Population," Basic Books, New York: 1969, and see International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 12, pages 354-357.

brings many young people, who are presumed to be more adaptable, into the labor force in greater numbers.

For Western Europe Sauvy has put the optimum rate of growth between 0.5% and 1.0% in recent years.[5] This is apparently Sauvy's personal or offhand judgement; he does not back it up with rigorous analysis. So after reading Sauvy, what we are left with is an interesting and just possibly plausible idea. The actual situation is more complicated than Sauvy implies, however. Germany, Sweden and Switzerland have shown strong economic growth, but they have had to rely quite a bit on imported labor. Finland and Italy also have good growth records, but they have been suppliers of labor to other prospering European countries.

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5. International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 12, page 356.

II

The growth of population in the U.S. is bound to speed up somewhat during the next years simply because a great many young people are now entering, or soon will be entering, the prime ages of child bearing. But since it seems that smaller families are coming into fashion, it appears that all those increased marriages and births will not expand the rate of population growth very much -- it may gradually climb from the present 1% annually to around 1.2% a year in the mid-1980's. That is, to repeat, if presently observable trends in fertility continue.

Even so, because of the large number of young marrieds, the number of births will go up from 3.5 million now to about 4.7 million in the mid 1980's. However, such a rise should be looked at in perspective. The previous all-time peak in births was about 4.3 million in the years around 1960. That number then represented 2.5% of our total population (in other words, the birth rate was about 25 per thousand). In 1985, however, 4.7 million births will represent only 1.95% of the population (a birth rate of 19.5%). Of course, an increase from the recent level of

3.5 million births to one of 4.7 million will do much to expand markets for baby foods, children's furniture and clothing, toys and the like. But this increase will have a relatively smaller impact on business as a whole than did the similar-sized absolute increase in births between 1945 and 1960. Not only will the increase in births comprise a smaller share of the population, but many of the facilities that had to be built in previous years to accommodate all the added children, such as elementary and high schools and children's hospital beds, are already in place. Naturally, some of them will prove badly located for where the children of the future will live, but the general point holds.

Now, what will slower population growth mean for the economy in the long run? In order to put matters sharply, let us ~~put them into boldest relief and~~ simply assume that population growth will actually come to a halt. The first thing to understand is that due to the way the arithmetic of population works out, even if the average woman now started to bear only enough children to replace herself and her consort[6],

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6. That would involve only a modest decrease in fertility from the currently observed 2.5 children per woman to 2.1.

population growth wouldn't stop for about seventy years. The Census Bureau has calculated (assuming, for simplicity, that there is no further net immigration) that population would not stabilize until the year 2037. At that point it would total 275 million -- roughly 70 million, or 35%, more than the present population.

Since the full effects of reaching a zero point of population growth won't be felt for 70 years, it is all the more worth examining the consequences in some detail, because they throw light on the tendencies which appear when population growth decreases from a rapid to a moderate or a slow rate.

There is no question but that Gross National Product would be smaller if population stopped growing. Since GNP is conventionally thought of as a result of the rise of productivity plus the rise in labor force, if the labor force stopped growing althougher -- as it would if population did -- then the economy would grow less. If the rate of productivity gain had previously been 3% and that of labor force growth 1%, the advance of GNP would be reduced from 4% to 3%. The average standard of living is nevertheless likely

to be higher with population stability than with growth. When population is rising, some proportion of growing national product must go to provide consumer goods and services and social overhead for additional people. With stability, the U.S. could use the freed resources to increase both private and public investment per capita. Because each member of the labor force would then be working with a larger or more advanced stock of capital, there would be more output and income per worker, even though a total GNP would be smaller.[7] And since workers would, on average, belong to smaller families, income per person would rise even faster. The income position of young families -- with fewer children living at home than their counterparts of today -- would benefit the most.

Another way of expressing these sorts of benefits is to say that the so-called "dependency ratio" would decline. In calculating this ratio it is generally assumed that people in the ages from 21 to 64 economically support those who are below 21 and over 64. If the U.S. reached a stable population

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7. See Enke, Stephen, "Zero U.S. Population Growth -- When, How and Why," Tempo - General Electric Company, Center for Advanced Studies, Santa Barbara, California, January 1970.

in 2037, the proportion of old and young depending on support would decline from 47.5% now to 43% in the future.[8]

A quite specific advantage a lower dependency ratio would give us is that we would not have to spend as great a proportion of our educational outlays on simply educating more children in the rudiments of knowledge. It is widely claimed that technology will be changing the nature of jobs so fast in coming years that many people will have to be retrained several times in the course of a lifetime in order to keep up. If this proves to be the case, then if we spend less on educating young children we will be able to afford to spend more on the training and retraining of our grown-ups.

The existence of fewer children per couple would have other effects on the labor force. With smaller families more women would find themselves able to work -- at least part time. And since few will presumably have small children as they approach middle age, more women will be able to take full time jobs -- if they wish -- earlier in life than they have been.

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8. Calculated from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 448, August 6, 1970, page 50.

The average age of the total labor force will naturally be higher. With fewer young people arriving on the labor market, older workers will become more dominant. Such a development may prove double edged. Older workers may be more reliable, experienced and stable, but the advantages of youth -- mobility, adaptability, and receptiveness to new ideas -- will be in shorter supply.

An older age structure will have large effects on the markets of business. They would be far more oriented toward older people and far less toward younger ones than is the case today. Apart from the different marketing strategies this implies, some industries would stand to gain, relatively, and others to lose. With higher incomes and fewer children, young families could afford to spend more for travel, recreation, adult clothing, and home goods. The businesses that, on the whole, would presumably do worst are those with a kind of fundamental dependence on growth in numbers of people. Purveyers of goods and services for infants, producers of staple foods such as bread, sugar, and canned goods, bottlers of beer and soft drinks, construction, building-supply, and real-estate companies, and manufacturers of such

tobacco products as are still being sold -- all these could very well be stuck with relatively stagnant markets.

A fair summation of the marketing importance of a stationary population in an industrialized society would, I think, be as follows: business would be trading a larger market for a richer one. In other words, the GNP would grow more slowly, and therefore total sales would be commensurately less, but, it is important to note, the number of firms in existence would also be fewer. And, all other things being equal, they would be selling more complex and expensive goods and services. The familiar dictum of marketing men holds here: the less that needs to be spent for necessities the more is left over for discretionary spending. This may be no mean bargain for business.

A number of other, non-market advantages of population stability, or near stability, deserve mention. The growth of traffic and population densities, which are of concern to citizens living in many areas today, would be lessened. With smaller waves of young people coming on the scene, their political activity may be less intensive, and some Americans may judge this a good thing. Slower population growth will also give the United States a better

chance to remedy its pollution problems, which threaten to grow worse anyway as affluence gains and the economy grows -- even without the extra complication of increasing population. And with fewer people than otherwise, it may be easier to pay more attention to where and under what conditions people live rather than just housing them anywhere.

There could be a number of disadvantages to population stability, of course. Alfred Sauvy argues that France has suffered grievously from its slow population growth starting early in the 19th century.[9] His main argument is that when population stops growing society loses a sort of creative pressure that stimulates and adds healthy ferment to all its aspects.

Some people who have considered the matter maintain that population stability would bring some social disadvantages. Ansley Coale[10] of Princeton has pointed out that when there are about as many older as younger people, the average age of those who run things will be greater, and advancement in

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9. "General Theory of Population," Part 2 and Part 3.

10. "Should the United States Start a Campaign for Fewer Births," Population Index, October 1968.

business, in politics, or in any other form of organized activity will perforce be slower, a situation that will be frustrating to oncoming generations. Things might not work out quite that way, however: a relatively smaller demand for the services of young people would be partially balanced by a relatively smaller supply. A changed population structure would have many interacting consequences that might affect the morale and outlook of both young people and their elders in ways difficult to foresee. At any rate, it is not certain that youth would be served any less well in a stable population than it is now. And, there are lots of reasons for thinking we may all be better off if population grows less rapidly or levels off here as well as in the rest of the world.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT CHAPEL HILL

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November 2, 1970

Dr. Emory Via
Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Via:

I wish to thank you for your attendance and contribution at the informal breakfast meeting of persons interested in regional population research which was held on October 23, during the Conference on Population and Industry. Hopefully you found this meeting as informative and valuable as we did.

One of the important purposes of this meeting was to bring together persons from a variety of places who share an interest in 1970 Census data on the Southern Region. This exchange of ideas and plans was intended to open lines of communication, so rather than attempt to summarize the morning's discussions, the following list of persons present at breakfast is provided for your own special use:

Mr. Angell A. Beza
Institute for Research in
Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mr. Bobby M. Bowers
Division of Research and
Statistical Services
State Budget and Control Board
Columbia, South Carolina

Dr. George Brown
Director
Bureau of Census
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Ralph Kniseley
Associate Chairman
Oak Ridge Associated Universities
Oak Ridge, Tennessee

Dr. Everett S. Lee
Social Science Research Institute
University of Georgia
Athens Georgia

Dr. George C. Myers
Department of Sociology
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. C. H. Hamilton
Carolina Population Center
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. Ali A. Paydafar
Carolina Population Center
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. Daniel O. Price
Department of Sociology
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Dr. Thomas E. Steahr
Carolina Population Center
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mrs. Therese H. Ramsey
State Planning Division
North Carolina Dept. of
Administration
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dr. Emory Via
Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Richard Rockwell
Institute for Research in
Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. George Wilber
Department of Sociology
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

I hope I represent the consensus of the group in encouraging you to make use of this list of names in keeping up with the growing plans for the Census data use. Through such communication we can stimulate further research in the area of regional analysis.

Sincerely,

Thomas E. Steahr

Thomas E. Steahr
Research Associate

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

Autumn, 1970

STATE	WHITE VEP*	BLACK VEP*	WHITES REGISTERED	BLACKS REGISTERED	PERCENT WHITE VAP REGISTERED	PERCENT BLACK VAP REGISTERED
ALABAMA	1,353,058	481,320	1,311,000	315,000	96.9	65.4
ARKANSAS	850,643	192,626	728,000	153,000	85.6	79.4
FLORIDA	2,617,438	470,261	2,495,000	302,000	95.3	64.2
GEORGIA	1,797,062	612,910	1,615,000	395,000	89.9	64.4
LOUISIANA	1,289,216	514,589	1,143,000	319,000	88.7	62.0
MISSISSIPPI	748,266	422,256	690,000	286,000	92.2	67.7
N. CAROLINA	2,005,955	550,929	1,640,000	305,000	81.8	55.4
S. CAROLINA	895,147	371,104	668,000	221,000	74.6	59.6
TENNESSEE	1,779,018	313,873	1,600,000	242,000	89.9	77.1
TEXAS	4,884,765	649,512	3,599,000	550,000	73.7	84.7
VIRGINIA	1,876,167	436,720	1,496,000	269,000	79.7	61.6
TOTALS	20,096,735	5,016,100	16,985,000	3,357,000	84.5	66.9

*VAP = Voting Age Population, 1960 Census.

December, 1970

Voter Education Project, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
4th Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

CRUSA — 1970

BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

November, 1970

	Alabama	Arkansas	Florida	Georgia	Louisiana	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina	Tennessee	Texas	Virginia	Total	
Legislators													
State Senate				2					2	1	1	6	39
State House	2		2	13		1	2	3	6	2	2	33	
City Officials													
Mayor	4	5	1		3	3	3	2		1		22	
Vice Mayor			3	1	2	1	1		1	1	2	12	302
City Council	38	12	24	19	22	29	47	27	10	9	30	267	
Civil Service Bd.			1									1	
County Officials													
County Governing Bd.	7		1	6	10	4	3	8	2		2	43	
County Administration	1										1	2	60
Election Commission						15						15	
Law Enforcement Officials													
Judge, District Court							1		1			2	
Sheriff	4											4	
Coroner	5					2						7	
Town Marshall			1		4	1						6	
Probate Judge, Ordinary	1			1					5			7	127
Magistrate								9				9	
Court Clerk	3			1		1						5	
Constable	7		1		9	7			3			27	
Justice of the Peace	21	3			10	11			6		9	60	
School Board Officials													
School Board Members	11	34	2	10	13	14	12	6	4	10		116	116
TOTALS	104	54	36	53	73	89	69	55	40	24	47	644	

Voter Education Project, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., 4th Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

1- statistics showing Negro migration to cities (increasing Negro composition in major cities)

2- places in which inner city becoming increasingly Negro due to white suburban flight (presumably)

~~BA~~

Census & Map

Have ubant a Supplement to County Map that lists or shows Metro area by pop.

A UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE PUBLICATION

1970 CENSUS OF POPULATION

Series PC(S1)-2
June 1971

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE / Bureau of the Census

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT

Negro Population in Selected Places and Selected Counties

This report presents a compilation of statistics from the 1970 census on the distribution of the Negro population in selected places and selected counties across the Nation. Data are shown only for those places with a total population of at least 25,000 and a Negro population of 10,000 or more. Tables 1 and 2 contain statistics on the distribution of Negroes in those cities with a Negro population of 50,000 or more in 1970. The cities are listed according to the size of the Negro population in 1970. In table 3, 50 places with the highest proportion of Negroes in 1970 are presented in rank order. The 50 places were selected from table 4, which contains 1970 and 1960 statistics for 200 places that had at least 10,000 Negroes and a total population of 25,000 or more in 1970. In table 4, the places are ranked nationally and within each State by size of the 1970 Negro population. Data for counties are presented in tables 5 and 6, corresponding to that shown for cities in tables 1 and 3.

Statistics from the 1970 census show that, among the 50 selected places with the highest proportion of Negroes, there has been a dramatic increase in the number that have at least as many Negroes as whites. The count is now 16. Five places, in rank order, which now have Negro population proportions of 60 percent or more are as follows:

Willowbrook, Calif. (U)	82.3 percent
Westmont, Calif. (U)	80.6 percent
Washington, D.C.	71.1 percent
Compton, Calif.	71.0 percent
East St. Louis, Ill.	69.1 percent

Six of the 16 cities with 50 percent or more Negroes are in the South. Most of the top 16 cities have experienced sharp increases since 1960 in the proportion of the population which is Negro. In all of the 50 selected places, Negroes comprised over one-third of the city population and the Negro population ranged in numbers from 10,196 to 660,428 (table 3).

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Stock Number 0301-2285

Over half of the 50 places with the highest percentage of Negroes are relatively small. Thirty-two of the places have a total population of less than 100,000; for 19 places, the total population is less than 50,000. Even among the 16 places which are more than 50 percent Negro, those of the smaller size predominate; 12 have a total population of less than 100,000.

The 50 places with the highest percentage of Negroes by size of place is as follows:

Size of place	Number	Negro population 50 percent or more
Total	50	16
500,000 and over. . .	7	1
250,000 to 499,999.	3	2
100,000 to 249,999.	8	1
50,000 to 99,999. . .	13	3
25,000 to 49,999. . .	19	9

Of the 50 selected places, only three—Washington, D.C.; Bessemer, Ala.; and Charleston, S.C.—had more Negroes than whites in 1960. During the decade, the proportion of Negroes declined for both Bessemer and Charleston, with the percent for Charleston decreasing below the 50 percent mark. In 1950, only four of the 50 places had a Negro population which comprised 50 percent or more of the total population.

Over the last three decades, New York City, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. have maintained their first, second, and fifth ranks, respectively, among the cities with the largest Negro population. Detroit has displaced Philadelphia as the third ranking place. In over one-half (26) of the 48 places with a Negro population of at least 50,000 in 1970, the Negro population has more than doubled since 1950. At each census since 1950, all of the other cities except three have shown a substantital increase in the number of Negroes. The exceptions were three cities in the South whose Negro gains during the 1950-60 decade did not continue during the 1960-70 decade. In Birmingham, Ala., a decrease occurred between 1960 and 1970; Savannah, Ga., had only a negligible increase; and Mobile, Ala., had very modest gains in the Negro population (table 1).

Migration was a major factor contributing to the growth of Negro population in those cities which experienced the largest numerical increase in Negroes during the last 10 years. Net migration gains of over 100,000 persons contributed to the very large Negro population increases in New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Eleven additional cities showed sizable Negro population gains through net inmigration of 25,000 or more persons. Of the 13 cities which had a net outmigration, only one, Birmingham, Ala., actually had a decline in the Negro population due to outmigration (table 2).

There are 200 places (including Washington, D.C.) in 37 States which have a population of at least 25,000, and 10,000 or more Negroes. The Negro population in these places ranges from 10,008 to 1,666,636. About half of the places are located in the South; however, California has the greatest number (21 such places). North Carolina and Virginia each has 13; Texas and Florida each has 12 (table 4).

According to statistics from the 1970 census, there are 75 counties, or their equivalents, with a Negro population of at least 50,000. Over half of the counties are found in the Southern States. Thirty-two counties (including three independent cities) have at least 100,000 Negroes who are generally concentrated in the central cities. Only five of the 75 counties experienced a loss in Negro population from 1960 to 1970 and four of them are in the South (table 5).

All of the 103 counties with at least 50 percent Negro population in 1970 are in the South, with Macon County, Ala., having the higest percentage (81.1). The five highest ranking counties are as follows:

Macon County, Ala. . . . . 81.1 percent
Lowndes County, Ala. . . . . 76.9 percent
Greene County, Ala. . . . . 75.4 percent
Jefferson County, Miss. . . . 75.3 percent
Claiborne County, Miss. . . . 74.6 percent

The 103 counties also had more Negroes than whites in 1960 (table 6).

In this report "Negro and other races" is used to describe persons of all races other than white.

A summary of data for all counties will be presented in a forthcoming report in this series. Another report in this series, PC(S1)-1, contains two maps that show the geographic distribution of the Negro population by counties of the United States in 1970. Information on certain demographic characteristics of Negroes are now being issued in the 1970 Population Census PC(1)-B series of State reports. National data on the social and economic characteristics of Negroes in the United States will appear in a report in the Current Population Reports, Series P-23, which is to be published in July.

The figures shown in this report for counties and places in New York State do not reflect the recent revisions in the 1970 census tabulations for the State; these revisions will be shown in the Series PC(1)-A and B Final Reports to be issued during the next several months.

Table 1. Cities With a Negro Population of 50,000 or More by Rank: 1970, 1960, and 1950

[Rank according to 1970 Negro population]

Rank	Selected Cities	1970 Negro population	1970 Percent of total population	1960 Negro population	1960 Percent of total population	1950 Negro population	1950 Percent of total population
	Total in the United States	22,578,273	11.1	18,871,831	10.5	15,042,286	10.0
	Total in selected cities	10,360,922	27.6	7,746,882	21.1	5,098,227	14.8
	Percent of total	45.9	...	41.0	...	33.9	...
1	New York City, N.Y.	1,666,636	21.2	1,087,931	14.0	749,080	9.5
2	Chicago, Ill.	1,102,620	32.7	812,637	22.9	492,635	13.6
3	Detroit, Mich.	660,428	43.7	482,223	28.9	298,875	16.2
4	Philadelphia, Pa.	653,791	33.6	529,240	26.4	375,570	18.2
5	Washington, D.C.	537,712	71.1	411,737	53.9	280,440	35.0
6	Los Angeles, Calif.	503,606	17.9	334,916	13.5	170,880	8.7
7	Baltimore, Md.	420,210	46.4	325,589	34.7	223,820	23.7
8	Houston, Tex.	316,551	25.7	215,037	22.9	124,760	20.9
9	Cleveland, Ohio	287,841	38.3	250,818	28.6	147,585	16.2
10	New Orleans, La.	267,308	45.0	233,514	37.2	181,120	31.9
11	Atlanta, Ga.	255,051	51.3	186,464	38.3	121,155	36.6
12	St. Louis, Mo.	254,191	40.9	214,377	28.6	153,465	18.0
13	Memphis, Tenn.	242,513	38.9	184,320	37.0	146,830	37.2
14	Dallas, Tex.	210,238	24.9	129,242	19.0	57,825	13.1
15	Newark, N.J.	207,458	54.2	138,035	34.1	74,775	17.1
16	Indianapolis, Ind.	134,320	18.0	98,049	20.6	64,020	15.0
17	Birmingham, Ala.	126,388	42.0	135,113	39.6	130,055	40.0
18	Cincinnati, Ohio	125,070	27.6	108,754	21.6	77,945	15.5
19	Oakland, Calif.	124,710	34.5	83,618	22.8	47,610	12.4
20	Jacksonville, Fla.	118,158	22.3	[1]105,655	23.2	[1]81,648	26.9
21	Kansas City, Mo.	112,005	22.1	83,146	17.5	55,655	12.2
22	Milwaukee, Wis.	105,088	14.7	62,458	8.4	21,910	3.4
23	Pittsburgh, Pa.	104,904	20.2	100,692	16.7	82,255	12.2
24	Richmond, Va.	104,766	42.0	91,972	41.8	73,030	31.7
25	Boston, Mass.	104,707	16.3	63,165	9.1	39,755	5.0
26	Columbus, Ohio	99,627	18.5	77,140	16.4	44,655	12.4
27	San Francisco, Calif.	96,078	13.4	74,383	10.0	43,460	5.6
28	Buffalo, N.Y.	94,329	20.4	70,904	13.3	36,760	6.4
29	Gary, Ind.	92,695	52.8	69,123	38.8	39,220	29.3
30	Nashville-Davidson, Tenn.	87,851	19.6	[1]76,437	19.1	[1]64,381	20.0
31	Norfolk, Va.	87,261	28.3	78,806	25.8	63,105	29.4
32	Louisville, Ky.	86,040	23.8	70,075	17.9	57,435	15.6
33	Fort Worth Tex.	78,324	19.9	56,440	15.8	35,905	12.9
34	Miami, Fla.	76,156	22.7	65,213	22.4	40,035	16.1
35	Dayton, Ohio	74,284	30.5	57,288	21.8	34,245	14.1
36	Charlotte, N.C.	72,972	30.3	56,248	27.9	37,555	28.1
37	Mobile, Ala.	67,356	35.4	65,619	32.4	45,705	35.4
38	Shreveport, La.	62,152	34.1	56,607	34.4	41,920	33.1
39	Jackson, Miss.	61,063	39.7	51,556	35.7	40,168	40.9
40	Compton, Calif.	55,781	71.0	28,265	39.4	2,180	4.5
41	Tampa, Fla.	54,720	19.7	46,244	16.8	27,255	21.9
42	Jersey City, N.J.	54,595	21.0	36,692	13.3	20,785	6.9
43	Flint, Mich.	54,237	28.1	34,521	17.5	14,085	8.7
44	Savannah, Ga.	53,111	44.9	53,035	35.5	48,230	40.4
45	San Diego, Calif.	52,961	7.6	34,435	6.0	14,700	4.4
46	Toledo, Ohio	52,915	13.8	40,015	12.6	24,360	8.0
47	Oklahoma City, Okla.	50,103	13.7	37,529	11.6	20,890	8.6
48	San Antonio, Tex.	50,041	7.6	41,605	7.1	28,495	7.0

... Not applicable. [1]Revised in accordance with 1970 boundaries.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Table 2. Negro and Other Races Population 1970, and Change and Net Migration 1960 to 1970 for Cities With a Negro Population of 50,000 or More

[Minus sign (-) denotes decrease]

Selected Cities	1970	Change	Net migration	
			Number	Percent
New York City, N.Y.	1,844,225	702,903	435,840	38.2
Chicago, Ill.	1,159,190	321,534	113,194	13.5
Detroit, Mich.	672,605	185,431	97,533	20.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	669,892	134,859	39,648	7.4
Washington, D.C.	547,238	128,545	38,348	9.2
Los Angeles, Calif.	642,461	225,254	119,552	28.7
Baltimore, Md.	425,922	97,506	31,737	9.7
Houston, Tex.	328,359	110,687	55,619	25.6
Cleveland, Ohio	292,819	39,711	-2,769	-1.1
New Orleans, La.	269,986	35,055	-10,548	-4.5
Atlanta, Ga.	256,422	69,602	32,707	17.5
St. Louis, Mo.	257,244	41,222	-948	-0.4
Memphis, Tenn.	244,306	59,581	22,581	12.2
Dallas, Tex.	218,255	87,044	46,899	35.7
Newark, N.J.	214,035	74,704	31,506	22.6
Indianapolis, Ind.	136,722	35,993	15,126	15.0
Birmingham, Ala.	126,973	-8,294	-22,961	-17.0
Cincinnati, Ohio	127,130	17,448	-2,520	-2.3
Oakland, Calif.	148,049	51,024	29,463	30.4
Jacksonville, Fla.	121,152	[1]14,774	-3,915	-3.7
Kansas City, Mo.	115,591	31,400	13,037	15.5
Milwaukee, Wis.	111,727	45,975	23,038	35.0
Pittsburgh, Pa.	107,837	6,098	-6,444	-6.3
Richmond, Va.	105,764	13,433	782	0.8
Boston, Mass.	116,362	47,869	26,493	38.7
Columbus, Ohio	102,422	24,117	9,371	12.0
San Francisco, Calif.	204,488	68,575	37,485	27.6
Buffalo, N.Y.	98,401	25,013	8,965	12.2
Gary, Ind.	93,561	24,221	9,980	14.4
Nashville-Davidson, Tenn.	89,238	[1]12,406	2,354	3.1
Norfolk, Va.	92,896	12,275	-1,765	-2.2
Louisville, Ky.	86,961	16,512	6,978	9.9
Fort Worth, Tex.	80,955	24,033	11,250	19.8
Miami, Fla.	78,482	12,682	-5,690	-8.6
Dayton, Ohio	75,194	17,647	6,129	10.7
Charlotte, N.C.	73,891	17,420	5,939	10.5
Mobile, Ala.	67,789	1,896	-10,665	-16.2
Shreveport, La.	62,201	5,482	-6,921	-12.2
Jackson, Miss.	61,317	9,688	-3,583	-6.9
Compton, Calif.	57,835	29,044	(NA)	(NA)
Tampa, Fla.	55,685	9,229	721	1.6
Jersey City, N.J.	57,732	20,458	7,064	19.0
Flint, Mich.	55,252	20,440	10,194	29.3
Savannah, Ga.	53,309	51	-7,463	-14.0
San Diego, Calif.	77,271	32,559	17,305	38.7
Toledo, Ohio	54,750	14,327	5,785	14.3
Oklahoma City, Okla.	58,853	16,571	5,242	12.4
San Antonio, Tex.	56,430	13,209	5,304	12.3

NOTE: For certain cities, the 1970 figures in this table differ somewhat from the figures in the other tables because they are derived from different tabulations.

NA Not available. [1]1960 population revised in accordance with 1970 boundaries.

Table 3. Fifty Places With the Highest Proportion of Negro Population by Rank: 1970, 1960, and 1950

[Rank according to percent Negro in 1970. (u) denotes unincorporated places]

Rank	Places	1970 Negro: Percent of total	1970 Negro: Number	1970 Total population	1970 Population 15 years and over – Percent Negro	1960, Percent Negro	1950, Percent Negro
1	Willowbrook, Calif. (U)	82.3	23,616	28,705	82.1	...	...
2	Westmont, Calif. (U)	80.6	23,635	29,310	75.3	...	...
3	Washington, D.C.	71.1	537,712	756,510	65.4	53.9	35.0
4	Compton, Calif.	71.0	55,781	78,611	66.6	39.4	4.5
5	East St. Louis, Ill.	69.1	48,368	69,996	63.9	44.5	33.5
6	East Cleveland, Ohio	58.6	23,196	39,600	51.3	2.1	0.2
7	Florence-Graham, Calif. (U)	56.0	24,031	42,895	56.0	44.9	...
8	Highland Park, Mich.	55.3	19,609	35,444	48.5	20.9	8.4
9	Petersburg, Va.	55.2	19,914	36,103	51.7	47.2	42.2
10	Newark, N.J.	54.2	207,458	382,417	49.0	34.1	17.1
11	East Orange, N.J.	53.1	40,099	75,471	47.4	24.9	11.4
12	Gary, Ind.	52.8	92,695	175,415	49.2	38.8	29.3
13	Bessemer, Ala.	52.2	17,442	33,428	48.5	57.4	60.7
14	Greenville, Miss.	52.0	20,619	39,648	48.9	48.6	59.3
15	Atlanta, Ga.	51.3	255,051	496,973	46.8	38.3	36.6
16	Prichard, Ala.	50.5	21,005	41,578	47.2	47.1	33.5
17	Augusta, Ga.	49.9	29,861	59,864	45.7	45.0	41.0
18	Selma, Ala.	49.7	13,606	27,379	46.2	49.2	55.2
19	Vicksburg, Miss.	49.3	12,568	25,478	46.0	46.4	48.8
20	Fort Pierce, Fla.	48.5	14,422	29,721	42.5	46.9	40.4
21	Goldsboro, N.C.	48.1	12,896	26,810	45.1	41.2	44.9
22	Baltimore, Md.	46.4	420,210	905,759	41.9	34.7	23.7
23	Charleston, S.C.	45.2	30,251	66,945	39.8	50.8	44.0
23	Chester, Pa.	45.2	25,469	56,331	40.9	33.3	20.9
25	New Orleans, La.	45.0	267,308	593,471	40.1	37.2	31.9
26	Savannah, Ga.	44.9	53,111	118,349	41.0	35.5	40.4
27	Inkster, Mich.	44.5	17,189	38,595	44.0	34.5	53.7
28	Atlantic City, N.J.	43.7	20,937	47,859	38.5	36.2	27.2
28	Detroit, Mich.	43.7	660,428	1,511,482	39.8	28.9	16.2
30	Wilmington, Del.	43.6	35,072	80,386	37.1	26.0	15.6
31	Alexandria, La.	43.3	18,000	41,557	40.0	43.3	41.4
32	Birmingham, Ala.	42.0	126,388	300,910	38.7	39.6	39.9
32	Richmond, Va.	42.0	104,766	249,621	38.3	41.8	31.7
34	Maywood, Ill.	41.3	12,416	30,036	37.9	19.1	9.1
35	Pine Bluff, Ark.	40.9	23,484	57,389	38.9	39.6	43.6
35	St. Louis, Mo.	40.9	254,191	622,236	36.1	28.6	18.0
37	Port Arthur, Tex.	40.1	22,994	57,371	35.5	30.7	24.2
38	Plainfield, N.J.	40.0	18,749	46,862	35.1	21.7	13.5
39	Portsmouth, Va.	39.9	44,320	110,963	36.4	34.2	38.1
40	Jackson, Miss.	39.7	61,063	153,968	35.5	35.7	40.9
41	Florence, S.C.	39.2	10,196	25,997	36.1	37.6	40.9
42	Camden, N.J.	39.1	40,132	102,551	34.4	23.4	14.0
43	Memphis, Tenn.	38.9	242,513	623,530	35.1	37.0	37.2
44	Durham, N.C.	38.8	37,018	95,438	36.0	36.1	36.6
45	Cleveland, Ohio	38.3	287,841	750,903	35.5	28.6	16.2
46	Fayetteville, N.C.	38.2	20,463	53,510	35.3	35.5	37.2
46	Monroe, La.	38.2	21,540	56,374	34.1	43.7	43.3
48	Albany, Ga.	37.9	27,517	72,623	35.3	36.2	42.8
48	Trenton, N.J.	37.9	39,671	104,638	32.4	22.5	11.3
50	Macon, Ga.	37.3	45,715	122,423	34.2	44.3	42.0

NOTE: Of the 200 places with a total population of 25,000 or more and a Negro population of at least 10,000, the 50 places with the highest proportion of Negroes in 1970 are shown here by rank.

... Not applicable.

Table 4. Race of the Population of Selected Places by State and Rank: 1970 and 1960

[Figures shown for places with a total population of at least 25,000 and a Negro population of 10,000 or more in 1970. Places ranked according to 1970 Negro population. Minus sign (-) denotes decrease. (U) denotes unincorporated places]

Rank		Places	1970				1960				Percent change, 1960 to 1970	
					Negro				Negro			
National	State		Total	Negro and other races	Number	Percent of total	Total	Negro and other races	Number	Percent of total	Total population	Negro
		NORTHEAST										
		New England										
		Connecticut:										
58	1	Hartford	158,017	46,155	44,091	27.9	162,178	25,151	24,855	15.3	-2.6	74.4
69	2	New Haven	137,707	37,721	36,158	26.3	152,048	22,665	22,113	14.5	-9.4	63.5
92	3	Bridgeport	156,542	27,148	25,546	16.3	156,748	15,565	15,332	9.8	-0.1	66.6
156	4	Stamford	108,798	14,140	13,408	12.3	92,713	7,662	7,446	8.0	17.3	80.1
(1)	5	Waterbury	108,033	11,388	10,891	10.1	107,130	7,221	7,090	6.6	0.8	53.6
		Massachusetts:										
25	1	Boston	641,071	116,362	104,707	16.3	697,197	68,493	63,165	9.1	-8.1	65.8
111	2	Springfield	163,905	21,387	20,673	12.6	174,463	13,361	13,086	7.5	-6.1	58.0
		Rhode Island:										
(2)	1	Providence	179,213	17,875	15,875	8.9	207,498	11,973	11,153	5.4	-13.6	42.3
		Middle Atlantic										
		New Jersey:										
15	1	Newark	382,417	214,035	207,458	54.2	405,220	139,331	138,035	34.1	-5.6	50.3
42	2	Jersey City	260,545	57,732	54,595	21.0	276,101	37,274	36,692	13.3	-5.6	48.8
62	3	Camden	102,551	41,246	40,132	39.1	117,159	27,892	27,463	23.4	-12.5	46.1
63	4	East Orange	75,471	40,814	40,099	53.1	77,259	19,420	19,220	24.9	-2.3	108.6
64	5	Trenton	104,638	40,333	39,671	37.9	114,167	25,852	25,638	22.5	-8.4	54.7
66	6	Paterson	144,824	41,047	38,919	26.9	143,663	21,353	21,138	14.7	0.8	84.1
109	7	Atlantic City	47,859	21,708	20,937	43.7	59,544	21,695	21,532	36.2	-19.6	-2.8
124	8	Plainfield	46,862	19,185	18,749	40.0	45,330	9,941	9,836	21.7	3.4	90.6
132	9	Elizabeth	112,654	18,508	17,480	15.5	107,698	11,880	11,697	10.9	4.6	49.4
170	10	Montclair	44,043	12,251	11,932	27.1	43,129	10,385	10,312	23.9	2.1	15.7
172	11	Orange	32,566	11,935	11,630	35.7	35,789	8,337	8,269	23.1	-9.0	40.6
		New York:										
1	1	New York City	7,867,760	1,844,225	1,666,636	21.2	7,781,984	1,141,322	1,087,931	14.0	1.1	53.2
28	2	Buffalo	462,768	98,401	94,329	20.4	532,759	73,388	70,904	13.3	-13.1	33.0
49	3	Rochester	296,233	52,115	49,647	16.8	318,611	24,228	23,586	7.4	-7.0	110.5
91	4	Mount Vernon	72,778	26,414	25,883	35.6	76,010	15,111	14,918	19.6	-4.3	73.5
107	5	Syracuse	197,208	23,597	21,383	10.8	216,038	12,281	11,210	5.2	-8.7	90.7
149	6	Albany	114,873	14,932	14,137	12.3	129,726	10,972	10,736	8.3	-11.5	31.7
150	7	Hempstead	39,411	14,506	14,111	35.8	34,641	7,754	7,594	21.9	13.8	85.8
158	8	Yonkers	204,370	14,428	13,004	6.4	190,634	8,052	7,663	4.0	7.2	69.7
185	9	New Rochelle	75,385	11,798	10,854	14.4	76,812	10,479	10,103	13.2	-1.9	7.4
		Pennsylvania:										
4	1	Philadelphia	1,948,609	669,892	653,791	33.6	2,002,512	535,033	529,240	26.4	-2.7	23.5
23	2	Pittsburgh	520,117	107,837	104,904	20.2	604,332	101,739	100,692	16.7	-13.9	4.2
93	3	Chester	56,331	25,658	25,469	45.2	63,658	21,274	21,208	33.3	-11.5	20.1
110	4	Harrisburg	68,061	21,300	20,911	30.7	79,697	15,197	15,096	18.9	-14.6	38.5
		NORTH CENTRAL										
		East North Central										
		Illinois:										
2	1	Chicago	3,366,957	1,159,190	1,102,620	32.7	3,550,404	837,656	812,637	22.9	-5.2	35.7
50	2	East St. Louis	69,996	48,517	48,368	69.1	81,712	36,403	36,338	44.5	-14.3	33.1
146	3	Peoria	126,963	15,182	14,550	11.5	103,162	9,776	9,584	9.3	23.1	51.8
161	4	Evanston	79,808	14,322	12,849	16.1	79,283	9,544	9,126	11.5	0.7	40.8
165	5	Maywood	30,036	12,750	12,416	41.3	27,330	5,320	5,229	19.1	9.9	137.4
168	6	Rockford	147,370	12,672	12,174	8.3	126,706	5,450	5,323	4.2	16.3	128.7
186	7	Harvey	34,636	10,895	10,711	30.9	29,071	2,006	1,986	6.8	19.1	439.3
		Indiana:										
16	1	Indianapolis	744,624	136,722	134,320	18.0	476,258	98,684	98,049	20.6	56.3	37.0
29	2	Gary	175,415	93,561	92,695	52.8	178,320	69,340	69,123	38.8	-1.6	34.1
123	3	Fort Wayne	177,671	19,678	18,921	10.6	161,776	11,989	11,645	7.2	9.8	62.5
131	4	South Bend	125,580	18,410	17,737	14.1	132,445	13,169	12,955	9.8	-5.2	36.9
160	5	East Chicago	46,982	13,363	12,881	27.4	57,669	13,838	13,766	23.9	-18.5	-6.4
197	6	Evansville	138,764	10,384	10,102	7.3	141,543	9,389	9,307	6.6	-2.0	8.5

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 4. Race of the Population of Selected Places by State and Rank: 1970 and 1960—Con.

[Figures shown for places with a total population of at least 25,000 and a Negro population of 10,000 or more in 1970. Places ranked according to 1970 Negro population. Minus sign (-) denotes decrease. (U) denotes unincorporated places]

Rank		Places	1970				1960				Percent change, 1960 to 1970	
					Negro				Negro			
National	State		Total	Negro and other races	Number	Percent of total	Total	Negro and other races	Number	Percent of total	Total population	Negro
		NORTH CENTRAL--Con.										
		East North Central--Con.										
		Michigan:										
3	1	Detroit	1,511,482	672,605	660,428	43.7	1,670,144	487,174	482,223	28.9	-9.5	37.0
43	2	Flint	193,317	55,252	54,237	28.1	196,940	34,812	34,521	17.5	-1.8	57.1
101	3	Pontiac	85,279	23,419	22,760	26.7	82,233	13,977	13,774	16.7	3.7	65.2
102	4	Grand Rapids	197,649	23,624	22,296	11.3	177,313	14,778	14,260	8.0	11.5	56.4
103	5	Saginaw	91,849	22,947	22,288	24.3	98,265	16,696	16,550	16.8	-6.5	34.7
118	6	Highland Park	35,444	20,151	19,609	55.3	38,063	8,163	7,947	20.9	-6.9	146.7
135	7	Inkster	38,595	17,335	17,189	44.5	39,097	13,569	13,498	34.5	-1.3	27.3
167	8	Lansing	131,546	13,259	12,234	9.3	107,807	6,993	6,745	6.3	22.0	81.4
		Ohio:										
9	1	Cleveland	750,903	292,819	287,841	38.3	876,050	253,108	250,818	28.6	-14.3	14.8
18	2	Cincinnati	452,524	127,130	125,070	27.6	502,550	109,682	108,754	21.6	-10.0	15.0
26	3	Columbus	539,677	102,422	99,627	18.5	471,316	78,305	77,140	16.4	14.5	29.2
35	4	Dayton	243,601	75,194	74,284	30.5	262,332	57,547	57,288	21.8	-7.2	29.7
46	5	Toledo	383,818	54,750	52,915	13.8	318,003	40,423	40,015	12.6	20.7	32.2
51	6	Akron	275,425	49,063	48,205	17.5	290,351	37,894	37,636	13.0	-5.2	28.1
71	7	Youngstown	139,788	36,023	35,285	25.2	166,689	31,905	31,677	19.0	-16.1	11.4
99	8	East Cleveland	39,600	23,678	23,196	58.6	37,991	905	804	2.1	4.2	1,000+
153	9	Canton	110,053	14,092	13,766	12.5	113,631	11,147	11,055	9.7	-3.2	24.5
162	10	Springfield	81,926	12,902	12,723	15.5	82,723	11,901	11,838	14.3	-1.0	7.5
		Wisconsin:										
22	1	Milwaukee	717,099	111,727	105,088	14.7	741,324	65,752	62,458	8.4	-3.3	68.3
200	2	Racine	95,162	10,495	10,008	10.5	89,144	4,812	4,738	5.3	6.8	111.2
		West North Central										
		Iowa:										
175	1	Des Moines	200,587	12,408	11,425	5.7	208,982	10,558	10,233	4.9	-4.0	11.6
		Kansas:										
75	1	Kansas City	168,213	35,443	34,345	20.4	121,901	28,327	28,134	23.1	38.0	22.1
90	2	Wichita	276,554	29,611	26,841	9.7	254,698	21,159	19,861	7.8	8.6	35.1
191	3	Topeka	125,011	11,949	10,444	8.4	119,484	9,797	9,145	7.7	4.6	14.2
		Minnesota:										
120	1	Minneapolis	434,400	27,986	19,005	4.4	482,872	15,594	11,785	2.4	-10.0	61.3
181	2	St. Paul	309,980	14,239	10,930	3.5	313,411	9,317	8,240	2.6	-1.1	32.6
		Missouri:										
12	1	St. Louis	622,236	257,244	254,191	40.9	750,026	216,022	214,377	28.6	-17.0	18.6
21	2	Kansas City	507,087	115,591	112,005	22.1	475,539	84,191	83,146	17.5	6.6	34.7
		Nebraska:										
74	1	Omaha	347,328	36,729	34,431	9.9	301,598	26,268	25,155	8.3	15.2	36.9
		SOUTH										
		South Atlantic										
		Delaware:										
73	1	Wilmington	80,386	35,485	35,072	43.6	95,827	25,075	24,922	26.0	-16.1	40.7
		Dist. of Columbia:										
5	1	Washington	756,510	547,238	537,712	71.1	763,956	418,693	411,737	53.9	-1.0	30.6
		Florida:										
20	1	Jacksonville[3]	528,865	121,170	118,158	22.3	455,411	106,378	105,655	23.2	16.1	11.8
34	2	Miami	334,859	78,482	76,156	22.7	291,688	65,800	65,213	22.4	14.8	16.8
41	3	Tampa	277,767	55,685	54,720	19.7	274,970	46,456	46,244	16.8	1.0	18.3
78	4	St. Petersburg	216,232	32,467	31,911	14.8	181,298	24,188	24,080	13.3	19.3	32.5
83	5	Orlando	99,006	29,495	29,177	29.5	88,135	20,702	20,579	23.3	12.3	41.8
115	6	Fort Lauderdale	139,590	20,718	20,336	14.6	83,648	19,618	19,527	23.3	66.9	4.1
117	7	Pensacola	59,507	19,968	19,709	33.1	56,752	18,682	18,582	32.7	4.9	6.1
127	8	Tallahassee	71,897	18,662	18,234	25.4	48,174	15,959	15,867	32.9	49.2	14.9

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 4. **Race of the Population of Selected Places by State and Rank: 1970 and 1960**—Con.

[Figures shown for places with a total population of at least 25,000 and a Negro population of 10,000 or more in 1970. Places ranked according to 1970 Negro population. Minus sign (-) denotes decrease. (U) denotes unincorporated places]

Rank		Places	1970				1960				Percent change, 1960 to 1970	
					Negro				Negro			
National	State		Total	Negro and other races	Number	Percent of total	Total	Negro and other races	Number	Percent of total	Total population	Negro
		SOUTH--Con.										
		South Atlantic--Con.										
		Florida--Con.										
147	9	Fort Pierce.....	29,721	14,462	14,422	48.5	25,256	11,848	11,836	46.9	17.7	21.8
148	10	Daytona Beach.....	45,327	14,330	14,213	31.4	37,395	11,753	11,719	31.3	21.2	21.3
152	11	West Palm Beach.....	57,375	14,152	14,020	24.4	56,208	15,413	15,368	27.3	2.1	-8.8
169	12	Gainesville.....	64,510	12,462	12,041	18.7	29,701	7,023	6,874	23.1	117.2	75.2
		Georgia:										
11	1	Atlanta.....	496,973	256,470	255,051	51.3	487,455	186,820	186,464	38.3	2.0	36.8
44	2	Savannah.....	118,349	53,699	53,111	44.9	149,245	53,258	53,035	35.5	-20.7	0.1
54	3	Macon.....	122,423	45,818	45,715	37.3	69,764	30,914	30,900	44.3	75.5	47.9
61	4	Columbus.....	154,168	41,158	40,422	26.2	116,779	31,547	31,208	26.7	32.0	29.5
81	5	Augusta.....	59,864	30,113	29,861	49.9	70,626	31,973	31,770	45.0	-15.2	-6.0
87	6	Albany.....	72,623	27,817	27,517	37.9	55,890	20,254	20,210	36.2	29.9	36.2
178	7	Valdosta.....	32,303	11,100	11,028	34.1	30,652	11,063	11,042	36.0	5.4	-0.1
194	8	Athens.....	44,342	10,640	10,225	23.1	31,355	9,225	9,133	29.1	41.4	12.0
		Maryland:										
7	1	Baltimore.....	905,759	425,922	420,210	46.4	939,024	328,416	325,589	34.7	-3.6	29.1
		North Carolina:										
36	1	Charlotte.....	241,178	73,891	72,972	30.3	201,564	56,471	56,248	27.9	19.7	29.7
55	2	Winston-Salem.....	132,913	45,859	45,533	34.3	111,135	41,240	41,185	37.1	19.6	10.6
60	3	Greensboro.....	144,076	41,382	40,633	28.2	119,574	31,130	30,817	25.8	20.5	31.9
68	4	Durham.....	95,438	37,407	37,018	38.8	78,302	28,405	28,258	36.1	21.9	31.0
86	5	Raleigh.....	121,577	28,398	27,594	22.7	93,931	22,159	21,942	23.4	29.4	25.8
114	6	Fayetteville.....	53,510	20,986	20,463	38.2	47,106	16,891	16,712	35.5	13.6	22.4
140	7	Wilmington.....	46,169	16,054	15,833	34.3	44,013	16,618	16,520	37.5	4.9	-4.2
154	8	High Point.....	63,204	14,044	13,690	21.7	62,063	11,223	11,201	18.0	1.8	22.2
159	9	Goldsboro.....	26,810	12,968	12,896	48.1	28,873	11,904	11,889	41.2	-7.2	8.5
173	10	Rocky Mount.....	34,284	11,602	11,569	33.7	32,147	11,320	11,311	35.2	6.6	2.3
189	11	Asheville.....	57,681	10,643	10,509	18.2	60,192	11,449	11,426	19.0	-4.2	-8.0
193	12	Fort Bragg (U).....	46,995	12,626	10,231	21.8	...	...	...	...	...	...
196	13	Wilson.....	29,347	10,163	10,110	34.4	28,753	11,301	11,296	39.3	2.1	-10.5
		South Carolina:										
76	1	Columbia.....	113,542	35,015	34,157	30.1	97,433	29,644	29,488	30.3	16.5	15.8
80	2	Charleston.....	66,945	30,369	30,251	45.2	65,925	33,612	33,522	50.8	1.5	-9.8
119	3	Greenville.....	61,208	19,327	19,145	31.3	66,188	19,717	19,666	29.7	-7.5	-2.7
144	4	Spartanburg.....	44,546	14,873	14,816	33.3	44,352	14,107	14,095	31.8	0.4	5.1
195	5	Florence.....	25,997	10,227	10,196	39.2	24,722	9,304	9,301	37.6	5.2	9.6
		Virginia:										
24	1	Richmond.....	249,621	105,764	104,766	42.0	219,958	92,331	91,972	41.8	13.5	13.9
31	2	Norfolk.....	307,951	92,882	87,261	28.3	305,872	80,621	78,806	25.8	0.7	10.7
57	3	Portsmouth.....	110,963	44,966	44,320	39.9	114,773	39,681	39,290	34.2	-3.3	12.8
65	4	Newport News.....	138,177	40,281	39,196	28.4	113,662	39,060	38,700	34.0	21.6	1.3
79	5	Hampton.....	120,779	31,403	30,619	25.4	89,258	19,095	18,851	21.1	35.3	62.4
112	6	Chesapeake.....	89,580	20,998	20,669	23.1	...	...	...	...	...	...
116	7	Petersburg.....	36,103	20,055	19,914	55.2	36,750	17,378	17,351	47.2	-1.8	14.8
130	8	Roanoke.....	92,115	17,948	17,784	19.3	97,110	16,542	16,527	17.0	-5.2	7.6
141	9	Virginia Beach[3].....	172,106	17,283	15,693	9.1	84,215	13,164	12,908	15.3	104.4	21.6
142	10	Alexandria.....	110,938	16,705	15,644	14.1	91,023	10,635	10,353	11.4	21.9	51.1
163	11	Lynchburg.....	54,083	12,651	12,583	23.3	54,790	11,125	11,109	20.3	-1.3	13.3
190	12	Danville.....	46,391	10,555	10,486	22.6	46,577	11,573	11,558	24.8	-0.4	-9.3
198	13	Arlington (U).....	174,284	12,955	10,076	5.8	163,401	9,229	8,590	5.3	6.7	17.3
		East South Central										
		Alabama:										
17	1	Birmingham.....	300,910	126,999	126,388	42.0	340,887	135,267	135,113	39.6	-11.7	-6.5
37	2	Mobile.....	190,026	67,789	67,356	35.4	202,779	65,893	65,619	32.4	-6.3	2.6
56	3	Montgomery.....	133,386	44,778	44,523	33.4	134,393	47,432	47,198	35.1	-0.8	-5.7
108	4	Prichard.....	41,578	21,101	21,005	50.5	47,371	22,343	22,323	47.1	-12.2	-5.9
133	5	Bessemer.....	33,428	17,492	17,442	52.2	33,054	18,991	18,982	57.4	1.1	-8.1
134	6	Tuscaloosa.....	65,773	17,459	17,345	26.4	63,370	18,907	18,883	29.8	3.8	-8.2
137	7	Huntsville.....	137,802	17,283	16,716	12.1	72,365	10,091	9,999	13.8	90.4	67.2
155	8	Selma.....	27,379	13,648	13,606	49.7	28,385	13,969	13,967	49.2	-3.6	-2.6
177	9	Gadsden.....	53,928	11,156	11,088	20.6	58,088	12,321	12,301	21.2	-7.2	-9.9
([1])	10	Anniston.....	31,533	10,937	10,891	34.5	33,657	11,433	11,414	33.9	-6.3	-4.6

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 4. **Race of the Population of Selected Places by State and Rank: 1970 and 1960**—Con.

[Figures shown for places with a total population of at least 25,000 and a Negro population of 10,000 or more in 1970. Places ranked according to 1970 Negro population. Minus sign (-) denotes decrease. (U) denotes unincorporated places]

Rank		Places	1970				1960				Percent change, 1960 to 1970	
					Negro				Negro			
National	State		Total	Negro and other races	Number	Percent of total	Total	Negro and other races	Number	Percent of total	Total population	Negro
		SOUTH--Con.										
		East South Central--Con.										
		Kentucky:										
32	1	Louisville.....	361,472	86,961	86,040	23.8	390,639	70,449	70,075	17.9	-7.5	22.8
125	2	Lexington.....	108,137	18,869	18,414	17.0	62,810	16,309	16,192	25.8	72.2	13.7
		Mississippi:										
39	1	Jackson.....	153,968	61,317	61,063	39.7	144,422	51,629	51,556	35.7	6.6	18.4
113	2	Greenville.....	39,648	20,813	20,619	52.0	41,502	20,420	20,188	48.6	-4.5	2.1
143	3	Meridian.....	45,083	15,203	15,106	33.5	49,374	16,778	16,761	33.9	-8.7	-9.9
164	4	Vicksburg.....	25,478	12,654	12,568	49.3	29,143	13,627	13,534	46.4	-12.6	-7.1
179	5	Hattiesburg.....	38,277	11,144	11,024	28.8	34,989	11,243	11,215	32.1	9.4	-1.7
		Tennessee:										
13	1	Memphis.....	623,530	244,306	242,513	38.9	497,524	184,725	184,320	37.0	25.3	31.6
30	2	Nashville-Davidson[3].	448,003	89,223	87,851	19.6	399,743	76,832	76,437	19.1	12.1	14.9
59	3	Chattanooga.....	119,082	42,866	42,610	35.8	130,009	43,226	43,141	33.2	-8.4	-1.2
104	4	Knoxville.....	174,587	22,776	22,157	12.7	111,827	20,886	20,715	18.5	56.1	7.0
157	5	Jackson.....	39,996	13,205	13,112	32.8	33,849	11,487	11,467	33.9	18.2	14.3
		West South Central										
		Arkansas:										
77	1	Little Rock.....	132,483	33,396	33,074	25.0	107,813	25,352	25,286	23.5	22.9	30.8
98	2	Pine Bluff.....	57,389	23,625	23,484	40.9	44,037	17,501	17,456	39.6	30.3	34.5
		Louisiana:										
10	1	New Orleans.....	593,471	270,051	267,308	45.0	627,525	234,931	233,514	37.2	-5.4	14.5
38	2	Shreveport.....	182,064	62,575	62,152	34.1	164,372	56,719	56,607	34.4	10.8	9.8
53	3	Baton Rouge.....	165,963	46,834	46,198	27.8	152,419	45,603	45,475	29.8	8.9	1.6
94	4	Lake Charles.....	77,998	24,410	24,262	31.1	63,392	13,757	13,682	21.6	23.0	77.3
106	5	Monroe.....	56,374	21,643	21,540	38.2	52,219	22,849	22,834	43.7	8.0	-5.7
129	6	Alexandria.....	41,557	18,080	18,000	43.3	40,279	17,500	17,459	43.3	3.2	3.1
136	7	Lafayette.....	68,908	17,330	17,162	24.9	40,400	11,427	11,420	28.3	70.6	50.3
		Oklahoma:										
47	1	Oklahoma City.....	366,481	58,778	50,103	13.7	324,253	42,282	37,529	11.6	13.0	33.5
72	2	Tulsa.....	331,638	44,592	35,277	10.6	261,685	26,065	22,489	8.6	26.7	56.9
		Texas:										
8	1	Houston.....	1,232,802	327,913	316,551	25.7	938,219	217,672	215,037	22.9	31.4	47.2
14	2	Dallas.....	844,401	218,154	210,238	24.9	679,684	131,211	129,242	19.0	24.2	62.7
33	3	Fort Worth.....	393,476	80,955	78,324	19.9	356,268	56,922	56,440	15.8	10.4	38.8
48	4	San Antonio.....	654,153	56,430	50,041	7.6	587,718	43,221	41,605	7.1	11.3	20.3
70	5	Beaumont.....	115,919	35,798	35,553	30.7	119,175	35,004	34,883	29.3	-2.7	1.9
82	6	Austin.....	251,808	32,199	29,816	11.8	186,545	24,739	24,413	13.1	35.0	22.1
100	7	Port Arthur.....	57,371	23,213	22,994	40.1	66,676	20,531	20,497	30.7	-14.0	12.2
122	8	Waco.....	95,326	19,403	18,955	19.9	97,808	18,094	17,986	18.4	-2.5	5.4
128	9	Galveston.....	61,809	18,744	18,143	29.4	67,175	18,449	18,282	27.2	-8.0	-0.8
166	10	Tyler.....	57,770	12,528	12,320	21.3	51,230	11,449	11,420	22.3	12.8	7.9
182	11	Lubbock.....	149,101	11,901	10,912	7.3	128,691	10,427	10,287	8.0	15.9	6.1
188	12	Corpus Christi.....	204,525	12,830	10,526	5.1	167,690	9,327	9,156	5.5	22.0	15.0
		WEST										
		Mountain										
		Arizona:										
85	1	Phoenix.....	581,562	39,052	27,896	4.8	439,170	25,651	20,919	4.8	32.4	33.4
		Colorado:										
52	1	Denver.....	514,678	56,491	47,011	9.1	493,887	35,261	30,251	6.1	4.2	55.4
		Nevada:										
151	1	Las Vegas.....	125,787	15,864	14,082	11.2	64,405	10,144	9,649	15.0	95.3	45.9

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 4. Race of the Population of Selected Places by State and Rank: 1970 and 1960—Con.

[Figures shown for places with a total population of at least 25,000 and a Negro population of 10,000 or more in 1970. Places ranked according to 1970 Negro population. Minus sign (-) denotes decrease. (U) denotes unincorporated places]

Rank		Places	1970				1960				Percent change, 1960 to 1970	
					Negro				Negro			
National	State		Total	Negro and other races	Number	Percent of total	Total	Negro and other races	Number	Percent of total	Total population	Negro
		WEST--Con.										
		Pacific										
		California:										
6	1	Los Angeles.....	2,816,061	642,461	503,606	17.9	2,479,015	417,207	334,916	13.5	13.6	50.4
19	2	Oakland.....	361,561	148,049	124,710	34.5	367,548	97,025	83,618	22.8	-1.6	49.1
27	3	San Francisco.....	715,674	204,488	96,078	13.4	740,316	135,913	74,383	10.0	-3.3	29.2
40	4	Compton.....	78,611	57,835	55,781	71.0	71,812	28,791	28,265	39.4	9.5	97.4
45	5	San Diego.....	696,769	77,271	52,961	7.6	573,224	44,712	34,435	6.0	21.6	53.8
84	6	Richmond.....	79,043	31,675	28,633	36.2	71,854	15,788	14,388	20.0	10.0	99.0
88	7	Berkeley.....	116,716	37,675	27,421	23.5	111,268	29,187	21,850	19.6	4.9	25.5
89	8	Sacramento.....	254,413	47,075	27,244	10.7	191,667	24,296	12,103	6.3	32.7	125.1
95	9	Florence-Graham(U)..	42,895	24,815	24,031	56.0	38,164	17,480	17,132	44.9	12.4	40.3
96	10	Westmont(U).....	29,310	24,158	23,635	80.6	...	...	...	...	...	...
97	11	Willowbrook(U).....	28,705	24,062	23,616	82.3	...	...	...	...	...	...
121	12	Long Beach.....	358,633	29,549	18,991	5.3	344,168	14,769	9,531	2.8	4.2	99.3
126	13	Pasadena.....	113,327	22,881	18,256	16.1	116,407	17,967	14,587	12.5	-2.7	25.2
([2])	14	Fresno.....	165,972	22,100	15,875	9.6	133,929	13,123	10,485	7.8	23.9	51.4
145	15	San Bernardino.....	104,251	17,041	14,586	14.0	91,922	8,535	8,061	8.8	13.4	80.9
171	16	Stockton.....	107,644	22,046	11,824	11.0	86,321	13,673	7,312	8.5	24.7	61.7
174	17	Altadena(U).....	42,380	13,258	11,496	27.1	40,568	2,229	1,484	3.7	4.5	674.7
176	18	Vallejo.....	66,733	14,521	11,101	16.6	60,877	11,930	10,053	16.5	9.6	10.4
180	19	San Jose.....	445,779	28,433	10,955	2.5	204,196	6,793	1,955	1.0	118.3	460.4
187	20	Pomona.....	87,384	12,444	10,648	12.2	67,157	1,181	880	1.3	30.1	1,000+
199	21	Inglewood.....	89,985	12,654	10,066	11.2	63,390	528	29	-	42.0	1,000+
		Oregon:										
105	1	Portland.....	382,619	29,984	21,572	5.6	372,676	20,919	15,637	4.2	2.7	38.0
		Washington:										
67	1	Seattle.....	530,831	66,961	37,868	7.1	557,087	46,528	26,901	4.8	-4.7	40.8
192	2	Tacoma.....	154,581	14,280	10,436	6.8	147,979	7,873	5,943	4.0	4.5	75.6

- Represents zero. ... Not applicable. [1]Waterbury, Conn. and Anniston, Ala. are tied for 183rd place. [2]Providence, R.I. and Fresno, Calif. are tied for 138th place. [3]1960 population revised in accordance with 1970 boundaries.

Table 5. Counties With a Negro Population of 50,000 or More by Rank: 1970 and 1960

[Rank according to 1970 Negro population. Minus sign (-) denotes decrease]

Rank	Counties	States	1970	1960	Change	
					Number	Percent
1	Cook	Illinois	1,183,475	861,146	322,329	37.4
2	Los Angeles	California	762,844	461,546	301,298	65.3
3	Wayne	Michigan	721,072	529,582	191,490	36.2
4	Kings	New York	654,980	371,405	283,575	76.4
5	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	653,791	529,240	124,551	23.5
6	District of Columbia		537,712	411,737	125,975	30.6
7	Baltimore city[1]	Maryland	420,210	325,589	94,621	29.1
8	New York	New York	379,835	397,101	-17,266	-4.4
9	Bronx	New York	357,707	163,896	193,811	118.3
10	Harris	Texas	350,668	246,351	104,317	42.3
11	Cuyahoga	Ohio	328,419	255,310	73,109	28.6
12	Essex	New Jersey	279,136	180,737	98,399	54.4
13	Orleans	Louisiana	267,308	233,514	33,794	14.5
14	Shelby	Tennessee	266,159	227,445	38,714	17.0
15	Queens	New York	258,322	145,855	112,467	77.1
16	St. Louis city[1]	Missouri	254,191	214,377	39,814	18.6
17	Fulton	Georgia	237,439	193,024	44,415	23.0
18	Dallas	Texas	220,512	137,954	82,558	59.8
19	Jefferson	Alabama	206,464	219,542	-13,078	-6.0
20	Dade	Florida	189,666	137,299	52,367	38.1
21	Alameda	California	161,282	111,420	49,862	44.8
22	Hamilton	Ohio	145,294	123,437	21,857	17.7
23	Allegheny	Pennsylvania	144,545	134,122	10,423	7.8
24	Marion	Indiana	134,486	99,912	34,574	34.6
25	Duval	Florida	118,158	105,655	12,503	11.8
26	Jackson	Missouri	112,867	84,022	28,845	34.3
27	Lake	Indiana	112,014	87,109	24,905	28.6
28	Milwaukee	Wisconsin	106,033	63,024	43,009	68.2
29	Suffolk	Massachusetts	105,301	63,676	41,625	65.4
30	Richmond city[1]	Virginia	104,766	91,972	12,794	13.9
31	Franklin	Ohio	104,387	80,235	24,152	30.1
32	Mobile	Alabama	102,383	100,968	1,415	1.4
33	Erie	New York	99,238	74,880	24,358	32.5
34	San Francisco	California	96,078	74,383	21,695	29.2
35	Jefferson	Kentucky	95,588	78,350	17,238	22.0
36	Prince Georges	Maryland	91,808	31,011	60,797	196.0
37	Davidson	Tennessee	87,851	76,437	11,414	14.9
38	Norfolk city[1]	Virginia	87,261	78,806	8,455	10.7
39	Westchester	New York	85,020	60,455	24,565	40.6
40	Caddo	Louisiana	84,353	81,486	2,867	3.5
41	Mecklenburg	North Carolina	84,254	66,701	17,553	26.3
42	Hinds	Mississippi	84,064	74,750	9,314	12.5
43	Montgomery	Ohio	83,672	61,886	21,786	35.2
44	East Baton Rouge	Louisiana	81,781	72,993	8,788	12.0
45	Tarrant	Texas	81,040	59,026	22,014	37.3
46	Charleston	South Carolina	77,884	78,488	-604	-0.8
47	Broward	Florida	77,444	54,816	22,628	41.3
48	Richland	South Carolina	73,437	64,845	8,592	13.3
49	Hillsborough	Florida	66,648	55,498	11,150	20.1
50	Nassau	New York	65,416	39,350	26,066	66.2
51	Guilford	North Carolina	63,704	51,159	12,545	24.5
52	Chatham	Georgia	63,676	63,930	-254	-0.4
53	St. Clair	Illinois	63,512	47,857	15,655	32.7
54	San Diego	California	62,028	39,397	22,631	57.4
55	Hudson	New Jersey	61,095	41,327	19,768	47.8
56	Jefferson	Texas	61,064	57,171	3,893	6.8
57	Palm Beach	Florida	61,015	51,953	9,062	17.4
58	Montgomery	Alabama	60,771	64,474	-3,703	-5.8
59	Union	New Jersey	60,723	37,972	22,751	59.9
60	Genesee	Michigan	60,338	36,553	23,785	65.1
61	Pulaski	Arkansas	58,402	51,945	+6,457	12.4
62	De Kalb	Georgia	56,874	22,171	34,703	156.5
63	New Haven	Connecticut	56,630	34,122	22,508	66.0
64	Fairfield	Connecticut	56,408	33,614	22,794	67.8
65	Bexar	Texas	56,394	45,314	11,080	24.5

See footnote at end of table.

Table 5. **Counties With a Negro Population of 50,000 or More by Rank: 1970 and 1960**—Con.

[Rank according to 1970 Negro population. Minus sign (-) denotes decrease]

Rank	Counties	States	1970	1960	Change	
					Number	Percent
66	Lucas	Ohio	54,694	42,863	11,831	27.6
67	Hartford	Connecticut	54,645	31,715	22,930	72.3
68	Suffolk	New York	53,092	33,035	20,057	60.7
69	Oklahoma	Oklahoma	52,744	39,985	12,759	31.9
70	Camden	New Jersey	52,318	35,297	17,021	48.2
71	Monroe	New York	52,218	24,184	28,034	115.9
72	Summit	Ohio	51,622	41,256	10,366	25.1
73	Cumberland	North Carolina	50,612	37,690	12,922	34.3
74	Wake	North Carolina	50,562	43,851	6,711	15.3
75	Passaic	New Jersey	50,199	26,799	23,400	87.3

[1]Independent city.

Table 6. Counties With a Negro Population 50 Percent or More of the Total Population by Rank: 1970 and 1960

[Rank according to 1970 percent Negro.]

Rank	Counties	States	1970			1960		
			Negro population			Negro population		
			Percent of total	Number	Total population	Percent of total	Number	Total population
1	Macon	Alabama	81.1	20,147	24,841	83.4	22,287	26,717
2	Lowndes	Alabama	76.9	9,917	12,897	80.7	12,438	15,417
3	Greene	Alabama	75.4	8,027	10,650	81.3	11,050	13,600
4	Jefferson	Mississippi	75.3	6,996	9,295	75.4	7,652	10,142
5	Claiborne	Mississippi	74.6	7,522	10,086	76.0	8,239	10,845
6	Charles City	Virginia	74.2	4,569	6,158	75.5	4,145	5,492
7	Hancock	Georgia	73.8	6,659	9,019	74.7	7,459	9,979
8	Tunica	Mississippi	72.7	8,614	11,854	79.1	13,315	16,826
9	District of Columbia		71.1	537,712	756,510	53.9	411,737	763,956
10	Wilcox	Alabama	68.5	11,160	16,303	77.9	14,592	18,739
11	Holmes	Mississippi	68.1	15,743	23,120	71.9	19,488	27,096
12	Talbot	Georgia	67.8	4,495	6,625	69.8	4,975	7,127
13	Wilkinson	Mississippi	67.6	7,499	11,099	71.2	9,428	13,235
14	Bullock	Alabama	67.4	7,965	11,824	71.9	9,679	13,462
15	West Feliciana	Louisiana	67.1	7,638	11,376	66.1	8,190	12,395
16	Hale	Alabama	66.4	10,542	15,888	70.7	13,809	19,537
17	Sumter	Alabama	66.2	11,242	16,974	76.3	15,297	20,041
18	Noxubee	Mississippi	65.8	9,397	14,288	71.7	12,064	16,826
19	Surry	Virginia	65.5	3,853	5,882	64.7	4,023	6,220
20	Humphreys	Mississippi	64.8	9,460	14,601	69.7	13,300	19,093
21	Sharkey	Mississippi	64.7	5,784	8,937	69.6	7,469	10,738
22	Stewart	Georgia	64.4	4,196	6,511	70.5	5,200	7,371
23	Coahoma	Mississippi	64.3	26,013	40,447	68.0	31,440	46,212
24	Taliaferro	Georgia	63.6	1,540	2,423	62.2	2,096	3,370
25	Sussex	Virginia	63.2	7,247	11,464	66.3	8,223	12,411
26	Calhoun	Georgia	63.1	4,166	6,606	65.1	4,779	7,341
27	Sunflower	Mississippi	62.8	23,261	37,047	67.4	30,855	45,750
28	Madison	Mississippi	62.4	18,548	29,737	71.8	23,630	32,904
29	Clarendon	South Carolina	62.0	15,870	25,604	68.2	20,122	29,490
29	Issaquena	Mississippi	62.0	1,698	2,737	67.1	2,399	3,576
29	Marshall	Mississippi	62.0	14,891	24,027	70.4	17,239	24,503
32	Clay	Georgia	61.7	2,242	3,636	62.3	2,837	4,551
33	Bolivar	Mississippi	61.4	30,338	49,409	67.3	36,663	54,464
34	Fayette	Tennessee	61.2	13,887	22,692	68.9	16,927	24,577
35	Macon	Georgia	61.0	7,892	12,933	63.0	8,297	13,170
35	Madison	Louisiana	61.0	9,185	15,065	64.8	10,650	16,444
37	Williamsburg	South Carolina	60.9	20,867	34,243	66.4	27,171	40,932
38	Calhoun	South Carolina	60.4	6,514	10,780	66.9	8,197	12,256
39	McCormick	South Carolina	60.3	4,800	7,955	61.6	5,318	8,629
40	Burke	Georgia	60.2	10,988	18,255	66.4	13,681	20,596
40	Tallahatchie	Mississippi	60.2	11,632	19,338	64.0	15,400	24,081
42	Allendale	South Carolina	60.1	5,824	9,692	63.2	7,183	11,362
42	Quitman	Georgia	60.1	1,311	2,180	64.1	1,560	2,432
44	Warren	North Carolina	59.9	9,467	15,810	62.6	12,306	19,652
45	Lee	South Carolina	59.8	10,964	18,323	65.8	14,366	21,832
46	Terrell	Georgia	59.5	6,793	11,416	64.4	8,208	12,742
47	Fairfield	South Carolina	59.4	11,882	19,999	59.5	12,318	20,713
48	Gadsden	Florida	59.3	23,247	39,184	59.4	24,944	41,989
49	Warren	Georgia	59.1	3,941	6,669	62.6	4,609	7,360
49	Tensas	Louisiana	59.1	5,756	9,732	65.0	7,665	11,796
51	Northampton	North Carolina	59.0	14,161	24,009	63.8	17,093	26,811
52	Perry	Alabama	58.7	9,033	15,388	65.7	11,401	17,358
52	East Carroll	Louisiana	58.7	7,569	12,884	61.0	8,800	14,433
54	Webster	Georgia	58.4	1,379	2,362	63.9	2,074	3,247
54	Brunswick	Virginia	58.4	9,440	16,172	58.7	10,428	17,779
56	Leflore	Mississippi	57.9	24,374	42,111	64.3	30,307	47,142
57	Lee	Arkansas	57.6	10,868	18,884	60.9	12,791	21,001
58	Quitman	Mississippi	57.4	9,120	15,888	63.1	13,254	21,019
59	Peach	Georgia	57.1	9,129	15,990	58.7	8,127	13,846
59	Jasper	South Carolina	57.1	6,783	11,885	62.2	7,616	12,237

Table 6. **Counties With a Negro Population 50 Percent or More of the Total Population by Rank: 1970 and 1960**—Continued

[Rank according to 1970 percent Negro]

Rank	Counties	States	1970 Negro population: Percent of total	1970 Negro population: Number	1970 Total population	1960 Negro population: Percent of total	1960 Negro population: Number	1960 Total population
61	Bertie	North Carolina	56.6	11,613	20,528	59.3	14,447	24,350
62	Twiggs	Georgia	56.3	4,627	8,222	60.1	4,771	7,935
63	Jefferson	Florida	55.8	4,897	8,778	59.1	5,641	9,543
63	St. Helena	Louisiana	55.8	5,545	9,937	55.5	5,081	9,162
65	Randolph	Georgia	55.7	4,869	8,734	62.2	6,886	11,078
66	Hertford	North Carolina	55.2	12,980	23,529	59.0	13,398	22,718
66	Marengo	Alabama	55.2	13,157	23,819	62.1	16,832	27,098
68	Orangeburg	South Carolina	54.9	38,332	69,789	60.1	41,181	68,559
69	Kemper	Mississippi	54.8	5,612	10,233	58.7	7,212	12,277
70	Haywood	Tennessee	54.7	10,723	19,596	61.3	14,336	23,393
71	Jefferson	Georgia	54.5	9,359	17,174	56.5	9,878	17,468
71	Washington	Mississippi	54.5	38,460	70,581	54.8	43,097	78,638
71	Bamberg	South Carolina	54.5	8,698	15,950	55.8	9,085	16,274
74	Chicot	Arkansas	54.0	9,805	18,164	56.6	10,747	18,990
74	Phillips	Arkansas	54.0	21,639	40,046	57.5	25,308	43,997
76	East Feliciana	Louisiana	53.8	9,504	17,657	54.0	10,907	20,198
77	Washington	Georgia	53.6	9,374	17,480	57.1	10,801	18,903
78	Yazoo	Mississippi	53.4	14,579	27,304	59.3	18,759	31,653
78	Gates	North Carolina	53.4	4,550	8,524	54.1	5,009	9,254
78	De Soto	Louisiana	53.4	12,155	22,764	57.5	13,949	24,248
81	Southampton[1]	Virginia	53.3	13,559	25,462	56.7	19,552	34,459
82	Crawford	Georgia	53.2	3,060	5,748	57.8	3,363	5,816
83	Baker	Georgia	53.0	2,054	3,875	58.9	2,674	4,543
84	Waller	Texas	52.5	7,506	14,285	53.6	6,466	12,071
85	Marion	Georgia	52.4	2,674	5,099	60.1	3,289	5,477
86	Northampton	Virginia	52.3	7,555	14,442	54.1	9,174	16,966
87	Dallas	Alabama	52.2	28,892	55,296	57.7	32,687	56,667
88	Greene	Georgia	51.8	5,285	10,212	52.5	5,873	11,193
89	Edgefield	South Carolina	51.6	8,104	15,692	58.2	9,153	15,735
90	Panola	Mississippi	51.3	13,753	26,829	56.3	16,216	28,791
91	Dinwiddie[1]	Virginia	51.2	31,325	61,149	52.7	31,029	58,933
92	Carroll	Mississippi	50.8	4,771	9,397	58.1	6,492	11,177
92	Caroline	Virginia	50.8	7,074	13,925	51.8	6,594	12,725
94	King and Queen	Virginia	50.7	2,786	5,491	52.1	3,066	5,889
95	Marion	South Carolina	50.5	15,297	30,270	54.9	17,582	32,014
95	Greensville[1]	Virginia	50.5	7,530	14,904	50.7	11,004	21,690
97	Amite	Mississippi	50.4	6,942	13,763	54.2	8,440	15,573
97	Nansemond[1]	Virginia	50.4	22,702	45,024	55.6	24,445	43,975
99	Copiah	Mississippi	50.3	12,437	24,749	52.0	14,058	27,051
99	Pointe-Coupee	Louisiana	50.3	11,063	22,002	53.6	12,048	22,488
101	Jefferson-Davis	Mississippi	50.2	6,497	12,936	54.7	7,408	13,540
102	Dooly	Georgia	50.1	5,210	10,404	52.5	6,027	11,474
103	Claiborne	Louisiana	50.0	8,514	17,024	50.3	9,755	19,407

[1]The independent city of Franklin is included in Southampton; Petersburg in Dinwiddie; Emporia in Greensville; and Suffolk in Nansemond.

Table 7. Population by Race 1970, and Negro Population 1960, by State

[Minus sign (-) denotes decrease]

Regions Divisions States	Total	Negro and other races	Negro 1970 Number	Negro 1970 Percent of total	Negro 1960 Number	Negro Percent change
UNITED STATES	203,165,699	25,460,507	22,578,273	11.1	18,871,831	19.6
Northeast	48,994,476	4,727,755	4,342,137	8.9	3,028,499	43.4
New England	11,841,663	452,889	388,398	3.3	243,363	59.6
Maine	992,048	6,772	2,800	0.3	3,318	-15.6
New Hampshire	737,681	4,575	2,505	0.3	1,903	31.6
Vermont	444,330	1,777	761	0.2	519	46.6
Massachusetts	5,689,170	211,546	175,817	3.1	111,842	57.2
Rhode Island	946,725	31,968	25,338	2.7	18,332	38.2
Connecticut	3,031,709	196,251	181,177	6.0	107,449	68.6
Middle Atlantic	37,152,813	4,274,866	3,953,739	10.6	2,785,136	42.0
New York	18,190,740	2,400,433	2,166,933	11.9	1,417,511	52.9
New Jersey	7,168,164	818,256	770,292	10.7	514,875	49.6
Pennsylvania	11,793,909	1,056,177	1,016,514	8.6	852,750	19.2
North Central	56,571,663	4,930,480	4,571,550	8.1	3,446,037	32.7
East North Central	40,252,476	4,092,341	3,872,905	9.6	2,884,969	34.2
Ohio	10,652,017	1,005,020	970,477	9.1	786,097	23.5
Indiana	5,193,669	373,345	357,464	6.9	269,275	32.8
Illinois	11,113,976	1,513,595	1,425,674	12.8	1,037,470	37.4
Michigan	8,875,083	1,041,609	991,066	11.2	717,581	38.1
Wisconsin	4,417,731	158,772	128,224	2.9	74,546	72.0
West North Central	16,319,187	838,139	698,645	4.3	561,068	24.5
Minnesota	3,804,971	68,933	34,868	0.9	22,263	56.6
Iowa	2,824,376	41,614	32,596	1.2	25,354	28.6
Missouri	4,676,501	499,006	480,172	10.3	390,853	22.9
North Dakota	617,761	18,276	2,494	0.4	777	221.0
South Dakota	665,507	35,174	1,627	0.2	1,114	46.1
Nebraska	1,483,493	50,626	39,911	2.7	29,262	36.4
Kansas	2,246,578	124,510	106,977	4.8	91,445	17.0
South	62,795,367	12,375,259	11,969,961	19.1	11,311,607	5.8
South Atlantic	30,671,337	6,558,942	6,388,496	20.8	5,844,565	9.3
Delaware	548,104	81,645	78,276	14.3	60,688	29.0
Maryland	3,922,399	727,511	699,479	17.8	518,410	34.9
District of Columbia	756,510	547,238	537,712	71.1	411,737	30.6
Virginia	4,648,494	886,980	861,368	18.5	816,258	5.5
West Virginia	1,744,237	70,757	67,342	3.9	89,378	-24.7
North Carolina	5,082,059	1,180,292	1,126,478	22.2	1,116,021	0.9
South Carolina	2,590,516	796,086	789,041	30.5	829,291	-4.9
Georgia	4,589,575	1,198,333	1,187,149	25.9	1,122,596	5.8
Florida	6,789,443	1,070,100	1,041,651	15.3	880,186	18.3
East South Central	12,803,470	2,600,660	2,571,291	20.1	2,698,839	-4.7
Kentucky	3,218,706	236,940	230,793	7.2	215,949	6.9
Tennessee	3,923,687	629,757	621,261	15.8	586,876	5.9
Alabama	3,444,165	910,334	903,467	26.2	980,271	-7.8
Mississippi	2,216,912	823,629	815,770	36.8	915,743	-10.9
West South Central	19,320,560	3,215,657	3,010,174	15.6	2,768,203	8.7
Arkansas	1,923,295	357,380	352,445	18.3	388,787	-9.4
Louisiana	3,641,306	1,099,808	1,086,832	29.8	1,039,207	4.6
Oklahoma	2,559,229	278,867	171,892	6.7	153,084	12.3
Texas	11,196,730	1,479,602	1,399,005	12.5	1,187,125	17.8
West	34,804,193	3,427,013	1,694,625	4.9	1,085,688	56.1
Mountain	8,281,562	483,475	180,382	2.2	123,242	46.4
Montana	694,409	31,366	1,995	0.3	1,467	36.0
Idaho	712,567	13,765	2,130	0.3	1,502	41.8
Wyoming	332,416	9,392	2,568	0.8	2,183	17.6
Colorado	2,207,259	94,907	66,411	3.0	39,992	66.1
New Mexico	1,016,000	100,185	19,555	1.9	17,063	14.6
Arizona	1,770,900	165,952	53,344	3.0	43,403	22.9
Utah	1,059,273	27,347	6,617	0.6	4,148	59.5
Nevada	488,738	40,561	27,762	5.7	13,484	105.9
Pacific	26,522,631	2,943,538	1,514,243	5.7	962,446	57.3
Washington	3,409,169	158,114	71,308	2.1	48,738	46.3
Oregon	2,091,385	59,306	26,308	1.3	18,133	45.1
California	19,953,134	2,192,102	1,400,143	7.0	883,861	58.4
Alaska	300,382	63,615	8,911	3.0	6,771	31.6
Hawaii	768,561	470,401	7,573	1.0	4,943	53.2

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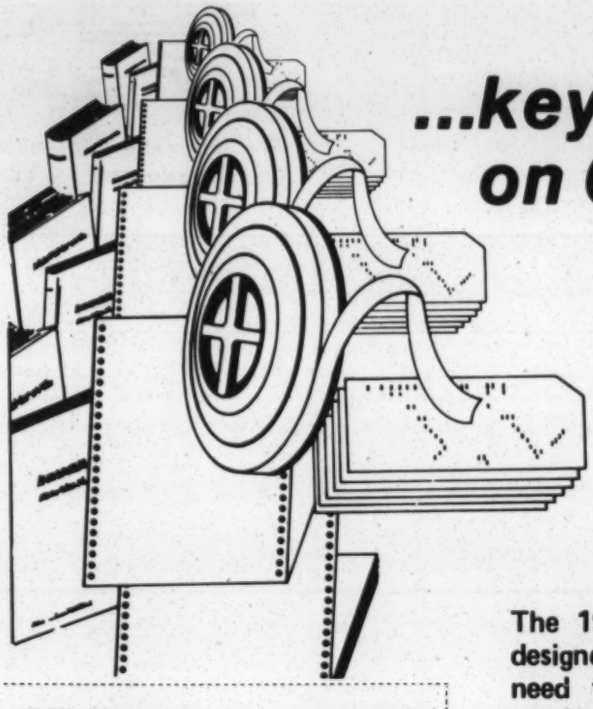

...key resources on Census '70

1970 Census Users' Guide Part 1 and Part 2

The 1970 Census Users' Guide is a two-part publication designed to furnish most of the information data users will need for effective access and use of 1970 census data products.

Part 1 of the **Guide** (standard, paper-bound publication) includes the text and three appendixes. The text covers such subjects as the collection and processing of 1970 data, data delivery media (computer tapes, microfilm, and printed materials), maps and information on how to obtain census materials. The appendixes are:

1970 Census Users' Dictionary - defines concepts associated with population and housing tabulations and geographic areas relevant to the collection and publication of data.

Comparison of Printed Reports and Summary Tapes summarizes and compares the contents of the reports and tapes.

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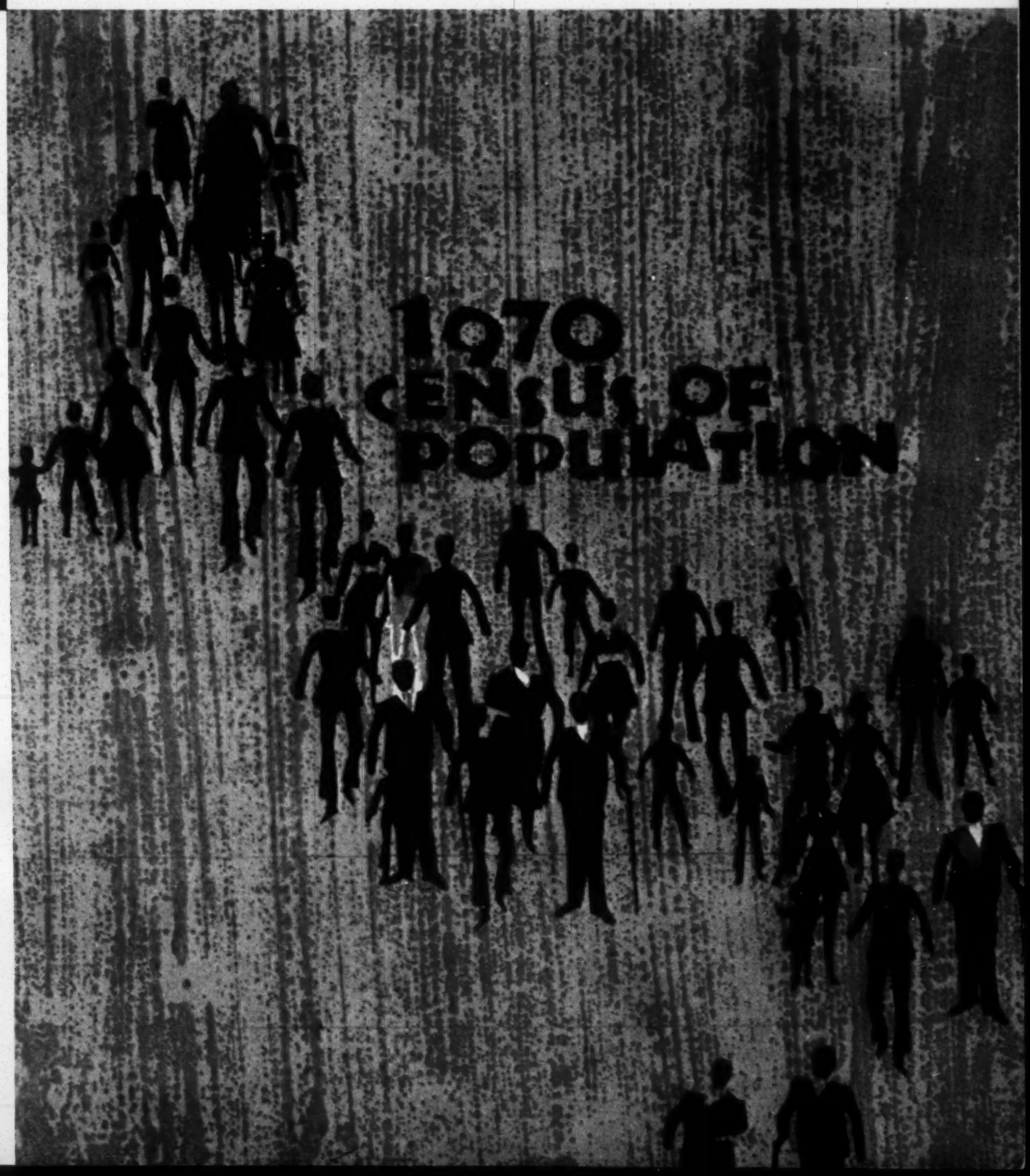

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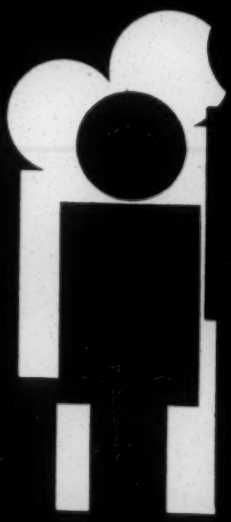
population growth & america's future

an interim report
prepared by the commission
on population growth
and the american future



One of the most serious challenges to human destiny in the last third of this century will be the growth of the population. Whether man's response to that challenge will be a cause for pride or for despair in the year 2000 will depend very much on what we do today. If we now begin our work in an appropriate manner, and if we continue to devote a considerable amount of attention and energy to this problem, then mankind will be able to surmount this challenge as it has surmounted so many during the long march of civilization.

Richard Nixon
July 18, 1969

an interim report to the president and the congress from the

commission on population growth and the american future

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COMMISSION ON POPULATION GROWTH AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE
726 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
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March 16, 1971

To the President and Congress of the United States:

I have the honor to transmit for your consideration this Interim Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, pursuant to Sec. 8, PL 91-213.

In this report, we discuss the population situation in the United States, and outline the questions we are raising about the probable impact of future growth.

During the coming year, the Commission will continue to gather and assess information on a wide range of population-related issues. The Commission's program of research and public hearings will examine the relationship between population growth and the quality of life in the United States, and the issues that would be involved if the Nation were to develop an explicit policy on population.

We shall present our findings and recommendations in our Final Report a year from now.

Respectfully submitted for the Commission,

John D. Rockefeller 3rd
Chairman

The President
The President of the Senate
The Speaker of the House of Representatives

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population in perspective 1

The time has come to ask what level of population growth is good for the United States. There was a period when rapid growth made better sense as we sought to settle a continent and build a modern industrial Nation. And there was a period, in the 1930's, when a low birth rate was cause for concern. But these are new times and we have to question old assumptions and make new choices based on what population growth means for the Nation today. Despite the pervasive impact of population growth on every facet of American life, the United States has never developed a deliberate policy on the subject. There is a need today for the Nation to consider population growth explicitly and to formulate policy for the future.

Our population reached 100 million in 1915; it now numbers something over 200 million; the Nation had better get ready for 300 million; it may soon have to decide whether it wants 400 million. Should we look forward to celebrating the arrival of the third and fourth hundred million as we did the second hundred million? Whether or when we reach these totals will depend on what American couples do in the decades just ahead.

418-865 O - 71 - 2

Such large differences in population size result from small differences in family size. For example, if families in the United States have only two children on the average and immigration continues at current levels, our population would still grow to 266 million by the end of the century; if they have three children, the population would reach 321 million by then. One hundred years from now the two-child family would result in a population of 340 million persons; the three-child average would produce nearly a billion.

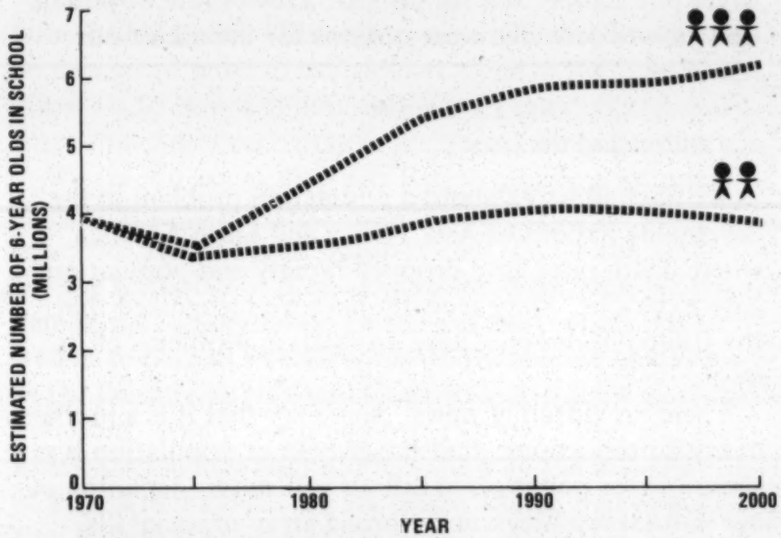
The difference is important not simply because of the numbers but because it bears vitally upon a fundamental question about the Nation's future: Do we wish to continue to invest even more of our resources and those of much of the rest of the world in meeting demands for more services, more classrooms, more hospitals, and more housing as population continues to grow? Or should we concentrate our energies and resources on improving the quality of existing services and extending them to large numbers of our people for whom the "quality of life" still means just getting a square meal?

. . . a difference of one . . .

Small differences in family size will make big differences in the demands placed on our society. That difference of only one child per family over just the next thirty years will have important consequences for the educational system.

If families average three children, in the year 2000 elementary school enrollment will be 50 percent above what it would be if families average only two children. Similarly, secondary school enrollment will be 43 percent higher and college enrollment 34 percent higher. In dollar terms, the three-child family implies that total annual costs of education will be nearly $40 billion more (in 1969 dollars) in the year 2000 than for a population resulting from a two-child family. This would mean a 30

HOW MANY CHILDREN WOULD BE STARTING SCHOOL? EFFECT OF 3-CHILD FAMILY vs. 2-CHILD FAMILY.



SOURCE FOR ALL CHARTS, SEE APPENDIX A.

Figure 1

percent higher level of educational expenditures per working member of society. An average of three rather than two children will require more than one million extra teachers just to maintain present student-teacher ratios.

In the health field, the three-child family implies an annual cost of $14 billion more in the year 2000 than the two-child family just to maintain present standards. If health costs continue to rise as they have in the past, the difference would exceed $30 billion. If the three-child family is the norm in the year 2000, the economy will have to produce 20 percent more than would be necessary to provide the two-child family with the same standard of living. This could mean a higher level of resource use and environmental pollution.

The importance of these differences in costs is not that the Nation would be unable to meet the demands of a larger population, but simply that a lower rate of population growth provides more options for the use of our resources.

. . . addressing the issue . . .

We have all heard about a population problem in the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where death rates have dropped rapidly and populations have exploded. Only recently have we recognized that the United States may have population problems of its own.

There are differing views. Some say that it is a problem of crisis proportions—that the growth of population is responsible for pollution of our air and water, depletion of our natural resources, and a broad array of social ills. Others point to recent declines in the birth rate and assert that the problem is disappearing. Still others claim that our problems are caused by the way our population is concentrated in metropolitan areas, by the amounts an affluent people consume and discard, by new products and technologies, or by inequities in access to the better things of life.

Our view, at this stage of our inquiry, is that population growth of the magnitude we have had since World War II has aggravated many of the Nation's problems and made their solution more difficult. The point was stated by President Nixon in his Population Message of July 18, 1969, when he said:

> "I believe that many of our present social problems may be related to the fact that we have had only fifty years in which to accommodate the second hundred million Americans."

And, the longer we delay addressing the issue, the more costly and arduous the task becomes because the population—and the number of potential future parents—will have grown that much more in the intervening years. The cumulative nature of population growth requires us to take the long view. The children born in this decade will be parents of most of the children born in the year 2000. What we do now will have real impact then. It is a challenge that Americans have rarely been called upon to face.

We are not saying that population growth continued at current rates portends an immediate crisis for the country. There is little question that the United States has the resources, if it chooses to use them, to meet the demands of a population growing at the current rate as well as to correct various social and economic inequities, as the President's National Goals Research Staff recently indicated. And it is equally true that our social and economic problems would not be solved by the stabilization of population alone. We are simply saying that population growth is important. It makes a difference.

The tension between population and the economy, population and the environment, population and government services, is with us at all times in different forms and degrees. Whether we wish to alter it or to live with it, we cannot afford to ignore it. It is time that population issues were given deliberate, impartial consideration.

This is necessary whether the birth rate is going up or down. Some Japanese leaders are publicly worrying about the low birth rate in their nation. Similar concerns have been voiced by responsible leaders of several eastern European countries. Indeed, if birth rates in the United States were to resume their recent decline, in future years we might be worrying about the same thing.

. . . to confront the problems . . .

In his Population Message to Congress, President Nixon urged the Nation to confront the problems posed by national population growth and to develop means of coping with them. At the President's request, Congress estab-

lished the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future—the first such body ever appointed in the United States—to examine the probable course of population growth and internal migration in the United States between now and the year 2000; to assess the problems this will pose for our government, our economy, and our resources and environment; and to make recommendations on how the Nation can best resolve these problems. (See Appendix C)

A year hence, in our final report, we will present our findings and recommendations. Between now and then, the Commission will be gathering the facts on population and its probable future change, examining how and to what extent this change is likely to affect the quality of life in the United States, conducting public hearings, reviewing the policy alternatives open to us, and deciding which courses to recommend.

It is our purpose in this Interim Report to encourage a rational discourse on population matters among the American people. In the remainder of the report, we outline the population situation in the United States and the issues it poses, the questions we are raising about the probable impact of future population growth and distribution, and how we are going about finding answers to these questions. Finally, the report reviews some of the issues which would be involved if the Nation were to develop an explicit national population policy.

2 the prospects for population change

Every day in the United States an average of almost 10,000 babies are born, about 5,000 persons die, and over 1,000 more persons enter the country than leave. This adds up to a net increase in total population of about 6,000 a day or over two million persons a year.

These population numbers reflect life and death and new opportunity for the individual. For society, the balance of births and deaths and migration is profoundly important; the effects are long range and the consequences of great significance.

Recent Census Bureau figures indicate that if families average three children over the next few decades and immigration continues at present levels, our population will reach 300 million in 1996, only a quarter-century from now. If we average two children, that day will be postponed another 25 years to the year 2021. We are currently reproducing at a rate roughly midway between two and three children, which would bring us to 300 million around the year 2008.

The Census Bureau figures are not intended to be forecasts. The birth rate changed so rapidly in the past few years that last year the Census Bureau had to revise down-

ward the projections it had issued only three years before. So, it would be possible for the Nation to reach 300 million after these dates, or conceivably before. But it appears highly likely that we **will** reach that figure.

It may seem odd, when we have only recently passed the 200 million mark, to be saying that we are fairly well assured of reaching 300 million. Population growth tends to develop its own momentum which makes it difficult to stop, no matter how hard the brakes are applied. Even if immigration from abroad ceased and families had only two children on the average—just enough to replace themselves—our population would continue to grow until the year 2037, when it would be a third larger than it is now.

This momentum is the legacy of past population growth. Thirty years ago, in 1940, we had a population of 132 million people. After all the births, deaths and new immigrants over the following 30 years were balanced out, by 1970 we had a population of 204 million and a net gain of 72 million. Because of the baby boom, the number of persons now moving into the childbearing ages is much larger than previous generations of parents. In 1975 there will be 5½ million more people in the prime childbearing ages of 20 to 29 than there were last year. By 1985, the figure will have jumped still another 5½ million. This will exert strong pressure toward increasing the number of births.

Right now about 80 percent of our annual population growth results from natural increase—the amount by which births exceed deaths. About 20 percent of our current growth is due to net immigration; the number has been averaging about 400,000 annually. Historically speaking, that is not many. In the years just before World War I, the figures ran to twice that, at a time when the United States had less than half the number of people it has now.

Even so, the long-term effects of immigration are large. This is partly because most immigrants enter the country

in young adulthood, at an age when their childbearing is at its peak. If the average family (including immigrants) had two children, and immigration continued at 400,000 per year, the survivors and descendants of immigrants in the next 30 years would number 16 million in the year 2000, and would have accounted for one-fourth of the total population increase during that period. Over the next 100 years immigrants and their descendants would account for nearly half of the increase in population from 204 to 340 million.

. . . a fourth hundred million? . . .

If it seems odd to be thinking now about our third hundred million, it may seem absurd to raise the question of a fourth hundred million. However, whether we add that fourth hundred million may be determined by what Americans do about family size and population in the next couple of decades.

The children born in this decade will be parents in the year 2000, and they will contribute most of the births occurring in that year. So the number of births thirty years hence depends heavily on the number of children born in the 1970's and the reproductive patterns they follow when they come of age.

An average of three children per family in the future, as unlikely as that appears at the moment, would give us a population of 400 million in the year 2014, less than a half-century away. With an average of two children, we could forget about the fourth hundred million if immigration were not a factor.

When we speak of two or three-child families we are talking about averages which can be made up by many possible combinations of families of different sizes, ranging from childless couples to those with many children.

A vocal group of concerned citizens is calling for population growth to stop immediately. While there are a variety of paths to ultimate zero growth, none of the feasible

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WILL THE U.S. ADD A FOURTH 100 MILLION TO ITS POPULATION?
EFFECT OF 3-CHILD FAMILY vs. 2-CHILD FAMILY.

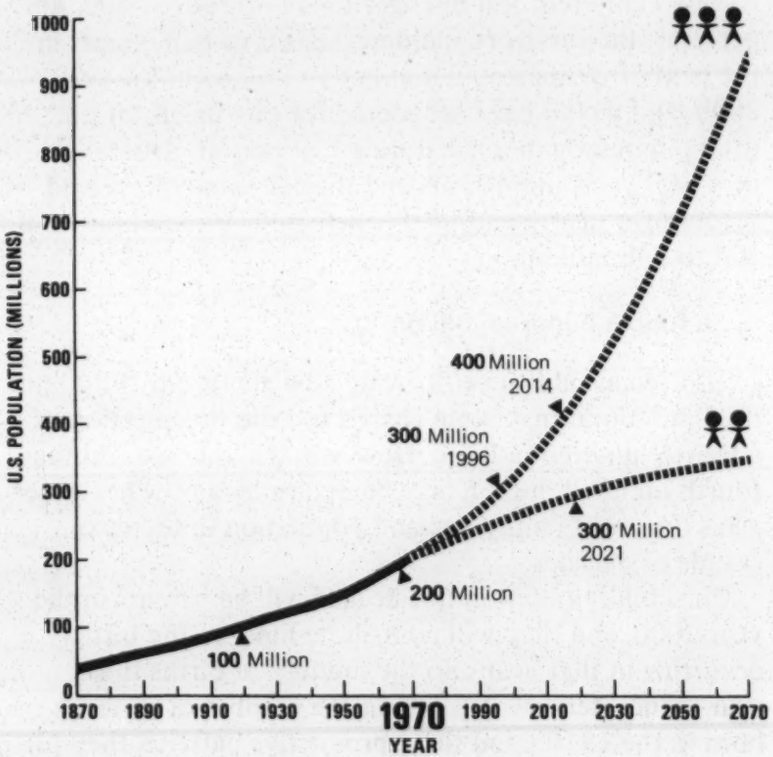


Figure 2

paths would achieve it immediately. Our past rapid growth has given us so many young couples that they would have to limit their childbearing to an average of only about one child to produce the number of births consistent with immediate zero growth. Ten years from now, the population under 10 years old would be only 43 percent of what it now is, with disruptive effects on the school system and ultimately on the number of persons

entering the labor force. Thereafter, a constant total population could be maintained only if this small generation in turn had two children and their grandchildren had nearly three children on the average. And then the process would again have to reverse, so that the overall effect for many years would be that of an accordion-like mechanism requiring continuous expansion and contraction.

We doubt that such consequences are intended by the advocates of immediate zero population growth.

. . . two-thirds of our people . . .

The growth of population in the United States has been interwoven with the movement of our people across the face of the land.

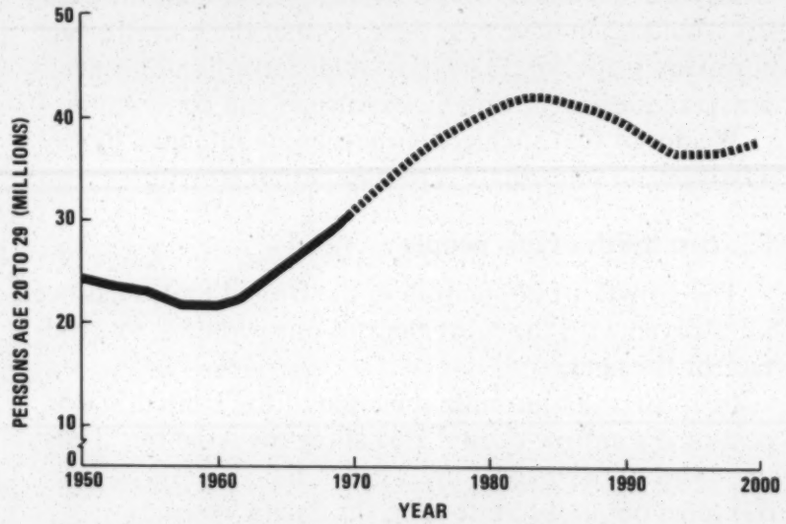
In 1790, the four million people of the United States occupied a narrow coastal area along the Atlantic. Today, one-third of our people live west of the Mississippi, and our most populous State is on the Pacific coast.

When the United States was formed, 95 percent of our people were rural, living on farms and in towns and villages. Today, over two-thirds of our people live in metropolitan areas and many more live in cities and towns outside metropolitan areas.

In the 1960's more than three-fourths of our Nation's growth occurred in metropolitan areas, with the suburbs absorbing most of it. Suburbanites now outnumber those living in central cities. The farm population dropped from 15 to 10 million, and about one-half of the Nation's three thousand counties lost population. Another one-fourth of the counties had slow growth rates because more people moved out than moved in. Migration patterns continued from mid-country out to coastal areas.

In contemporary discussion of population growth and its effects, we hear the view that the population problems of our society are caused more by the concentration of population in large urban areas than by the size and growth of the total population; that, therefore, we should

AN AVERAGE OF 2 CHILDREN PER FAMILY WOULD SLOW POPULATION GROWTH, BUT WOULD NOT STOP IT SOON BECAUSE THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE OF CHILDBEARING AGE IS INCREASING...



...SO EVEN IF FAMILY SIZE DROPS TO A 2-CHILD AVERAGE...

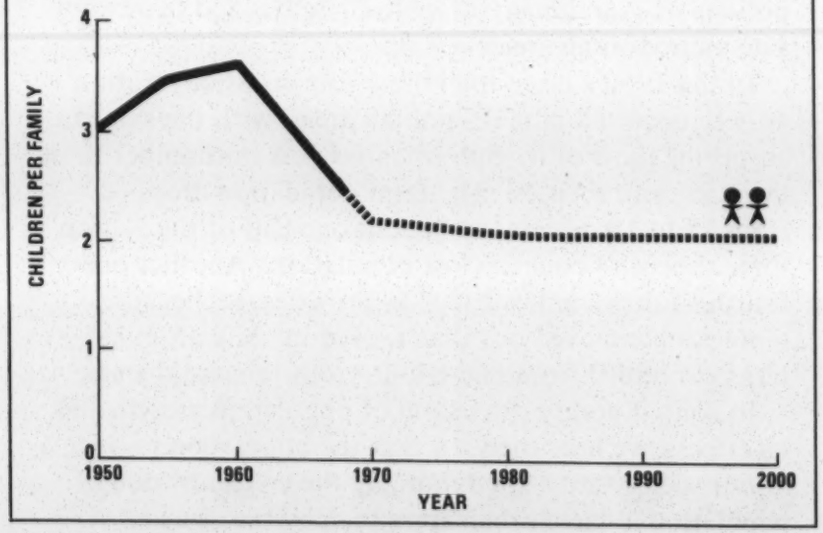
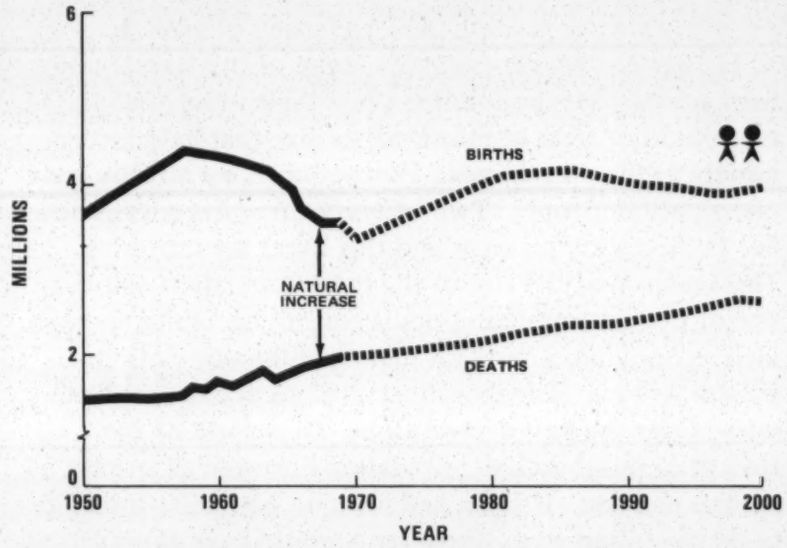


Figure 3

...THE RESULTING BIRTHS WILL CONTINUE TO EXCEED DEATHS FOR THE REST OF THIS CENTURY...



...SO THE POPULATION WILL STILL BE GROWING IN THE YEAR 2000, BUT AT A DECREASING RATE.

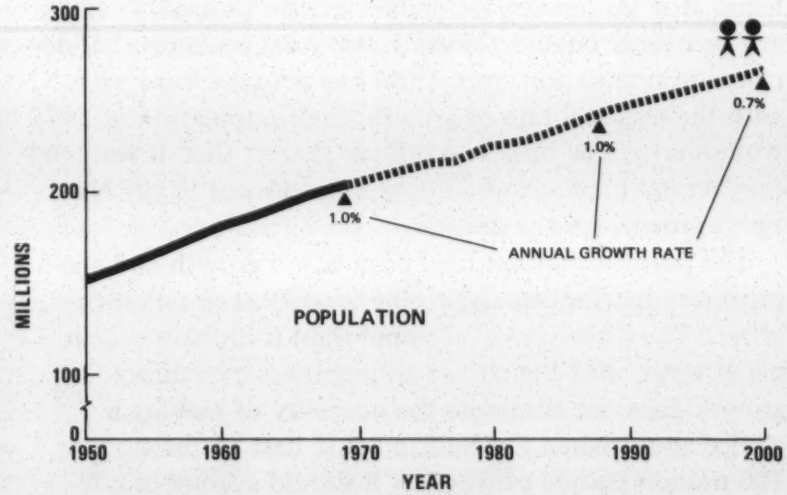


Figure 3 continued

be worried less about the number of people in the United States than about the way they are distributed geographically; and that government efforts should be devoted to achieving greater geographical dispersion of growth.

The issue is not that simple. Many of our largest cities have actually lost population. It is their suburbs and metropolitan areas of intermediate size that have grown rapidly in the past decade. Furthermore, we already are a metropolitan people. Two of every three Americans now live in metropolitan areas and this trend is continuing. This means that the size of the total population and the size of the metropolitan population are becoming increasingly synonymous and that metropolitan population growth will increasingly reflect changes in national birth rates. Over the past decade alone, 70 percent of the growth of metropolitan population occurred as a result of natural increase. If there had been no net migration at all to metropolitan areas, these areas would have experienced most of their growth anyway.

The decline of many rural counties is often cited as cause for concern and indeed it does create many problems. But the numerical impact of this process should not be overestimated. If the 1,100 rural counties that declined in population since 1960 had actually kept pace with the national rate of growth, their population in 1970 would have been only two million greater than it was, and they would have absorbed only nine percent of the Nation's growth for the decade.

The point is that national population growth and geographical distribution cannot be treated as an either-or affair. The distribution of population is problematic in many ways. But the choice among ways to redirect growth does not eliminate the necessity of making a choice about when the Nation could best accommodate 300 million people or whether it should accommodate 400 million.

. . . to know where we are going . . .

Since knowing where we are and have been helps us to know where we are going, the Commission is using the results of the 1970 Census and earlier censuses to gain an understanding of the growth, transformation and redistribution of the population of the United States in this century.

The Commission's research on prospects for population growth includes projections of population and population characteristics and studies of the importance of unwanted childbearing, the demographic impact of immigration, abortion, voluntary sterilization and family planning programs, the future of contraceptive technology, and the level of popular education about population.

With regard to the distribution of population, the Commission is preparing projections of regional and metropolitan growth, examining the implications of economic changes for redistribution of population, studying the ways in which distribution patterns compound national problems, and investigating the factors which influence individual decisions to move.

Appendix B lists the Commission's research projects.

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population and the quality of life 3

Given a likely population of 300 million sooner or later, the questions before us are: Is it in the national interest to reach that level later rather than sooner? What demands are implied by the growth that is to be expected? And, what difference will it make whether we grow to 400 million after that?

Much discussion these days implies that population growth is bad, just as not very long ago one heard, from a different point of view, that it was good. No such simple judgments can be made. To consider population growth or concentration as the root cause of our Nation's social and environmental ills is clearly simplistic. Such an interpretation confuses how things are done with how many people are doing them. For example, rapidly rising levels of per capita consumption, and technological mismanagement, appear to contribute more to environmental pollution than does a gradual rise in total population.

More importantly, population growth matters not in its own right but because of its potential impact on many values that Americans hold about our environment and resources, our economy, our government and our social order. The question is: What does population growth have to do with such values and with the systems necessary for their achievement?

PAGINATION INCORRECT

. . . resources and the environment . . .

There is little reason to believe that population growth will cause food shortages in the United States, but serious questions have been raised about the effects of continued population growth on our own and the world's resources, and on the pollution of our land, air and water. Even though population growth is not the primary cause of environmental deterioration, it may well magnify problems arising from the way we use our resources and technology.

At our present level of consumption, a continually growing population makes demands upon many resources, some of which are in scarce supply. There is a question whether continued growth will cause us to exhaust some important resources, or whether the market system, with a dynamic economy, can develop substitutes for resources in short supply. For some resources, such as wilderness, there are no substitutes. Economists and ecologists have been enlisted by the Commission to determine the effects on the environment of population growth, of technological change and of changes in demand resulting from greater affluence.

To the extent that environmental problems are aggravated by population growth, it is important to determine the environmental implications of the way in which our population is distributed—the effects of local population concentration as well as national growth.

Some contend that the country could easily accommodate more people if our population were spread more evenly. It is not how many people we have, they say, but how they are distributed across the Nation. This is only a partial answer. Clearly, some of our urban problems are due to high concentrations and poor planning. On the other hand, people consume resources wherever they live. Whether in New York City or a small town in the midwest, they still drive an automobile fabricated of steel produced in Pittsburgh using coal mined in West Virginia. In the

process, the air of Pittsburgh is polluted by smoke and the scenery of West Virginia by strip mining. Wherever Americans live, they make huge demands on the Nation's and the world's resources and ecological systems.

People in small towns can despoil their rivers and air just as people in New York have done. A large city might actually be better able to afford ecologically sound solutions to many environmental problems. So simply redistributing the population might not solve many of the population-related problems we face.

Moreover a large population such as ours might not be able to live at its present standard of consumption without high concentrations of people and economic activity. We could not drastically alter distribution patterns without radically altering our way of life. Even so, it may be desirable to slow or stop the growth of very large metropolitan areas. And as we have said, it would be very difficult to do this without slowing the growth of the total population.

. . . the economy . . .

There are several points of view on how different rates of population growth might affect the economy of this country. In the past, some predicted that declining population growth would cause economic stagnation, unemployment, and a lower standard of living. Some contemporary observers maintain that a slower rate of population growth would increase the Nation's prosperity while reducing the costs associated with growth. Still others note that our economy is flexible and has shown many times that it can adjust to changes in demand. They suggest that with proper economic policies the rate of population growth is largely irrelevant to national economic prosperity.

Regardless of the effects of population change on the total economy, it is clear that some industries and businesses will gain and others will suffer as a result of chang-

ing growth rates and shifts in age composition. Various adjustments within the economy will be necessary, as is always the situation with changes in population growth, and we need to know what adjustments are likely to be required.

In addition to affecting the demands for different products, population growth also affects production in other ways. Most importantly, the number of births ultimately affects the size of the labor force and its age composition.

The effect of population growth on various private and public sectors of the economy is being investigated. Some industries with important components in the public sector such as education, health, housing and transportation, are strongly affected by population growth and redistribution. The public expenditures that will be required to accommodate expected growth in the next 30 years are being assessed. Changes in population growth rates can seriously affect certain private sectors of the economy whose markets are geared to particular age groups. Some industries, such as those in children's markets, would be affected very quickly by reduced rates of growth; others would be affected more slowly.

Continued population increase has implications for the delivery of certain social services beyond simply their pocketbook costs. In some fields, further growth may require considerable changes in methods of delivery just to maintain adequate service levels.

For example, even if money were no problem, various constraints affect health care. It is difficult to increase the rate at which doctors are produced. The training is long, difficult, and expensive. Good medical schools require costly equipment and highly skilled faculties commanding top salaries. Because of long training and internship requirements, decisions that will affect the future supply of physicians must be made years in advance. It may also be difficult to expand adequately the supply of nurses and trained technicians. Higher rates of population growth magnify burdens on personnel in short supply, which could lead to further depersonalization of medical care. If health care has deteriorated because of inadequate facilities and overworked personnel, higher rates of population growth can make these problems more difficult to solve. In addition to growth, the increasing concentration of people and medical facilities in metropolitan areas has resulted in some serious imbalances of population and medical services.

. . . government . . .

What are the governmental and political implications of population growth, over and above the costs of public services? Our analysis is concentrated on the possible impact of population growth on the quality of government in the United States in the coming decades, and upon the individual's participation as a citizen.

At the local level, the influence of population growth upon the quality of government seems clear. The quality of metropolitan government is likely to depend on the rapidity of population growth and on the number of different governments attempting to meet public service needs. For example, where court dockets are heavily crowded, justice is not likely to flow in the same fashion as where they are not.

Much of our research effort on the implications of population growth for local government concerns metropolitan areas, where most of our people now live. We are considering the increasing complexity and layering of local government generally found in such areas, the differences between cities and suburbs with regard to public service needs and the resources to meet them, and the problems of governmental response to future expansion of metropolitan areas.

In studying the effects of population growth on Federal and State government there is less to rely on than at the local level. We hope to open several new areas of

inquiry, such as the effects of growth on the role of legislators, on the output of State legislatures, and on the ability of the Nation to unite around a national issue.

There is also a range of questions about the effects of population growth and movement on how individuals participate as citizens. The political attitudes of those who migrate from areas of rural poverty to urban ghettos are not likely to remain the same, nor are their expectations of governmental services. The same is likely to be true of those who move to the suburbs. Place of residence—and hence the relative growth of different areas—may make a profound difference in political attitudes and behavior.

For centuries the size of population and national security have been connected in the popular mind. What is the relationship between population and national security in the modern, technological society? How is this relationship affected by the geographical distribution of the population?

. . . society . . .

The Commission is examining the future of the family in the United States as reproduction comes increasingly under voluntary control. In what ways will the family of the future differ from the family of today? What are the implications for the health and development of children if family size diminishes?

Changes in family size will have far-reaching significance for a variety of social processes, not the least of which is the role of women in our society. Reductions in family size imply that women will spend less time in childbearing and child rearing activities and thus have more time available for work on other interests. Basically, the effect of such a change would be to increase the options available to women; one such option would be to devote more time to fewer children, perhaps improving the quality of parenthood. We are examining the effects of changing birth rates on the size of the female labor

force, opportunities for women to have careers, and greater equality and participation of women in the affairs of the society. And, we are looking at the other side of the coin, the extent to which current levels of childbearing—wanted as well as unwanted births—result from the relatively limited range of roles many women occupy.

Some of the implications of the cessation of population growth for society are being explored. A few other nations that have come close to stabilizing population might serve as models of the future, although cultural differences make such inferences precarious. Certainly one demographic consequence of the decline of the birth rate is the aging of the population. In a population where births equal deaths, at the low levels of mortality prevailing in the United States, the proportion of people over 60 would be the same as that under 15 and the average age of the population would be 37 rather than 28 as at present. The implications of such a difference for rates of social change and opportunities for advancement must be examined.

At local levels such situations can be seen in places that have lost population. The emptying out of rural areas has meant a loss of young adults and a decline in the kinds and quality of services available. The impact of rural-urban migration on those who stay behind and on the communities in which they live is being examined. We are also evaluating the advantages and disadvantages to those who migrate to urban centers and the extent to which rural migrants contribute to the problems of urban areas.

In sum, what are commonly referred to as population problems can be viewed more profitably as environmental, economic, political and social problems that are aggravated by population growth and density. The closest thing to a "population problem" in the pure sense is the speculation that increases in the sheer density of numbers have undesirable effects on social behavior. We regard

population growth, however, as an intensifier or multiplier of many problems impairing the quality of life in the United States.

policy issues 4

The Commission is devoting its second year to a detailed examination of the probable course of population growth and distribution and their environmental, economic, political and social implications. The aim is to determine what population prospects inevitably must be accommodated in the short run, and what kind of national population policy is desirable now for the long run. The concerns of overriding importance are whether population stabilization and redistribution of the population are desirable.

The Commission views population policy not as an end in itself but as a means to facilitate the achievement of other social goals desirable in their own right. Such goals would include improvements in the status of women, in the socioeconomic conditions of disadvantaged minorities, and in the health and opportunities of children born because they were wanted, as well as the easing of pressures on our resources and physical environment, health and educational facilities, and the problems of our cities.

The content of a population policy would not be immutable, but would need to be adjusted over time in the light of emerging developments, increased knowledge, and

changing attitudes of both policymakers and the general public. Thus, the Commission sees national population policy as an evolving rather than a static instrumentality.

. . . freely to choose . . .

A key consideration for population policy is the current level of unwanted childbearing. This information is necessary to determine how much movement toward the cessation of population growth might ultimately result simply from preventing unwanted births. The sum of individuals' real preferences may in fact coincide with the welfare of society as a whole. There is some evidence (from the 1965 National Fertility Study) that the elimination of unwanted births would result in fertility levels ultimately commensurate with near-zero growth. If this conclusion is valid for 1970 (the 1970 National Fertility Study now underway will provide the basis for such a judgment), the policy implications can hardly be overestimated because the national objective could be attained by enabling individuals to achieve their own preferences.

Estimates made in 1965, based on married women's own reports about their childbearing experience, indicated that one-third of the married couples who did not intend to have any more children already had at least one unwanted child. In the period 1960-65 nearly 20 percent of all live births were reported as unwanted by their parents. Only one-fourth of all parents claimed to have been completely successful in preventing both unwanted and unplanned pregnancies.

The 20 percent of births reported as unwanted by their parents represent nearly five million children born between 1960 and 1965 who theoretically would never have been born if their parents' desires had prevailed. Fortunately many of these unwanted pregnancies and births become wanted children. But many do not.

Over and above the demographic significance of current levels of unwanted births, are the serious costs for

HOW MANY BIRTHS ARE UNWANTED?
ONE FIFTH OF ALL U.S. BIRTHS, 1960-65, WERE UNWANTED.

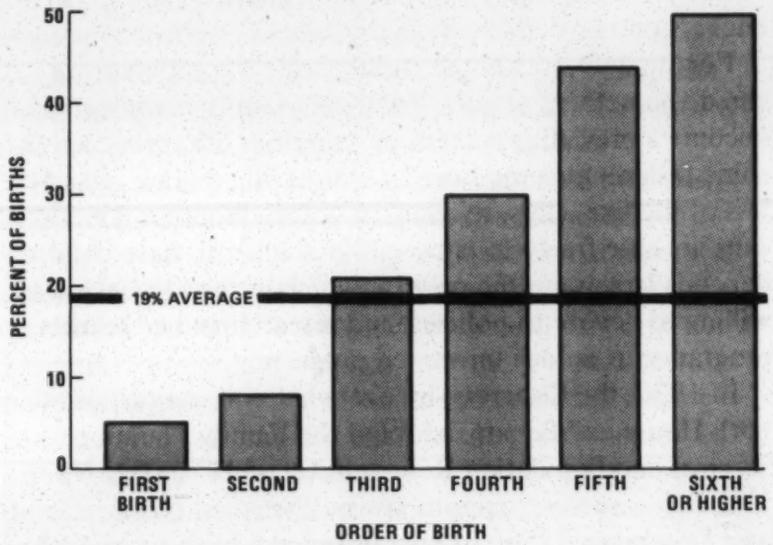

Figure 4

both individuals and society. For many, it means poor prospects for employment and limited opportunities for themselves and their children. For others, the costs are measured in increased family stress and unhappiness, altered life plans, and less time and attention for each child. Unwanted pregnancy sets off a chain of events which acutely forecloses the life-chances of some young people; it leads to dropping out of school, precipitous marriage or an out-of-wedlock birth. Unwanted childbearing is associated with serious health consequences such as increased incidence of prematurity, mental retardation, infant and maternal mortality, and physical and emotional neglect and abuse.

While the incidence—and the consequences—of unwanted births are especially acute among low-income

couples, it would be erroneous to regard the problem as one associated only with poverty. Couples in all socio-economic groups have unwanted pregnancies and experience its costs.

Fortunately, unwanted childbearing is a problem we can do something about. Voluntary family planning has become a prevailing pattern in American life, practiced in some fashion at some time by almost all couples, regardless of income, class, religion, or color. Whether Americans are able freely to choose if and when to have children depends largely on the priority which we as a society are willing to devote to policies, and research and educational programs, to reduce unwanted pregnancy.

In 1970, the Congress, by overwhelming majorities of both House and Senate, adopted the Family Planning Services and Population Research Act of 1970 (P.L. 91-572), a measure signed into law by President Nixon this past December. The Act encourages the birth of wanted children and assists couples in preventing unwanted conception. The Commission endorses this significant advance toward the reduction of unwanted childbearing, and believes that this policy should be implemented promptly.

We shall return to this question in our final report, to estimate the level of governmental and private resources—financial, manpower and institutional—which would be necessary for a comprehensive national effort. We are also examining State laws still in force which impede the dissemination of family planning services to certain classes of individuals, and the impact of other policies and programs on the opportunity for couples to secure modern family planning services.

. . . not an easy task . . .

If it turns out that the prevention of unwanted births should be the main target of a growth policy, the goal would be to maximize popular information and understanding about how to control fertility, and to accelerate the development of more effective techniques and facilities for limiting childbearing. This will involve the Commission in further considerations of family planning services and education, contraceptive technology, adoption and abortion. These all pose moral and ethical complexities which the Commission is considering.

On the other hand, if population stabilization is desirable and its achievement would require more than eliminating unwanted childbearing, then additional measures can be considered, such as changes in tax laws, the elimination of pro-natalist laws and programs, and educational programs. Some of the policy issues that would then be involved are much more difficult and potentially more controversial than those related to the prevention of unwanted childbearing. It would not be an easy task to develop acceptable measures that would lead to a slowing and eventual end of population growth. The best kind of national population policy would be one that serves the general welfare by promoting informed individual choice.

One obvious and fundamental change desirable in its own right, quite aside from its demographic impact, is to increase the opportunities for women to pursue activities other than exclusively domestic and childbearing roles. As the experience of other countries indicates, when women are able to work, birth rates decline.

As we have seen, population growth is also affected significantly by immigration. Should the volume of immigration be reduced? The historical role played by immigration in the growth of this country and our tradition as an open society make this question especially disturbing.

The issues with regard to the distribution of the population arise from the transition of the United States from an agrarian to an industrial and service economy and from a rural to a metropolitan way of life. The Commission seeks to identify the major stress points in this transition—

stresses generated in the process of regional redistribution, metropolitan growth, the rapid expansion of suburbs and the depopulation of large areas of the country.

If it appears desirable to redirect growth, it will be important to know how this might be done. The Commission is studying internal migration and the characteristics of migrants, to find out at what stages in their career and life-cycle people might be responsive to incentives to move or stay.

A principal question is the role that Federal and State governments play in population affairs. Although the Federal government does not have an explicit, comprehensive population distribution policy, many of its policies, programs and statutes seem to have an impact on population distribution incidental to their main objectives. This inadvertent impact may be seen, for example, not only in the Federal Interstate Highway System, but also in the Federal Housing Administration program and federal procurement policies. Others, such as the Economic Development Administration, the New Communities Act and the urban renewal program, are designed in part to redirect growth.

We also have many laws directly or indirectly affecting the growth of population, such as those governing immigration, marriage, divorce, contraception and abortion, which require examination.

Basic to all population policy questions are the underlying legal, ethical and political issues. Constitutionality does not guarantee ethical acceptability, and Americans support a broad variety of ethical views that must be taken into account in any formulation of policy.

This, then, is the way the Commission views its task. We do not take future population trends as inevitable. We believe that there are short-run population trends already in process that simply must be accommodated, but that the longer-run future hangs in the balance. And it is not simply population growth itself that is the issue, but rather

the quality of life that can be influenced so fundamentally by population. We have the challenge, and indeed the responsibility, to prepare for the future of coming generations of Americans.

appendix a

sources of data

The figures on future population in this report are based on the Census Bureau's *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 448, "Projections of the Population of the United States, by Age and Sex (Interim Revisions): 1970 to 2020," and unpublished extensions of these projections.

The Census Series B projection is used here to show how the population would grow if families had an average of 3 children. The Census Series E projection is used to show population growth if the average were 2 children per family.

Both Census series assume that net immigration to the United States will continue at recent levels of about 400,000 per year. Both assume a slight increase of about 1½ years in the average expectation of life between now and the year 2000. They differ in what they assume about the rate of childbearing.

Series B assumes that in the future women will be giving birth at an "ultimate" rate which works out to an average of 3.1 children per woman over her lifetime. The transition from the 1968 rate of 2.5 to the "ultimate" future rate is not instantaneous in the projections, but most of the transition is assumed to occur by 1980.

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The 3.1 figure is an average for all women, regardless of marital status. In the present-day United States almost all women (95%) marry at some time in their lives, and many of those who do not are exposed to the possibility of childbearing. So the Series B rate of childbearing represents a reasonable approximation to an average family size of 3 children.

Census Series E assumes an ultimate rate of childbearing that works out to an average of 2.1 children per woman over a lifetime. This is the rate at which the parental generation would exactly replace itself. The extra .1 allows for mortality between birth and the average age of mothers at childbearing, and for the fact that boy babies slightly outnumber girl babies.

Different generations born in the twentieth century have reproduced at widely varying average levels, some exceeding three children (as did the women born in 1930-1935) and some approaching two (as did women who were born in 1905-1910). The fact that major groups in our modern history have reproduced at each of these levels lends credibility to projections based on either of these averages.

The sources of data for charts in this report are as follows:

Figure 1

Data are unpublished Census Bureau projections of the number of 6-year-olds enrolled in school each fall. The enrollment rate, or proportion of the 6-year-olds enrolled in school, is assumed to increase from 98.5 percent in 1970 to 99.6 percent in 2000. This assumption is compatible with the trends evident in the enrollment rates since 1950.

The projected numbers of 6-year-olds to which the enrollment rates are applied are consistent with Series B and E as published in the U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 448.

Figure 2

Estimates of the total population, 1870 to 1900, are from U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957*. Estimates of the total population, 1900 to 1959, are from the U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 311.

Estimates and projections of the total population, 1960 to 2020, are from the U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 448. Projections of the total population beyond 2020 are unpublished extensions of these projections.

Figure 3

Estimates of the population 20 to 29 years of age, 1950 to 1967, are from U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 311, No. 321, and No. 385.

Estimates of births, deaths, and total population from 1950 to 1960 are from the U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 442.

Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 448 is the source of estimates and projections of the population 20 to 29 years of age from 1969 to 2000, the total fertility rate (termed "average number of children per family" in this report) from 1950 to 2000, births and deaths from 1961 to 1991, and total population from 1960 to 2000. Data on births and deaths beyond 1991 are from unpublished Census Bureau projections.

Figure 4

Data on unwanted childbearing are from L. Bumpass and C. F. Westoff, "The 'Perfect Contraceptive' Population," *Science*, 169: 1177-1182, September 1970.

appendix b

research projects and papers of the commission

The Commission plans to publish the results of its research in 1972.

projections of population growth, characteristics, and distribution

Projections to the year 2000 of the:

- **Population of the United States**
- **Nonwhite population**
- **Number of persons enrolled in school**
- **Number of households**
- **Income distribution of families**
- **Population of each State**
- **Components of metropolitan/nonmetropolitan population growth.**

Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce

Projected labor force: 1970 to 2000.

Denis F. Johnston, Bureau of Labor Statistics in cooperation with Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce

Future expansion of metropolitan areas, and their projected population: 1970 to 2000.

Jerome Pickard, Appalachian Regional Commission and Urban Land Institute

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analysis of births, deaths, immigration and internal migration

Growth, transformation, and redistribution of United States population in the 20th century.
Irene B. Taeuber, Princeton University and Conrad Taeuber, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce
Demographic significance of unwanted fertility in the United States: 1970.
Charles F. Westoff, and Norman B. Ryder, Princeton University
Illegitimacy in the United States.
Phillips Cutright, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Teen-age contraceptive practice and pregnancy in the United States.
John Kantner and Melvin Zelnik, The Johns Hopkins University
Demographic significance of the legalization of abortion.
Attitudes in the United States toward abortion.
Christopher Tietze, M.D., The Population Council
Demographic significance of adoption.
Staff
Future course of fertility in the United States.
Norman B. Ryder, Princeton University
Foreign experience with replacement levels of fertility.
Michael S. Teitelbaum, Princeton University
Demographic paths to population stabilization.
Ansley J. Coale, Princeton University
Demographic significance of immigration.
Richard Irwin, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce
Migration studies, incorporating:

- **Dimensions of the population problem in the United States**
- **The migration process**
- **Disparities between individual and collective consequences of population movement**
- **Impact of immigration on the spatial distribution of population in the United States.**

Peter Morrison, RAND Corporation
Growth of the rural population.
Calvin Beale, U. S. Department of Agriculture
Issues in population redistribution.
Everett S. Lee, University of Georgia

economic research

Impact of future population growth and internal migration on demands for health, education, transportation and welfare services.
RAND Corporation
Impact of future population growth and internal migration on demands for housing.
Staff
The effects of alternative patterns of future population growth for the national economy: four views.
Allen C. Kelley, University of Wisconsin
Harvey Leibenstein, Harvard University
Edmund S. Phelps, University of Pennsylvania
Joseph J. Spengler, Duke University
Critiques of the four views.
Richard A. Easterlin, University of Pennsylvania
Steven Enke, G.E. TEMPO Corporation
Robert Dorfman, Harvard University
Warren C. Robinson, Pennsylvania State University
Equity and welfare consideration in population policy.
Paul Demeny, East-West Center, University of Hawaii
Pro-natalist influences in federal government fiscal policies.
Elliott R. Morss, Private Consultant
Costs of children.
Staff
Projections of gross national product and related variables for different population projections.
Office of Business Economics, Department of Commerce

In addition to the projects listed above, the Commission hopes to develop research on the effects of population growth on specific industries, and the changing functions of cities and the implications for population redistribution.

environmental research

Effects of changes in population growth and distribution on resource adequacy and on the quality of the environment. Among the specific areas to be covered are the effects of population growth and redistribution on:

- **The adequacy of major resource supplies**
- **The adequacy of recreation facilities**
- **Environmental pollution**
- **The ecological consequences of resource use and pollution.**

Resources for the Future, Inc.

Population, resources and environment.
Paul R. Ehrlich, Stanford University

Population, consumption, technology, and the environment.
Barry Commoner, Washington University at St. Louis

Earth's carrying capacity for people and how this constrains our choices.
Preston Cloud, University of California, Santa Barbara

political & governmental research

The impact of population changes upon the representational and policy-making roles of congressmen and senators.
Robert L. Chartrand, Library of Congress

Population futures in legislative apportionment.
Richard Lehne, Rutgers University

Population and the international system: some implications for United States policy and planning.
Robert C. North, Stanford University

Population changes and state government.
John G. Grumm, Wesleyan University

Metropolitan growth and governmental fragmentation.
Allen D. Manvel

The reciprocal impacts of population distribution and metropolitan government.
Michael N. Danielson, Princeton University

Adjustment of local government service levels to population change.
Robert F. Drury

In addition to the projects listed above, the Commission hopes to develop research on several additional topics. These include the impact of population changes upon the administration of justice, national security, and the future of the federal system.

social research

Socio-economic differences in mortality.
Evelyn Kitagawa, University of Chicago

Pro-natalist pressures in the United States.
Judith Blake Davis, University of California, Berkeley

Occupational costs and benefits of immigration.
Judith Fortney, Duke University

The social aspects of a stationary population.
Lincoln H. Day, United Nations

Changing status of American women.
Suzanne Keller, Princeton University

The family and population policy, with special reference to the United States.
Kingsley Davis, University of California, Berkeley

Social-psychological implications of population density.
Jonathan Freedman, Columbia University

Economic and social impact of rural depopulation: A case study.
W. LaMar Bollinger, College of Idaho

In addition to the projects listed above, the Commission hopes to develop research on fertility and women in the labor force.

research on education and information programs

Population education in the United States.
Stephen Viederman, The Population Council
Family planning education.
Sol Gordon, Syracuse University
Citizen attitudes toward population growth, distribution and policy.
Staff
Supply and demand for family planning services in the United States.
Frederick S. Jaffe, Planned Parenthood-World Population
Directions of contraceptive research.
Sheldon J. Segal, The Population Council
American population, family size, community preferences as idealized by American television.
Richard Heffner Associates, Inc.

policy research

Congressional-executive relations in the formation of explicit population policy.
Phyllis T. Piotrow, The Johns Hopkins University
Historical development of values in the American political-legal tradition bearing on population growth and distribution.
Peter Brown and Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences
Present and future American ethical norms as limits upon possible population policies.
Institute of Society, Ethics, and the Life Sciences
Population policy-making and the constitution.
Arthur S. Miller, National Law Center, The George Washington University

Guarding against unintended consequences of possible population policies.
Theodore J. Lowi, University of Chicago

In addition to the projects listed above, the Commission hopes to develop research on existing laws on contraception, sterilization and abortion; population distribution effects resulting from federal policies; foreign experience in population redistribution policies; and citizen attitudes on population issues.

appendix c

Public Law 91-213
91st Congress, S. 2701
March 16, 1970

AN ACT

To establish a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future.

Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. Establishment.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future is hereby established to conduct and sponsor such studies and research and make such recommendations as may be necessary to provide information and education to all levels of government in the United States, and to our people, regarding a broad range of problems associated with population growth and their implications for America's future.

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MEMBERSHIP OF COMMISSION

Sec. 2. (a) The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission") shall be composed of–

(1) two Members of the Senate who shall be members of different political parties and who shall be appointed by the President of the Senate;

(2) two Members of the House of Representatives who shall be members of different political parties and who shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives; and

84 STAT. 67

(3) not to exceed twenty members appointed by the President.

84 STAT. 68

(b) The President shall designate one of the members to serve as Chairman and one to serve as Vice Chairman of the Commission.

(c) The majority of the members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum, but a lesser number may conduct hearings.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

Sec. 3. (a) Members of the Commission who are officers or full-time employees of the United States shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services as officers or employees of the United States.

(b) Members of the Commission who are not officers or full-time employees of the United States shall each receive $100 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission.

(c) All members of the Commission shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5 of the United States Code for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

80 Stat. 499; 83 Stat. 190.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

Sec. 4. The Commission shall conduct an inquiry into the following aspects of population growth in the United States and its foreseeable social consequences:

(1) the probable course of population growth, internal migration, and related demographic developments between now and the year 2000;

(2) the resources in the public sector of the economy that will be required to deal with the anticipated growth in population;

(3) the ways in which population growth may affect the activities of Federal, State, and local government;

(4) the impact of population growth on environmental pollution and on the depletion of natural resources; and

(5) the various means appropriate to the ethical values and principles of this society by which our Nation can achieve a population level properly suited for its environmental, natural resources, and other needs.

STAFF OF THE COMMISSION

Sec. 5. (a) The Commission shall appoint an Executive Director and such other

personnel as the Commission deems necessary without regard to the provisions of title 5 of the United States Code governing appointments in the competitive service and shall fix the compensation of such personnel without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subtitle II of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates: *Provided*, That no personnel so appointed shall receive compensation in excess of the rate authorized for GS-18 by section 5332 of such title.

80 Stat. 378.
5 USC 101 et seq.
80 Stat. 443, 459.

(b) The Executive Director, with the approval of the Commission, is authorized to obtain services in accordance with the provisions of section 3109 of title 5 of the United States Code, but at rates for individuals not to exceed the per diem equivalent of the rate authorized for GS-18 by section 5332 of such title.

34 F. R. 9605.
5 USC 5332 note.
80 Stat. 416.

(c) The Commission is authorized to enter into contracts with public agencies, private firms, institutions, and individuals for the conduct of research and surveys, the preparation of reports, and other activities necessary to the discharge of its duties.

Contract authority.

84 STAT. 68

84 STAT. 69

GOVERNMENT AGENCY COOPERATION

Sec. 6. The Commission is authorized to request from any Federal department or agency any information and assistance it deems necessary to carry out its functions; and each such department or agency is authorized to cooperate with the Commission and, to the extent permitted by law, to furnish such information and assistance to the Commission upon request made by the Chairman or any other member when acting as Chairman.

ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

Sec. 7. The General Services Administration shall provide administrative services for the Commission on a reimbursable basis.

REPORTS OF COMMISSION: TERMINATION

Sec. 8. In order that the President and the Congress may be kept advised of the progress of its work, the Commission shall, from time to time, report to the President and the Congress such significant findings and recommendations as it deems advisable. The Commission shall submit an interim report to the President and the Congress one year after it is established and shall submit its final report two years after the enactment of this Act. The Commission shall cease to exist sixty days after the date of the submission of its final report.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

84 STAT. 69

Sec. 9. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such amounts as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Approved March 16, 1970.

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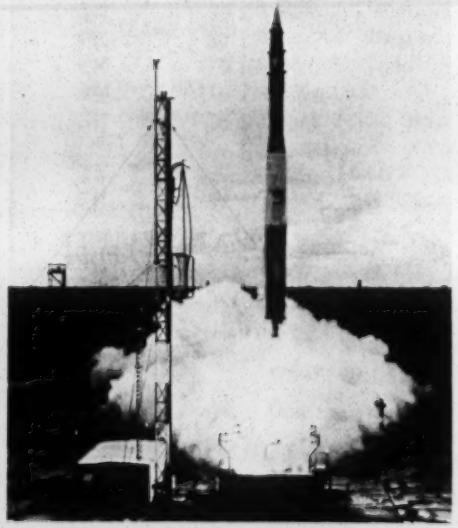

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68K. TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1776–1949, Volume 6, Canada-Czechoslovakia. This volume contains the bilateral agreements signed for the United States between 1776 and 1950, arranged alphabetically by country. It includes agreements between United States and Canada, Central American Federation, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Independent State of the Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, and Czechoslovakia. 1971. xiv + 1346 p. S 9.12/2:6 Stock No. 4400–1319 Cloth, $11.00

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A UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE PUBLICATION

S.7.V Census

Data Access Description

Census Tabulations Available on Computer Tape, CT-5(Rev.)

DAD No. 22
March 1971

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE / Bureau of the Census

Fourth Count Summary Tapes From the 1970 Census of Population and Housing

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Introduction

A major portion of the results of the 1970 census will be released on computer summary tapes. Six different tape series, the First through the Sixth Counts, have been planned to date. The first three series of 1970 census computer tapes, presenting tabulations of data from the complete-count or 100-percent items on the census questionnaire, were described in three previous Data Access Descriptions.

First Count Summary Tapes From the 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Series CT-2 (Rev.), DAD No. 13, March 1970--Data are aggregated to block group or enumeration district and larger geographic areas.

Second Count Summary Tapes From the 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Series CT-3, DAD No. 8, August 1969--Census tracts and minor civil divisions (MCD's) are the smallest geographic areas for which data are summarized.

Third Count (Block) Summary Tapes From the 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Series CT-4, DAD No. 9, August 1969--Data are aggregated to city blocks.

The Fourth Count Summary Tapes as described in this Data Access Description, CT-5 Revised, reflect changes which have been made in the tapes since the original Fourth Count Data Access Description was issued in April 1970. Tabulation numbers have been changed to reflect current organization of the tapes; there are several new tabulations, and the descriptions of a few of the tabulations have been modified. Fourth Count Tapes are expected to become available on a State-by-State basis beginning in March 1971, with all of the State tapes available by December 1971.

The Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Count Summary Tapes will contain information obtained on a sample basis; the Fourth Count, however, will be the primary source of sample data pertaining to small areas.

Contents of the Fourth Count Summary Tapes

This count will contain information secured from the 5- and 15-percent samples of the total population; the commonality of some questions in both samples will also, in effect, create a 20-percent sample. Counts of sample cases are inflated to reflect the estimated actual count in the population. In a tabulation based on the 20-percent sample, for example, all cases have a weight of about 5 (i.e., all figures are multiplied by approximately 5, so that the final figures will be estimates for all the people in an area rather than just 20 percent of them).

The 100-percent items are generally included for the purpose of cross-classification. Also, control totals for the multiplication are obtained from the 100-percent items.

For the sample-based series of summary tapes (Fourth through Sixth Counts) all counts will already have been weighted as the tapes are prepared.

The contents of the Fourth Count Summary Tapes, as described in this Data Access Description, are subject to possible minor revision.

Organization of the Data.--The Fourth Count Summary Tapes will present detailed and cross-classified data for census tracts and minor civil divisions as well as for larger geographic areas. This information, collected on a sample basis and weighted as described above, will be contained in three files:

File A--Tract summaries

File B--Minor civil division (or census county division) summaries

File C--Summaries for the State, counties, places, standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA's) and their component parts

Files A and B will each present approximately 13,000 cells of data for each tract or minor civil division, and File C will present about 13,000 data cells for each place and 30,000 cells for each of the larger geographic areas. The greater number of cells of available data in File C result from cross-tabulations for urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm residence for most of the tabulations in that file.

The population and housing tabulations for each State will be on separate tapes within each of the three files, A, B, and C. The tapes and documentation, therefore, will be available separately for housing and population, a separation not made on any of the previous counts.

Spanish American Tabulations[1]--The term "Spanish Language/Puerto Rican" as used in the 15- and 20-percent sample population and housing tabulations refers to different populations in different areas of the country: (1) In the three Middle Atlantic States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, people of Puerto Rican birth or parentage; (2) in the five Southwestern States of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas, people of "Spanish language" or of Spanish surname; (3) in the remaining 42 States and the District of Columbia, people of "Spanish language." Any person who reports Spanish as his or her mother tongue, as well as any person in a family in which the head or wife reports Spanish as his or her mother tongue, is considered a person of Spanish language. Tabulations of 5-percent data are for persons of "Spanish descent," i.e., persons who report Spanish American origin or descent as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, and other Spanish. Spanish descent is ascertained by means of a 5-percent sample question asked for the first time in the 1970 census. Where a data item in either population or housing tabulations is a count of families, households, or housing units, rather than individuals, Spanish American designation as a cross-classifier refers to the household head.

Population Tabulations.--Files A and B will contain complete sets of population tabulations for the total population, whites, and Negroes. In addition, these tabulations will be presented for Spanish Americans. As explained above, the tabulations in File C for all four of these groups will also be cross-tabulated by urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm residence.

For persons interested in counts of persons in the category "other race," these data can be obtained by subtraction of data for whites and Negroes from data for the total population.

Housing Tabulations.--The housing tabulations described in this Data Access Description will be tabulated for the type of housing unit listed or for the specific groups of housing units designated by the "FOR" listing which accompanies each tabulation. Some of the housing tabulations will be cross-classified by urban, rural farm, and rural nonfarm residence; a set of tabulations will be made for Spanish American households. (See notations in the tabular presentation below.)

Explanation of Terms.--The following information will be helpful in understanding the population and housing tabulations which are described below.

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[1]Spanish American is not a racial category and therefore is not a consideration in obtaining the "other race" residual in connection with the breakdown by total population, whites, and Negroes.

Aggregates. Along with the relevant counts of units, aggregates will permit the computation of mean values (e.g., average number of rooms, average number of persons per unit, average income, etc.). For population tabulations of aggregates concerning income, a loss is tallied as negative income; the unit receiving such loss is tallied as a unit with income. In the computation of aggregate income deficit, negative incomes are treated as zero.

Poverty level. This term refers to the Social Security Administration's poverty index. Families referred to as "below poverty level" are those below a 1.00 ratio of family income to poverty level. All data summaries concerning poverty level exclude inmates of institutions, members of the Armed Forces living in barracks, and unrelated individuals under 14 years of age.

Value. Value is tabulated for owner-occupied and vacant-for-sale-only one-family houses which are on a place of less than 10 acres and have no business or medical office on the property. Value is not tabulated for mobile homes, trailers, cooperatives, or condominiums.

Gross rent. Gross rent is tabulated for all renter-occupied and vacant-for-rent units except one-family houses on a place of 10 acres or more.

Contract rent. Contract rent is tabulated for all renter-occupied and vacant-for-rent units except one-family houses on a place of 10 acres or more.

Worker. This classification includes members of the Armed Forces for tabulations concerning work status.

Family income. Only the income of family members 14 years old and over is included in family income.

Type of income. Any given tabulation unit may be tallied in more than one income category.

Plumbing facilities. Units with "All plumbing facilities" are defined as having all of the following: Hot piped water, flush toilet for exclusive use, and a bathtub or shower for exclusive use.

Complete kitchen facilities. Units with all of the following are considered to have complete kitchen facilities: A range or cookstove for exclusive use, a sink with piped water for exclusive use, and a mechanical refrigerator for exclusive use.

Direct access. An entrance to a living quarters directly from outside the structure or through a common hall provides direct access.

Population and Housing Tabulation Summaries

In the tabulation summaries which follow, an asterisk in the data items column for a tabulation indicates that some or all of the data for that tabulation are also included in the printed tract reports. In most cases there is much less detail in these printed reports and in some cases the data are presented in a different form (e.g., percentage rather than actual count).

Fourth Count Summary Tapes

Data summaries	Number of data items
POPULATION TABULATIONS	
For data summaries 1 through 99 below, all tabulations in all files (A, B, and C) will be made for the following population groups: Total, white, Negro, and Spanish American. In File C, all tabulations will be cross-classified for urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm residence.	
1. Aggregate family income of families....	1
2. Aggregate family income and number of families with female head.....	2
3. Aggregate income of unrelated individuals 14 years old and over.....	1
4. Aggregate income and number of female unrelated individuals.....	2
5. Aggregate income of persons 14 years old and over, by sex.....	2
6. Aggregate earnings by occupation of males 16 years and over in the experienced civilian labor force.....	7
Experienced civilian labor force, total	
Professional, managerial, and kindred workers	
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	
Operatives, including transport	
Laborers, except farm	
Farmers and farm managers	
Farm laborers, except unpaid, and farm foremen	
7. Aggregate earnings by occupation of females 16 years old and over in the experienced civilian labor force.....	3
Experienced civilian labor force, total	
Clerical and kindred workers	
Operatives including transport	
8. Aggregate income by type by family status.....	*12
Family status:	
Family	
Unrelated individual	
Type of income:	
Wage and salary	
Nonfarm, self-employment	
Farm, self-employment	
Social Security or Railroad Retirement	
Public assistance or welfare payments	
All other income	
9. Aggregate income by type and sex..... (See No. 8)	12
10. Aggregate income deficit for families below poverty level.....	*1
11. Aggregate income deficit for unrelated individuals 14 years old and over below poverty level.....	1
12. Aggregate income of specified types received by families below poverty level.....	4
Type of income:	
Total income	
Earnings	
Social Security or Railroad Retirement	
Public assistance or welfare payments	
13. Aggregate income of specified types received by unrelated individuals below proverty level..... (See No. 12)	4
14. Aggregate value of owner-occupied housing units by poverty status of family or primary individual.....	2
Above poverty level	
Below poverty level	
15. Aggregate gross rent of renter-occupied units by poverty status of family or primary individual..... (See No. 14)	2
16. Aggregate income deficit between specified poverty level and total income for families and unrelated individuals.....	4
Specified poverty level:	
Less than 75 percent of poverty level	
Less than 125 percent of poverty level	
17. Age of the total population, by sex..	*54
Under 3, 3-4, 5, 6, 7-9, 10-13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 60-61, 62-64, 65-69, 70-74, 75 and over	
18. Household relationship and sex of the total population.....	*12
In households:	
Primary individual:	
Male	
Female	
Family head:	
Male	
Female	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
Wife of head	
Child of head	
Other relative of head	
Nonrelative	
In group quarters:	
Inmate of institution:	
Male	
Female	
Other group quarters member:	
Male	
Female	
19. Age and presence of own children for families, by type of family.....	*9
Type of family:	
Husband-wife family	
Other family with male head	
Family with female head	
Age and presence of own children:	
Under 18 years, not present	
Under 18 years, present:	
Under 6 years, present	
Under 6 years, not present	
20. Marital status of persons 14 years old and over, by sex.....	*12
Never married	
Married, spouse present	
Married, spouse absent	
Separated	
Widowed	
Divorced	
21. Nativity and parentage of the total population.....	*2
Native of native parentage	
Foreign stock (native of foreign or mixed parentage or foreign born)	
22. Country of origin, by nativity.....	*66
Nativity:	
Native	
Foreign born	
Country of origin:	
United Kingdom	
Ireland	
Norway	
Sweden	
Denmark	
Rumania	
Greece	
Italy	
Portugal	
Other Europe	
Netherlands	
Switzerland	
France	
Germany	
Poland	
Czechoslovakia	
Austria	
Hungary	
Yugoslavia	
U.S.S.R.	
Lithuania	
Finland	
Southwest Asia	
China	
Japan	
Other Asia	
Canada	
Mexico	
Cuba	
Other America	
Africa	
All other	
Not reported	
23. Mother tongue of the total population, by nativity.....	26
Nativity (See No. 22)	
Mother tongue:	
English	
French	
Swedish	
German	
Polish	
Russian	
Hungarian	
Yiddish	
Italian	
Spanish	
Portuguese	
All other	
Not reported	
24. Spanish indicators (single independent count of each of the following items).	4
Number of persons classified in any of the five Spanish categories of the 5-percent question on "origin or descent"	
Number of persons of Puerto Rican birth of parentage (15%)	
Number of persons of "Spanish language" (15%)	
Number of persons not of "Spanish language" but of Spanish surname (in 5 Southwestern States only) (15%)	
25. Citizenship of the total population, by age.....	15
Citizenship:	
Native	
Foreign born, naturalized	
Foreign born, alien	
Age:	
Under 18 years	
18 years	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
19 years	
20 years	
21 years and over	
26. Year of immigration of the foreign born	5
1960-1970	
1945-1959	
1925-1944	
Before 1925	
Not reported	
27. State of birth of the native population	7
Born in State of residence	
Born outside State of residence:	
In Northeast	
In North Central	
In South	
In West	
Born abroad, at sea, in outlying areas, etc.	
State of birth not reported	
28. Residence in 1965 of total population 5 years old and over.....	*10
Same house as 1970	
Different house in U.S.:	
Same county as in 1970	
Different county than 1970:	
Same State as 1970	
Different State than 1970:	
Northeast	
North Central	
South	
West	
Abroad, in Armed Forces in 1965	
Abroad, not in Armed Forces in 1965	
Moved, 1965 residence not reported	
29. Residence in 1965 of population 5 years old and over living in SMSA's or adjacent tracts.....	7
Same house as 1970	
Different house than in 1970:	
In central city of this SMSA	
In other part of this SMSA or adjacent tracts	
Outside this SMSA:	
In North and West	
In South	
Abroad in 1965	
Moved, 1965 residence not reported	
30. Residence in 1965 of persons living in a different county, by activity status in 1965.....	6
Residence:	
Same State as 1970	
Different State than in 1970	
Abroad	
Activity status:	
In Armed Forces	
Attending college	
(NOTE: Armed Forces takes priority over attending college if positive response to both items.)	
31. Residence in 1965 of persons in Armed Forces in 1970 and living in a different county in 1965.....	4
Same State as 1970	
Different State than in 1970	
Abroad	
In Armed Forces in 1965	
32. Residence in 1965 of inmates of institutions in 1970 and living in a different county in 1965.....	3
Same State as in 1970	
Different State than in 1970	
Abroad	
33. Residence in 1965 of persons attending college in 1970 and living in a different county in 1965, by residence with parents in 1970.....	6
1965 residence:	
(See No. 32)	
Residence with parents:	
Living with one or both parents	
Not living with parents	
34. Year moved into present living quarters for all persons.....	8
1969-1970	
1968	
1967	
1965-1966	
1960-1964	
1950-1959	
1949 or earlier	
Always lived in present quarters	
35. Place of work (Universal Area Codes) for persons at work during census week.....	*26
36. Means of transportation to work of persons at work during the census week	*9
Private auto, driver	
Private auto, passenger	
Bus or streetcar	
Subway or elevated	
Railroad	
Taxicab	
Walked only	
Other means	
Worked at home	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
37. Veteran status of civilian males, 16 years old and over.....	7
Vietnam Conflict	
Korean War	
Korean War and World War II	
World War II	
World War I	
Other Service	
Nonveteran	
38. Level of school and type of school for persons 3 years old and over enrolled in school.....	*15
Population 3 to 34 years:	
Level of school:	
Nursery school	
Kindergarten	
Elementary (1-8)	
High School (1-4)	
College (Public or Private)	
Type of school:	
Public	
Parochial	
Private	
Population 35 years and over	
39. Persons 3-34 years old enrolled in school, by age.....	*9
3-4 years	
5-6 years	
7-13 years	
14-15 years	
16-17 years	
18-19 years	
20-21 years	
22-24 years	
25-34 years	
40. Persons 18-24 years old, by years of school completed.....	2
Completed 4 years of high school or more	
Completed 4 years of college or more	
41. Years of school completed and employment status of persons 16-21 years old, not enrolled in school, by sex.....	*8
Not enrolled in school and not high school graduate:	
Employed or in Armed Forces	
Unemployed or not in labor force	
Not enrolled--high school graduate: (As above)	
42. Years of school completed by persons 25 years old and over, by sex.....	*20
No school years completed (includes nursery and kindergarten)	
Elementary:	
1-4 years	
5-6 years	
7 years	
8 years	
High School:	
1-3 years	
4 years	
College:	
1-3 years	
4 years	
5 years or more	
43. Vocational training of persons 16-64 years old with less than 3 years of college completed, by sex.....	4
With vocational training	
Without vocational training	
44. Marital status and number of children of females 15-44 years old, by age...	*12
Age:	
15-24, 25-34, 35-44	
Marital status and number of children:	
Never married	
Ever married	
Own children under 5	
Children ever born	
45. Families by presence of sons/daughters of selected age levels.....	5
Under 25 years	
Under 3 years	
Under 12 years	
13-19 years	
18-24 years	
46. Subfamily type and number of own children under 18 years old for subfamilies.....	6
Husband-wife subfamily	
Number of own children	
Other subfamilies with male heads	
Number of own children	
Subfamilies with female heads	
Number of own children	
47. Subfamily membership of married couples.....	2
In subfamilies	
Not in subfamilies	
48. Presence and age of own children and age of husband for married couples...	3
With own children under 6 years	
With own children under 18 years	
With husband under 45 years	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
49. Residence with parents for persons under 18 years old.....	3
Living with both parents	
Living with one parent	
Living with neither parent	
50. Marital history of ever married persons 14-54 years old.....	4
Widowed only	
Divorced only	
Widowed and divorced	
Neither widowed nor divorced	
51. Type of group quarters for persons in group quarters.....	7
Mental hospital	
Home for the aged and dependent	
Other institution	
Rooming house	
Military barracks	
College dormitory	
Other group quarters	
52. Disability and employment status of persons 16 to 64 years old not inmates and not attending school, by sex..	14
Not disabled or handicapped:	
In labor force	
Not in labor force	
Disabled or handicapped:	
Employed	
Unemployed	
Not in labor force:	
Able to work	
Unable to work:	
Disabled less than 6 months	
Disabled 6 months or more	
53. Years of school completed for males 20-49 years old and females 15-44 years old.....	8
Less than high school	
High school:	
1-3 years	
4 years	
College, 1 year or more	
54. Labor force status and selected characteristics of persons 16 years old and over, by sex.....	*18
In Armed Forces	
In labor force:	
Employed	
Unemployed	
Not in labor force:	
Under 65:	
Inmate	
Enrolled in school	
Other	
65 and over:	
Inmate	
Enrolled in school	
Other	
55. Age of persons 16 years old and over in the labor force, by sex.....	16
16-17 years	
18-19 years	
20-21 years	
22-24 years	
25-34 years	
35-44 years	
45-64 years	
65 years and over	
56. Labor force status of persons 14-15 years old, by sex.....	8
In Armed Forces	
In civilian labor force:	
Employed	
Unemployed	
Not in labor force	
57. Presence and age of own children under 18 and labor force status of females 16 years old and over, by marital status.....	*12
Married, husband present:	
With own children under 6:	
Not in labor force	
In labor force	
With own children 6-17 years only:	
(Same as "under 6")	
With no own children under 18 years:	
(Same as "under 6")	
Other women:	
(Same as "Married, husband present")	
58. Occupation of employed persons 16 years and over.....	*42
Occupation categories within the 12 major occupation groups for 1970	
59. Occupation of employed females 16 years old and over.....	*27
Occupation categories within the 12 major occupation groups for 1970	
60. Occupation of employed males 14-15 years old.....	5
Sales workers	
Other white collar workers	
Blue collar workers	
Farm workers	
Service workers, including private household	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
61. Occupation of employed females 14-15 years old	5
White collar workers	
Blue collar workers	
Farm workers	
Service workers, except private household	
Private household workers	
62. Industry of employed persons 16 years old and over, for total and male	*82
For 41 industry categories	
63. Industry of employed persons 14-15 years old, for total and male	4
Agriculture	
Nonagricultural industries	
64. Weeks worked in 1969 of males 16 years old and over, by age	28
Age:	
16-24, 25-39, 40-59, 60 and over	
Weeks worked:	
50-52 weeks	
48-49 weeks	
40-47 weeks	
27-39 weeks	
14-26 weeks	
13 weeks or less	
Did not work in 1969	
65. Weeks worked in 1969 of females 16 years old and over, by age	28
(See No. 64)	
66. Weeks worked in 1969 of persons 14-15 years old	7
Weeks worked:	
(See No. 64)	
67. Industry and class of worker of employed persons 16 years old and over, by sex	*28
Agriculture:	
Employee of private company	
Employee of own corporation	
Federal government worker	
State government worker	
Local government worker	
Self-employed worker	
Unpaid family worker	
Other industries:	
(As above)	
68. Occupation of employed persons 14 years old and over, by sex	*26
For the 12 major occupation groups in 1970, plus "occupation not reported"	
69. Industry of employed persons 14 years old and over, for total and male	28
Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	
Mining	
Construction	
Manufacturing (durable)	
Manufacturing (nondurable)	
Transportation	
Wholesale and retail trade	
Finance, insurance, real estate	
Business and repair services	
Personal services	
Entertainment and recreation services	
Professional and related services	
Public administration	
Industry not reported	
70. Occupation of experienced unemployed persons 16 years old and over, by sex	*20
Professional, technical, and managerial	
Sales	
Clerical and kindred workers	
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	
Operatives, including transport	
Laborers, except farm	
Farm workers	
Service workers, except private household	
Private household	
Last worked in 1959 or earlier	
71. Occupation of persons 14-15 years old who worked in 1969, by sex	4
Farm workers	
Nonfarm workers	
72. Work status in 1970 by work status in 1965 of males 30-49 years old	4
Worker in 1970:	
Worker in 1965	
Nonworker in 1965	
Nonworker in 1970:	
(As above)	
73. Work status in 1970 and in 1965 by presence of own children under 5 years of age of females 21-49 years old with no own children 5-10 years old	6
Own children under 5 present:	
Worker in 1965:	
Worker in 1970	
Nonworker in 1970	
Nonworker in 1965	
Own children under 5 not present:	
(As above)	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
74. Work status in 1965 and in 1970 of females 21-49 years old with own children 6-10 years old and no children under 6.....	4
Nonworker in 1965:	
Worker in 1970	
Nonworker in 1970	
Worker in 1965:	
(As above)	
75. Family income of families.....	*15
Under $1,000 (includes $1-$999, none, and loss)	
$1,000-$1,999	
$2,000-$2,999	
$3,000-$3,999	
$4,000-$4,999	
$5,000-$5,999	
$6,000-$6,999	
$7,000-$7,999	
$8,000-$8,999	
$9,000-$9,999	
$10,000-$11,999	
$12,000-$14,999	
$15,000-$24,999	
$25,000-$49,999	
$50,000 and over	
76. Income of unrelated individuals.....	*15
(Same as No. 75)	
77. Income of persons 14 years old and over, by sex.....	28
Without income	
$1-$999 or loss	
$1,000-$9,999 (as in No. 75)	
$10,000-$14,999	
$15,000-$24,999	
$25,000 and over	
78. Earnings by occupation of males 16 years old and over in the experienced civilian labor force.....	98
Earnings:	
Without earnings	
$1-$25,000 and over (as in No. 77)	
Occupation:	
Experienced civilian labor force, total	
Professional, managerial, and kindred workers	
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	
Operatives, including transport	
Laborers, except farm	
Farmers and farm managers	
Farm laborers, except unpaid, and farm foremen	
79. Earnings by occupation of females 16 years old and over in the experienced civilian labor force.....	39
Occupation: (See No. 7)	
Earnings:	
Without earnings	
$1-$14,999 (as in No. 77)	
$15,000 or more	
80. Type of income by family status..... (See No. 8)	*12
81. Type of income by sex, for persons 14 years old and over with income..... (See No. 8)	12
82. Ratio of family income to proverty level.....	*8
Under .50	
.50 - .74	
.75 - .99	
1.00 - 1.24	
1.25 - 1.49	
1.50 - 1.99	
2.00 - 2.99	
3.00 or more	
83. Aggregate number of persons in families below poverty level.....	1
84. Presence of related children under 18, by family type, and by poverty status of families.....	*12
Poverty status:	
Above poverty level	
Below poverty level	
Type of family:	
Male head	
Female head	
Presence of related children under 18:	
No related children under 18 years old	
1 or more related children under 18 years old	
Some related children under 6 years old	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes–Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
85. Number of related children under 18, by age, by family type, and by poverty status of families	*8
Type of family and poverty status: (See No. 84)	
Number of related children under 18:	
Under 6 years old	
6 to 17 years old	
86. Poverty status of family heads 65 years old and over	*2
Above poverty level	
Below poverty level	
87. Poverty status by labor force status of civilian male family heads 14 to 64 years old	*6
Poverty status: (See No. 86)	
Labor force status:	
Employed	
Unemployed	
Not in labor force	
88. Poverty status of female family heads in the labor force with related children under 6 years old (See No. 86)	*2
89. Poverty status by age of unrelated individuals 14 years old and over	*4
Poverty status: (See No. 86)	
Age:	
Under 65 years old	
65 years old and over	
90. Poverty status of persons 65 and over (See No. 86)	2
91. Related children 5 to 17 years old in families with incomes below $3,000	1
92. Related children under 18 years old in families below poverty level by presence of parents	*2
Living with both parents	
Other	
93. Poverty status by age of persons 14 years old and over receiving Social Security or Railroad Retirement	4
Poverty status: (See No. 86)	
Age: (See No. 89)	
94. Number of families below poverty level receiving income of selected types	*3
Type of income:	
Earnings	
Social Security or Railroad Retirement	
Public assistance or welfare payments	
95. Number of unrelated individuals below poverty level receiving income of selected types (See No. 94)	*3
96. Tenure of families and primary individuals by poverty status	4
Poverty status: (See No. 86)	
Tenure:	
Owner	
Renter	
97. Housing units lacking one or more plumbing facilities by poverty status of family and primary individual (See No. 86)	2
98. Persons below specified poverty level by family status and family type	16
Family status:	
Head of family	
Related children under 18	
Living with both parents	
Unrelated individuals	
Type of family:	
Male head	
Female head	
Specified poverty level:	
Less than 75 percent of poverty level	
Less than 125 percent of poverty level	
99. Family members and unrelated individuals 14 years old and over below specified poverty level, by age	4
Specified poverty level: (See No. 98)	
Age: (See No. 89)	
100-123. Substitutions and allocations. Tabulations 100-123 contain totals on allocations and substitutions and numerous tabulations of known cases before substitution and allocation (i.e., for sex, race, age, nativity, etc.). Tape documentation will enumerate such totals.	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
124. Unweighted sample population count....	1
125. Unweighted sample housing count.....	1
126. 100% population count.....	1
127. 100% housing count.....	1
(For File C, tabulations 100-127 are tallied on the basis of urban or rural residence with no distinction made for race unless specifically mentioned within the tabulation.)	
HOUSING TABULATIONS	
Data summaries 1 through 107 below are tabulated by total for Files A and B; and by urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm for File C.	
1. Aggregate value for units by occupancy status and race of head.....	4
Total owner occupied Negro owner occupied Spanish American owner occupied Vacant for sale only	
2. Aggregate value for units with all plumbing facilities by occupancy status and race of head..... (Same categories as No. 1)	4
3. Aggregate monthly contract rent for units by occupancy status and race of head.....	4
Total renter occupied Negro renter occupied Spanish American renter occupied Vacant for rent	
4. Aggregate monthly contract rent for units with all plumbing facilities by occupancy status and race of head.... (Same categories as No. 3)	4
5. Aggregate gross rent for renter occupied units by race of head.....	3
Total renter occupied Negro renter occupied Spanish American renter occupied	
6. Aggregate asking rent for vacant year-round units by inclusion of utilities in rent.....	2
All utilities included in rent Some or no utilities included in rent	
7. Total housing units by occupancy/vacancy status.....	*4
Total (all units) Vacant seasonal Vacant migratory Year-round	

Data summaries	Number of data items
8. Year structure built, year-round housing units.....	*72
1969-1970 1965-1968 1960-1964 1950-1959 1940-1949 1939 or earlier	
FOR: Total occupied and vacant year-round Total occupied Owner occupied Renter occupied Total Negro occupied Negro owner occupied Negro renter occupied Total Spanish American occupied Spanish American owner occupied Spanish American renter occupied Vacant for rent Vacant for sale only	
9. Units in structure, year-round housing units.....	*108
1, detached 1, attached 2 3 and 4 5-9 10-19 20-49 50 or more Mobile home or trailer	
FOR: 12 categories (See No. 8)	
10. Year head moved into unit of occupied housing units.....	*63
1969-1970 1968 1967 1965-1966 1960-1964 1950-1959 1949 or earlier	
FOR: Total occupied Owner occupied Renter occupied Total Negro occupied Negro owner occupied Negro renter occupied Total Spanish American occupied Spanish American owner occupied Spanish American renter occupied	
11. Heating equipment, year-round housing units.....	*96

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
Steam or hot water	
Central warm-air furnace	
Built-in electric units	
Floor, wall, or pipeless furnace	
Room heaters with flue	
Room heaters without flue	
Fireplaces, stoves, or portable room heaters	
Not heated	
FOR:	
12 categories	
(See No. 8)	
12. Heating equipment, year-round housing units with all plumbing facilities.....	96
Heating equipment:	
8 categories	
(See No. 11)	
FOR:	
12 categories	
(See No. 8)	
13. Heating equipment, year-round housing units with all plumbing facilities and with both direct access and complete kitchen facilities.....	96
Heating equipment:	
8 categories	
(See No. 11)	
FOR:	
12 categories	
(See No. 8)	
14. Source of water, year-round housing units.....	*18
A public system or private company	
An individual well	
Some other source	
FOR:	
Total occupied and vacant year-round	
Total occupied	
Owner occupied	
Renter occupied	
Negro occupied	
Spanish American occupied	
15. Sewage disposal, year-round housing units.....	*18
Public sewer	
Septic tank or cesspool	
Other means	
FOR:	
6 categories	
(See No. 14)	

Data summaries	Number of data items
16. Bathrooms, year-round housing units...	*60
None, or only half bath	
1 complete	
1 complete plus half bath(s)	
2 complete	
2 complete plus half bath(s)	
3 or more complete	
FOR:	
Total occupied and vacant year-round units	
Total occupied	
Owner occupied	
Renter occupied	
Total Negro occupied	
Negro owner occupied	
Negro renter occupied	
Total Spanish American occupied	
Spanish American owner occupied	
Spanish American renter occupied	
17. Automobiles available, occupied housing units.....	*20
None	
1	
2	
3 or more	
FOR:	
Owner	
Renter	
Total occupied units	
Negro	
Spanish American	
18. Air conditioning, year-round housing units.....	*24
Yes, 1 individual room unit	
Yes, 2 or more individual room units	
Yes, a central air-conditioning system	
No	
FOR:	
6 categories	
(See No. 14)	
19. Gross rent, renter occupied housing units	*45
With cash rent:	
Less than $30	
$30-$39	
$40-$49	
$50-$59	
$60-$69	
$70-$79	
$80-$89	
$90-$99	
$100-$119	
$120-$149	
$150-$199	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
$200-$249	
$250-$299	
$300 or more	
Occupied without payment of cash rent	
FOR:	
Total renter	
Negro renter	
Spanish American renter	
20. Asking rent, year-round vacant for rent units, by inclusion of utilities.....	20
All utilities included in rent:	
Less than $30	
$30 - $39	
$40 - $49	
$50 - $59	
$60 - $69	
$70 - $79	
$80 - $99	
$100 - $119	
$120 - $149	
$150 or more	
Some or no utilities included:	
(As above)	
21. Location of structure, year-round vacant housing units.....	9
On a city or suburban lot	
Less than 10 acres	
10 acres or more	
FOR:	
All vacant units	
Vacant for rent	
Vacant for sale	
22. Stories in structure, year-round housing units.....	24
1-3 stories	
4-6 stories	
7-12 stories	
13 or more stories	
FOR:	
6 categories	
(See No. 14)	
23. Passenger elevator, year-round housing units in structures with 4 stories or more.....	12
Yes	
No	
FOR:	
6 categories	
(See No. 14)	
24. Cooking fuel, occupied housing units...	40
Fuel:	
Utility gas	
Bottled, tank or LP gas	
Electricity	
Fuel oil, kerosene, etc.	
Coal or coke	
Wood	
Other fuel	
No fuel used	
FOR:	
Owner	
Renter	
Total occupied units	
Negro	
Spanish American	
25. Housing heating fuel, occupied housing units.....	40
Fuel:	
8 categories	
(See No. 24)	
FOR:	
5 categories	
(See No. 24)	
26. Water heating fuel, occupied housing units.....	40
Fuel:	
8 categories	
(See No. 24)	
FOR:	
5 categories	
(See No. 24)	
27. Bedrooms, year-round housing units.....	72
Bedrooms:	
No bedroom	
1 bedroom	
2 bedrooms	
3 bedrooms	
4 bedrooms	
5 bedrooms or more	
FOR:	
12 categories	
(See No. 8)	
28. Clothes washing machine, occupied housing units.....	15
Wringer or separate spinner	
Automatic or semi-automatic	
None	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
FOR:	
5 categories	
(See No. 24)	
29. Clothes dryer, occupied housing units..	15
Gas heated	
Electrically heated	
None	
FOR:	
5 categories	
(See No. 24)	
30. Dishwasher, occupied housing units.....	10
Yes	
No	
FOR:	
5 categories	
(See No. 24)	
31. Home food freezer, occupied housing units.....	10
Yes	
No	
FOR:	
5 categories	
(See No. 24)	
32. Television set, occupied housing units.	25
Yes, 1 set	
Yes, 2 or more sets	
No	
With television:	
With UHF	
No UHF	
FOR:	
5 categories	
(See No. 24)	
33. Battery-operated radio, occupied housing units.....	10
Yes	
No	
FOR:	
5 categories	
(See No. 24)	
34. Second home, occupied housing units....	10
Yes	
No	
FOR:	
5 categories	
(See No. 24)	
35. Occupancy and vacancy status, for all year-round housing units.....	6
Occupied	
Year-round vacant:	
For rent	
For sale	
Rented or sold, not occupied	
Occasional use	
Other vacant	
36. Tenure, for all occupied housing units.....	4
Owned or being bought	
Cooperative or condominium	
Rented for cash rent	
Occupied without payment of cash rent	
37. Number of persons in unit, for all occupied housing units.....	*90
1 person	
2 persons	
3 persons	
4 persons	
5 persons	
6 persons	
7 persons	
8 persons	
9 persons or more	
Aggregate number of persons	
FOR:	
9 categories	
(See No. 10)	
38. Household composition and age of head.	70
Family:	
Husband-wife family:	
Under 25 years	
25-29 years	
30-34 years	
35-44 years	
45-64 years	
65 years and over	
Other family with male head:	
Under 65 years	
65 years and over	
Female head:	
(See "Other male head")	
Primary individual:	
Male:	
(See "Other male head")	
Female:	
(See "Other male head")	
FOR:	
5 categories	
(See No. 17)	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
39. Household composition with head 62 years of age and over, occupied housing units.....	25
Family:	
Husband-wife family	
Other family with male head	
Female head	
Primary individual:	
Male	
Female	
FOR:	
5 categories (See No. 17)	
40. Age and sex of head of 1-person households.....	30
Male:	
Under 25 years	
25-64	
65 years and over	
Female:	
(As above)	
FOR:	
5 categories (See No. 17)	
41. Number of families and primary individuals with nonrelatives, in occupied housing units.....	10
Families	
Primary individuals	
FOR:	
5 categories (See No. 17)	
42. Persons per room, occupied housing units.....	54
0.50 or less	
0.51-0.75	
0.76-1.00	
1.01-1.50	
1.51-2.00	
2.01 or more	
FOR:	
9 categories (See No. 10)	
43. Complete kitchen facilities, year-round housing units.....	18
Complete kitchen facilities for this household only	
Complete kitchen facilities but also used by another household	
No complete kitchen facilities	
FOR:	
6 categories (See No. 14)	
44. Access and complete kitchen facilities, year-round housing units.....	24
With direct access and complete kitchen facilities for this household only	
With direct access, lacking complete kitchen facilities for this household only	
Lacking direct access, with complete kitchen facilities for this household only	
Lacking both direct access and complete kitchen facilities for this household only	
FOR:	
6 categories (See No. 14)	
45. Water supply, year-round housing units	18
Hot and cold piped water in this building	
Only cold piped water in this building	
No piped water in this building	
FOR:	
6 categories (See No. 14)	
46. Flush toilet, year-round housing units	18
Yes, for this household only	
Yes, but also used by another household	
No flush toilet	
FOR:	
6 categories (See No. 14)	
47. Bathtub or shower, year-round housing units.....	18
Yes, for this household only	
Yes, but also used by another household	
No bathtub or shower	
FOR:	
6 categories (See No. 14)	
48. Rooms in year-round housing units.....	*120
1 room	
2 rooms	
3 rooms	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
4 rooms	
5 rooms	
6 rooms	
7 rooms	
8 rooms	
9 rooms or more	
Aggregate number of rooms	
FOR:	
12 categories (See No. 8)	
49. Basement, year-round housing units.....	6
With basement	
On a concrete slab	
In another way	
FOR:	
All units	
One-family houses	
50. Units at address, in year-round housing units.....	28
1	
2	
3	
4	
5 to 9	
10 or more	
Mobile home or trailer	
FOR:	
Total occupied and vacant year-round	
Total occupied	
Owner occupied	
Renter occupied	
51. Telephone available, occupied housing units.....	10
Yes	
No	
FOR:	
5 categories (See No. 17)	
52. Value of housing units by occupancy status	*44
Less than $5,000	
$5,000-$7,499	
$7,500-$9,999	
$10,000-$12,499	
$12,500-$14,999	
$15,000-$17,499	
$17,500-$19,999	
$20,000-$24,999	
$25,000-$34,999	
$35,000-$49,999	
$50,000 or more	
FOR:	
Total owner	
Negro owner	
Spanish American owner	
Vacant for sale	
53. Value of housing units with all plumbing facilities, by occupancy status.....	44
Value:	
11 categories (See No. 52)	
FOR:	
4 categories (See No. 52)	
54. Monthly contract rent of housing units by occupancy status	*60
With cash rent:	
Less than $30	
$30-$39	
$40-$49	
$50-$59	
$60-$69	
$70-$79	
$80-$89	
$90-$99	
$100-$119	
$120-$149	
$150-$199	
$200-$249	
$250-$299	
$300 or more	
Occupied without payment of cash rent	
FOR:	
Total renter	
Negro renter	
Spanish American renter	
Vacant for rent (year-round)	
55. Monthly contract rent of housing units with all plumbing facilities, by occupancy status.....	60
Contract rent:	
15 categories (See No. 54)	
FOR:	
4 categories (See No. 54)	
56. 10 or more acres - commercial establishment or medical office on property	36
1-family houses:	
10 acres or more	
Commercial establishment or medical office	
None of the above	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
FOR:	
12 categories	
(See No. 8)	
57. Duration of vacancy, year-round vacant housing units.....	18
Less than 1 month	
1 up to 2 months	
2 up to 6 months	
6 months up to 1 year	
1 year up to 2 years	
2 years or more	
FOR:	
All vacant units	
Vacant for rent	
Vacant for sale only	
58. Occupied housing units with roomers, boarders, or lodgers.....	*5
FOR:	
5 categories	
(See No. 17)	
59. Plumbing facilities, year-round housing units.....	*36
With all plumbing facilities	
Lacking one or more plumbing facilities:	
Lacking hot water only	
Lacking other plumbing facilities	
FOR:	
12 categories	
(See No. 8)	
60. Plumbing facilities, by persons per room.....	54
With all plumbing facilities	
Lacking one or more plumbing facilities	
BY	
Persons per room:	
1.00 or less	
1.01 to 1.50	
1.51 or more	
FOR:	
9 categories	
(See No. 10)	
61. Count of all persons.....	1
62. Count of Negro persons.....	1
63. Count of Spanish American persons.....	1
64. Unweighted sample housing count.....	1
65. 100% housing count.....	1

Data summaries	Number of data items
66-107. Allocations.	
Tabulations 66-107 contain totals on allocations.	
Tape documentation will enumerate such totals.	
Data summaries 108 through 152 below are tabulated by total for Files A, B, and C.	
108. Household composition and age of head, by year structure built.....	144
Household composition and age of head:	
Husband-wife family:	
Under 30 years	
30-44 years	
45-64 years	
65 years and over	
Other family	
Primary individual	
BY	
Year built:	
6 categories	
(See No. 8)	
FOR:	
Total occupied	
Owner occupied	
Renter occupied	
Negro occupied	
109. Household composition and age of head, by year head moved into unit.....	144
Household:	
6 categories	
(See No. 108)	
BY	
Year head moved into unit:	
1969 - 1970	
1967 - 1968	
1965 - 1966	
1960 - 1964	
1950 - 1959	
1949 or earlier	
FOR:	
4 categories	
(See No. 108)	
110. Household composition and age of head, by income.....	192
Household:	
6 categories	
(See No. 108)	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
BY	
Income:	
Less than $2,000	
$2,000-$2,999	
$3,000-$4,999	
$5,000-$6,999	
$7,000-$9,999	
$10,000-$14,999	
$15,000-$24,999	
$25,000 or more	
FOR:	
4 categories (See No. 108)	
111. Household composition and age of head, by units in structure, for owner occupied units.....	18
Household:	
6 categories (See No. 108)	
BY	
Units:	
1	
2 or more	
Mobile home or trailer	
112. Household composition and age of head, by units in structure.....	72
Household and age:	
6 categories (See No. 108)	
BY	
Units:	
1	
2	
3 and 4	
5-19	
20 or more	
Mobile home or trailer	
FOR:	
Renter occupied	
Negro occupied	
113. Number of persons, by year structure built.....	144
Number of persons:	
1 person	
2 persons	
3 persons	
4 persons	
5 persons	
6 persons or more	
BY	
Year structure built:	
6 categories (See No. 8)	
FOR:	
4 categories (See No. 108)	
114. Number of persons, by units in structure, for owner occupied units...	18
Number of persons:	
6 categories (See No. 113)	
BY	
Units in structure:	
3 categories (See No. 111)	
115. Number of persons by units in structure.....	72
Persons:	
6 categories (See No. 113)	
BY	
Units in structure:	
6 categories (See No. 112)	
FOR:	
Renter occupied	
Negro occupied	
116. Number of persons, by year head moved into unit.....	144
Number of persons:	
6 categories (See No. 113)	
BY	
Year head moved into unit:	
1969-1970	
1967-1968	
1965-1966	
1960-1964	
1950-1959	
1949 or earlier	
FOR:	
4 categories (See No. 108)	
117. Number of persons, by income.....	192
Number of persons:	
6 categories (See No. 113)	
BY	
Income:	
8 categories (See No. 110)	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
FOR:	
4 categories (See No. 108)	
118. Value of owner occupied units, by income.....	98
Value: Less than $5,000; $5,000-$9,999; $10,000-$14,999; $15,000-$19,999; $20,000-$24,999; $25,000-$34,999; $35,000 or more	
BY	
Income: Less than $3,000	
and	
6 categories (See No. 110 for $3,000-$25,000 or more)	
FOR:	
Total owner occupied; Negro owner occupied	
119. Value of owner occupied units by value/income ratio.....	98
Value: 7 categories (See No. 118)	
BY	
Value/income ratio: Less than 1.5; 1.5-1.9; 2.0-2.4; 2.5-2.9; 3.0-3.9; 4.0 or more; Not computed	
FOR: Total owner occupied; Negro owner occupied	
120. Value of owner occupied units, by year structure built.....	84
Value: 7 categories (See No. 118)	
BY	
Year structure built: 6 categories (See No. 8)	
FOR:	
Total owner occupied; Negro owner occupied	
121. Value of owner occupied units, by bedrooms.....	70
Value: 7 categories (See No. 118)	
BY	
Bedrooms: 0 and 1; 2; 3; 4; 5 or more	
FOR:	
Total owner occupied; Negro owner occupied	
122. Contract rent of renter occupied units, by bedrooms.....	80
Contract rent: Less than $40; $40-$59; $60-$79; $80-$99; $100-$149; $150-$199; $200 or more; No cash rent	
BY	
Bedrooms: 0; 1; 2; 3; 4 or more	
FOR:	
Total renter; Negro renter	
123. Gross rent of renter occupied units, by plumbing facilities.....	32
Gross rent: 8 categories (See contract rent, No. 122)	
BY	
Plumbing facilities: With all plumbing facilities; Lacking one or more plumbing facilities	
FOR:	
Total renter occupied; Negro renter occupied	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
124. Gross rent of renter occupied units, by rooms.....	80
Gross rent: 8 categories (See contract rent, No. 122) BY Rooms: 1 and 2 rooms 3 rooms 4 rooms 5 rooms 6 rooms or more FOR: Total renter occupied Negro renter occupied	
125. Gross rent of renter occupied units, by units in structure.....	96
Gross rent: 8 categories (See contract rent, No. 122) BY Units in structure: 6 categories (See No. 112) FOR: Total renter occupied Negro renter occupied	
126. Gross rent of renter occupied units, by year structure built.....	96
Gross rent: 8 categories (See contract rent, No. 122) BY Year structure built: 6 categories (See No. 8) FOR: Total renter occupied Negro renter occupied	
127. Gross rent of renter occupied units, by income.....	128
Gross rent: 8 categories (See contract rent, No. 122) BY Income: 8 categories (See No. 110) FOR: Total renter occupied Negro renter occupied	
128. Gross rent of renter occupied units, by gross rent as percentage of income	112
Gross rent: 8 categories (See contract rent, No. 122) BY Gross rent as percentage of income: Less than 10 percent 10-14 percent 15-19 percent 20-24 percent 25-34 percent 35 percent or more Not computed FOR: Total renter occupied Negro renter occupied	
129. Income of renter occupied units, by gross rent as percentage of income...	*112
Income: 8 categories (See No. 110) BY Gross rent as percentage of income: 7 categories (See No. 128) FOR: Total renter occupied Negro renter occupied	
130. Gross rent of renter occupied units, by bedrooms.....	80
Gross rent: 8 categories (See contract rent, No. 122) BY Bedrooms: 0 1 2 3 4 or more FOR: Total renter occupied Negro renter occupied	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
131. Contract rent of renter occupied units, by amount of utilities and fuel paid in addition to rent.....	144
Contract rent: Less than $40 $40-$59 $60-$79 $80-$99 $100-$119 $120-$149 $150-$199 $200 or more No cash rent	
BY	
Amount of utilities and fuel paid in addition to rent: $0 $1-$4 $5-$9 $10-$14 $15-$19 $20-$29 $30-$39 $40 or more	
FOR:	
Total renter occupied Negro renter occupied	
132. Units in structure, by heating equipment, for owner occupied units...	24
Units in structure: 3 categories (See No. 111)	
BY	
Heating equipment: 8 categories (See No. 11)	
133. Units in structure, by heating equipment.....	80
Units in structure: 1 2-4 5-19 20 or more Mobile home or trailer	
BY	
Heating equipment: 8 categories (See No. 11)	
FOR:	
Renter occupied Negro occupied	
134. Units in structure, by plumbing facilities, for owner occupied units.	6
Units in structure: 3 categories (See No. 111)	
BY	
Plumbing facilities: With all plumbing facilities Lacking one or more plumbing facilities	
135. Units in structure, by plumbing facilities.....	24
Units in structure: 6 categories (See No. 112)	
BY	
Plumbing facilities: 2 categories (See No. 134)	
FOR:	
Renter occupied Negro occupied	
136. Units in structure, by year structure built, for owner occupied units.....	18
Units in structure: 3 categories (See No. 111)	
BY	
Year structure built: 6 categories (See No. 8)	
137. Units in structure, by year structure built.....	72
Units in structure: 6 categories (See No. 112)	
BY	
Year structure built: 6 categories (See No. 8)	
FOR:	
Renter occupied Negro occupied	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
138. Units in structure, by year head moved into unit, for owner occupied units...	18
Units in structure: 3 categories (See No. 111) BY Year head moved into unit: 6 categories (See No. 109)	
139. Units in structure, by year head moved into unit.....	72
Units in structure: 6 categories (See No. 112) BY Year head moved into unit: 6 categories (See No. 109) FOR: Renter occupied Negro occupied	
140. Units in structure, by automobiles available, for owner occupied units...	12
Units in structure: 3 categories (See No. 111) BY Automobiles available: 4 categories (See No. 17)	
141. Units in structure, by automobiles available.....	48
Units in structure: 6 categories (See No. 112) BY Automobiles available: 4 categories (See No. 17) FOR: Renter occupied Negro occupied	
142. Plumbing facilities, by income.....	64
Plumbing facilities: With all plumbing facilities Lacking one or more plumbing facilities BY Income: 8 categories (See No. 110) FOR: 4 categories (See No. 108)	
143. Plumbing facilities, by bedrooms.....	20
Plumbing facilities: 2 categories (See No. 142) BY Bedrooms: 5 categories (See No. 121) FOR: Total owner occupied Vacant for sale (year-round)	
144. Plumbing facilities, by bedrooms.....	30
Plumbing facilities: 2 categories (See No. 142) BY Bedrooms: 5 categories (See No. 122) FOR: Renter occupied Negro occupied Vacant for rent	
145. Sales price asked of year-round vacant for sale units, by year structure built.....	28
Sales price asked: Less than $5,000 $5,000-$9,999 $10,000-$14,999 $15,000-$19,999 $20,000-$24,999 $25,000-$34,999 $35,000 or more	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
BY	
Year structure built:	
1960-1970	
1950-1959	
1940-1949	
1939 or earlier	
FOR:	
Vacant for sale (year-round)	
146. Sales price asked of year-round vacant for sale units, by bathrooms..	28
Sales price asked:	
7 categories	
(See No. 145)	
BY	
Bathrooms:	
1	
1 plus half bath(s)	
2 or more	
None	
FOR:	
Vacant for sale (year-round)	
147. Sales price asked of year-round vacant for sale units, by bedrooms.....	35
Sales price asked:	
7 categories	
(See No. 145)	
BY	
Bedrooms:	
5 categories	
(See No. 121)	
FOR:	
Vacant for sale (year-round)	
148. Asking rent of year-round vacant for rent units, by year structure built..	28
Asking rent:	
Less than $40	
$40-$59	
$60-$79	
$80-$99	
$100-$149	
$150-$199	
$200 or more	
BY	
Year structure built:	
4 categories	
(See No. 145)	
FOR:	
Vacant for rent (year-round)	
149. Asking rent of year-round vacant for rent units, by units in structure.....	35
Asking rent:	
7 categories	
(See No. 148)	
BY	
Units in structure:	
1	
2	
3 and 4	
5-19	
20 or more	
FOR:	
Vacant for rent (year-round)	
150. Asking rent of year-round vacant for rent units, by bathrooms.....	28
Asking rent:	
7 categories	
(See No. 148)	
BY	
Bathrooms:	
4 categories	
(See No. 146)	
FOR:	
Vacant for rent (year-round)	
151. Asking rent of year-round vacant for rent units, by bedrooms.....	35
Asking rent:	
7 categories	
(See No. 148)	
BY	
Bedrooms:	
5 categories	
(See No. 122)	
FOR:	
Vacant for rent (year-round)	
152. Year-round housing units with all plumbing facilities and no complete bathrooms, by tenure and race of head	9
Total occupied and vacant year-round	
Total occupied	
Owner occupied	
Renter occupied	
Total Negro occupied	
Negro owner occupied	
Negro renter occupied	
Vacant for rent	
Vacant for sale only	
Data summaries 153-200 below are tabulated by Spanish American for Files A, B, C.	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
153. Households by type, age of head, and year structure built, for Spanish American occupied units.....	36
Household: 6 categories (See No. 108)	
BY	
Year built: 6 categories (See No. 8)	
154. Households by type, age of head, and year head of household moved into unit, for Spanish American occupied units.....	36
Household: 6 categories (See No. 108)	
BY	
Year head moved into unit: 6 categories (See No. 109)	
155. Households by type, age of head, and income, for Spanish American occupied units.....	48
Household: 6 categories (See No. 108)	
BY	
Income: 8 categories (See No. 110)	
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Year structure built: 6 categories (See No. 8)	
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BY	
Units in structure: 6 categories (See No. 112)	
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BY	
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BY	
Income: 8 categories (See No. 110)	
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Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
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BY	
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FOR:	
Total Spanish American occupied	
Spanish American owner occupied	
Spanish American renter occupied	

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Data summaries	Number of data items
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Rooms:	
1 and 2 rooms	
3 rooms	
4 rooms	
5 rooms	
6 rooms or more	
BY	
Number of persons:	
1 person	
2 persons	
3 persons	
4 persons	
5 persons	
6 persons or more	
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BY	
Household composition and age of head:	
6 categories	
(See No. 108)	
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Less than $5,000	
$5,000-$9,999	
$10,000-$14,999	
$15,000-$19,999	
$20,000-$24,999	
$25,000 or more	
BY	
Household composition and age of head:	
6 categories	
(See No. 108)	
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Value:	
6 categories	
(See No. 185)	
BY	
Rooms:	
1 and 2 rooms	
3 rooms	
4 rooms	
5 rooms	
6 rooms	
7 rooms or more	
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Less than $40	
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BY	
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Plumbing facilities:	
2 categories	
(See No. 188)	
BY	
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Husband-wife family:	
Under 30 years	
30-44 years	
45-64 years	
65 years and over	
Other male head	
Female head	
Primary individual	

Fourth Count Summary Tapes--Continued

Data summaries	Number of data items
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BY	
Household composition and age of head: (See No. 190)	
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BY	
Direct access: With direct access; Lacking direct access	
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FOR: Total Spanish American; Spanish American owner; Spanish American renter	
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197. Population by selected age classes, for Spanish American occupied units with 1.01 or more persons per room...	3
3 categories (See No. 196)	
198. Population by selected age classes, for Spanish American occupied units with 1.51 or more persons per room...	3
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199. Population by plumbing facilities and selected age classes, for Spanish American occupied units.....	6
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BY	
Age classes: 3 categories (See No. 196)	
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Plumbing facilities: 2 categories (See No. 188)	
BY	
Age classes: 3 categories (See No. 196)	

Printed Reports From the Fourth Count Summary Tapes

Three sets of printed reports will be drawn from the Fourth Count Summary Tapes, but none will be as extensive or in as much detail as the tapes themselves. These printed reports, expected to be available about 1 month after the summary tapes for their respective States, are as follows:

Chapter C, General Social and Economic Characteristics, of Volume I, 1970 Census of Population

Chapter B, Detailed Characteristics for States, Cities, and Counties, of Volume I, 1970 Census of Housing

Census Tract Reports, 1970 Census of Population and Housing

The Census Tract Reports will include both sample information from the Fourth Count and 100-percent information from the Second Count. (The tables based on the 100-percent tabulations will be available several months prior to publication of the full report.)

The summaries to be published for census tracts are noted in the tabulation summaries above in order to convey a sense of the relatively smaller amount of information to be presented in the printed reports than on the summary tapes. However, for geographic areas larger than census tracts, additional subject-matter detail will be presented in the printed reports.

Persons interested in the contents of the reports listed above should consult Data Access Description, CEP-4, "Printed Reports From the 1970 Census of Population and Housing."

Use of the Summary Tapes

These computer tapes can be used by the purchaser (user) only if they are compatible with the user's computer. Some of the potential compatibility problems are discussed in Data Access Description, CT-1 Revised, which is available on request. Technical documentation describing tape format and content in detail will be furnished with copies of the tape reels or may be purchased separately for $3 per count, with the following exception: the charge for the population and housing parts of the Fourth Count documentation has been established at $3 each. Content, documentation, and techniques for utilization of summary tapes are also discussed at Summary Tape User Conferences which local organizations and groups of data users sponsor in various parts of the country.

Two test reels for File A (one each for population and housing) of the 1970 Census Fourth Count Summary Tapes are now available. Files B and C have the same format as File A; therefore, only File A is produced as a test reel. The test tapes can be run on 1970 census input and thus enable users to begin planning and testing the procedures they will use to analyze the 1970 census data.

Acquisition of the Tapes

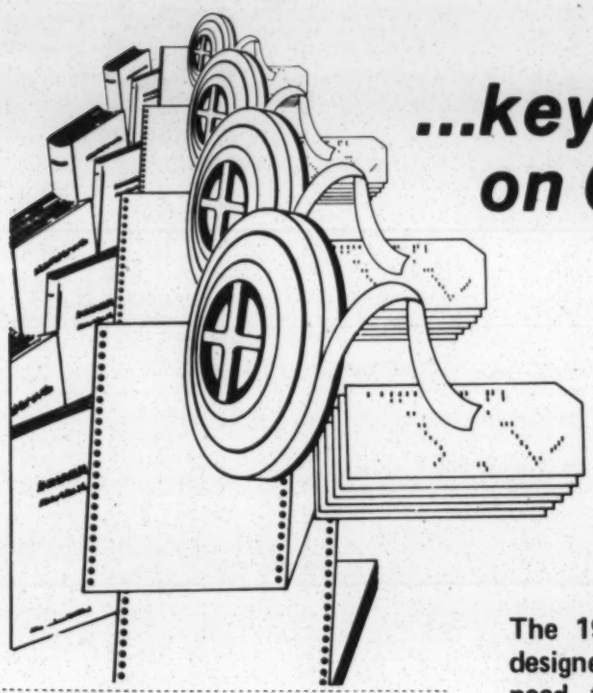
The summary tape series will be prepared as a part of the regular processing of the 1970 census. As a result, the price of these tapes is based on the cost of reproducing copies, plus the cost of the tape reels used and shipping and handling charges. Each reel of tape, including the test tapes, will cost approximately $60. Orders for the test tapes will be filled at once; orders for the 1970 Census Summary Tapes may be placed now and will generally be handled in order of receipt. Information and order forms are available from the Central Users' Service, Population Division, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233. In addition, as the summary tapes for each State become available, they will be listed in Part II of the Bureau of the Census Catalog.

Further Information

Questions and inquiries concerning the Fourth Count Summary Tapes From the 1970 Census of Population and Housing should be addressed to:

Director
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D.C. 20233

(Please refer to Data Access Description, Census Tabulations Available on Computer Tape Series, CT-5, Revised.)



...key resources on Census '70

1970 Census Users' Guide Part 1 and Part 2

The 1970 Census Users' Guide is a two-part publication designed to furnish most of the information data users will need for effective access and use of 1970 census data products.

Part 1 of the **Guide** (standard, paper-bound publication) includes the text and three appendixes. The text covers such subjects as the collection and processing of 1970 data, data delivery media (computer tapes, microfilm, and printed materials), maps and information on how to obtain census materials. The appendixes are:

1970 Census Users' Dictionary - defines concepts associated with population and housing tabulations and geographic areas relevant to the collection and publication of data.

Comparison of Printed Reports and Summary Tapes summarizes and compares the contents of the reports and tapes.

Glossary - defines many terms used in connection with collecting, processing, and publishing census data, and lists many abbreviations relevant to the census.

Part 2 of the **Guide** (prepunched for 3-ring binder) contains appendixes specifically related to the use of census summary tapes and the Address Coding Guide.

Technical Conventions and Character Set - present information on the physical characteristics, format, and languages associated with tapes released by the Bureau.

1st-4th Count Technical Documentation - describes the arrangement of geographic codes and census data on the first four series of summary tapes.

Address Coding Guide Technical Documentation - furnishes information on the format and content of ACG's.

Many data users will find both Parts 1 and 2 of great value. Part 1, with its comprehensive coverage of the decennial census program, data products, and related services, is an important instructional and reference tool. Part 2, concerned exclusively with computer tape products, is designed particularly for those who plan to obtain tapes or who want complete information on the data content of the summary tapes.

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April 1971

Census - 1970

Charting America's Changing Face

by Alexander Uhl

The counting part of the 1970 Census is over. It cost the American people just about a dollar per head and the job of evaluating the figures has just begun, so the cost is far from over.

What have we got and what will we get for our money?

Primarily, the 1970 Census showed that we are still a growing nation, although our rate of growth has slackened during the past 10 years.

In 1960, the resident population of the United States was 179,323,175. In 1970 it was 203,184,772 for an increase of 13.3 percent. This was the second largest increase in actual number of people in the history of the United States, but it also was the second lowest rate of increase, second only to the 1930s, when the increase was 7.3 percent.

For the first time, however, the Bureau of the Census counted members of the armed forces abroad, the diplomatic services and their families, so the total population in 1970 was really 204,765,770.

ALEXANDER UHL is an editor of Press Associates, Inc., a labor news service. He is a veteran reporter in Washington, D. C., with extensive experience in covering federal agencies.

While the "population explosion" that grew out of World War II appears over, every indication is that the number of Americans will keep growing during the next decade at least—although at a lesser rate than during the previous 20 years. By the end of the century we are expected to number some 275 million.

A number of conclusions can already be drawn from the statistics, the study of which has only just begun:

- Crucial changes will have to be made in the apportionment of seats in Congress and the redistricting to be done within states as a result of the 1970 statistics;
- Highly important social changes have become obvious in the extraordinary shift of population within the country and in the tremendous growth of the suburbs at the expense of both rural and core city populations;
- Equally important shifts have taken place in the industrial makeup of the nation—shifts that will be of the utmost importance to workers who must go where the jobs are;
- A thousand and one bits of statistical information are available that are of the greatest importance to industry itself; the housing that is still desperately

needed; the changing face of modern life and consequent demands to which industry must respond. In all, it is the vast picture of a population of more than 200 million broken down into the revealing segments of its daily life.

The taking of the 1970 Census was not without its problems. It started with a preliminary battle in Congress. Some viewed the census as presenting an opportunity to make a thorough inventory of the country, its population, its resources and its needs. Others viewed the census as an unnecessary prying into their personal lives and felt that too many of the census questions represented an invasion of privacy.

Long before the census actually began, interested persons and groups presented their ideas at hearings on what kind of information should be sought in addition to the simple tabulation of people by age, birth and similar basic facts. Some of the proposed questions were to become the center of controversy.

One of the questions that aroused a somewhat artificial furor was whether bath showers were shared or not shared. Cartoonists had a good time picturing people sharing a shower and the question finally was re-worded to make sure that no one could misunderstand it—deliberately or not.

The results on this question haven't been tabulated as yet, but preliminary figures in the housing census indicate that shower-sharing can't be too extensive. Delaware, for example, has year-round plumbing units for 165,887 persons while only 8,856 units are lacking some or all plumbing. Whether these facilities are shared to any degree with others has not yet been determined, but it would appear at any rate that the plumbing is there.

One phenomenon of the 1970 Census was the unwillingness of many cities to accept figures which showed them to have lost rather than gained population. Once, such a loss was simply a blow to local pride; that is no longer true. Now many important federal and state programs are related to population and a drop in numbers can cost a city millions of dollars in federal or state aid.

Federal grants in such fields as health, welfare, education, housing and community projects are directly related to population. Hard-pressed governors and mayors are increasingly desperate in their pursuit of revenue to meet larger and larger budgets and consequently have been watching census figures with apprehension.

More than one core city has refused to accept the 1970 Census figures showing population loss. The District of Columbia, for example, sharply questioned census reports that its population has dropped to 756,510, a loss of some 7,500 inhabitants over the past 10 years.

The District called for a recount, but it indicated, if anything, that D.C. had actually lost a few more residents than the census first indicated. So the protest storm died down. The same was true of other protesters who generally accepted the census figures although with reluctance.

Directly related to questioning of population loss is that in 1960, up to 5 million persons throughout the country were "missed" in the count. The District of Columbia, for example, claimed that in 1960 about 50,000 persons were never counted. Either they were missed by census enumerators, deliberately hid out to avoid being counted for fear of the police or the tax collectors, or had no fixed address.

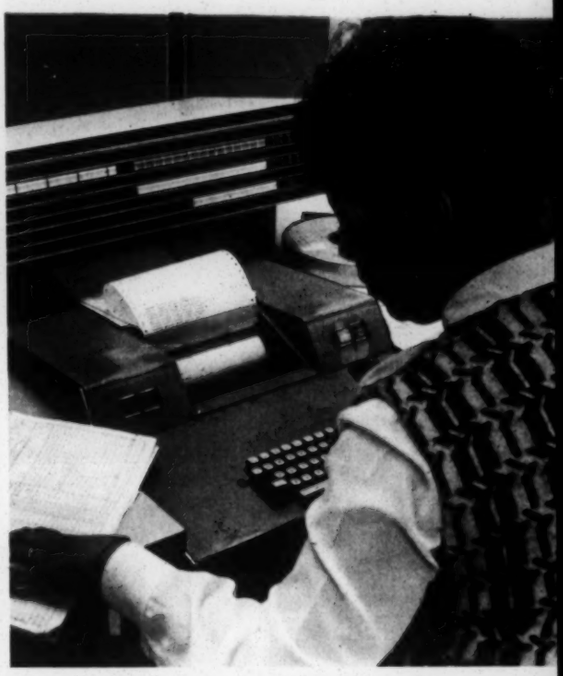
To avoid a repetition of this failure to get a full count, the Bureau of the Census this year launched a special corrective program. Specially trained census takers were sent to urban ghettos where many thousands of persons have been missed in the past. Unusually complete lists of homes, business places and rooming houses were prepared in advance.

This year, the Bureau of the Census insists, the count has been as complete as human ingenuity and computers can make it.

These factors cannot be discussed without mentioning the tremendous technical development that has taken place in the simple matter of tabulating the many questions.

In 1790 federal marshals traveled on horseback to count each family in their district. The count took many months to complete. Originally the final count was posted in public places. By 1850 the original list was retained by the courts in each state, but the federal government in Washington called for the information, too.

By 1870 a "tallying machine" was used to compile the records while 20 years later the modern age of census tabulation really began with the development of a system of punched cards by a census office employe, Herman Hollerith; if you have trouble with



today's punched cards, you can thank Hollerith for starting it all.

In any event, more and more complex tabulating machines have proliferated ever since. By 1951, the Bureau of the Census used its first electronic computer —Univac I. Five years later, the bureau was using electronic scanners which made it possible to record in one minute what it had taken a punch-card operator eight hours to record in 1950. Today this time has been cut to 15 seconds.

Presumably even these 15 seconds will be cut as year-round experimentation continues within the bureau to make the vast amount of census information available to the government and the public in less and less time and, above all, to make sure of its accuracy.

The accuracy of the count, of course, has more implications than a determination of who gets what when the federal government allots funds for state and local programs. Of supreme importance—the very purpose for which the original census in 1790 was made—is apportionment of seats in Congress in accordance with the Constitution and the one-man, one-vote decision of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Each state, no matter how small, has one seat in the House of Representatives to begin with. States with only one are Alaska, Delaware, Nevada, North Dakota, Vermont and Wyoming. After that, each state gets additional representatives based on a district count today of some 450,000 inhabitants. For some states this can mean a gain. For others it may mean a loss, since the House total is fixed at 435.

As a result of the 1970 Census, California will gain five seats for a total representation of 43 members, the largest state delegation in the House. Other gainers will be Florida with three more seats and Arizona, Colorado and Texas with one each.

Losers will be New York, down two for a state representation of 39 and a drop to second place behind California in total delegation size; Pennsylvania, also down two; and Alabama, Iowa, North Dakota, Ohio, Tennessee, West Virginia and Wisconsin, down one each. That loss dropped North Dakota into the one-seat category.

The 1970 Census count also will have a crucial impact on representation by districts within each state. The Supreme Court in its one-man, one-vote decision laid down the principle that each district must be closely matched in population instead of the vast difference in population that once prevailed.

This means that each state affected by census changes must reapportion its districts before the 1972 election if it hasn't already done so. While the states must reapportion closely along population lines, they have considerable freedom in drawing boundaries, which will mean the age-old gerrymander technique can still be used to set up safe party districts within highly flexible boundaries.

It is for this reason that the results of the 1970 state elections were so important. The political complexion and control of state legislatures will largely determine how districts are reapportioned.

The 1970 Census has had equally important impact on the job picture of the United States in terms of population shifts.

For some years population and jobs have been shifting—the one interacting with the other—throughout the United States. Migration patterns have continued to move from the center of the country out to the coastal areas and from rural to urban.

Gainers have been such states as California, Arizona, Colorado, Texas and Florida. Losers have been such central states as Iowa, Wisconsin, Ohio and Ten-

nesee, along with West Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York. Most of the East Coast states have held their own.

This does not mean that these states have necessarily lost population; it does mean they have slipped somewhat in relation to their fellow states.

On a regional basis, the West has been the largest gainer with a population growth of 24.1 percent during the past 10 years. The South has gained 14.2 percent, the Northeast 9.7 percent and the North Central 9.6 percent.

These changes have been influenced mainly by two different thrusts—the growth of industrialization and the development of large retirement centers. California has shared in both thrusts. States like Florida and Arizona have mostly profited from the growth of retirement centers because of their climates.

While the Northeast has begun to give way to other parts of the country in its rate of growth, it is a curious fact that the nation's mightiest concentrations of population still lie within the original 13 states of the union. "Megalopolis" or "Strip City," as some experts call it, embraces nine of the original 13 states from Massachusetts south to Virginia.

Within this area live 36,234,814 persons, an increase of more than 3.6 million over the 1960 Census. No less than seven metropolitan areas of more than 1 million are included in this area. New York, of course, is the largest with 11,528,649. Philadelphia is second with 4,817,914 and Washington, D.C.-Maryland-Virginia third with 2,861,123. Others with more than a million are Boston, the Paterson-Clifton-Passaic area in New Jersey, Newark and Baltimore.

This population is centered in an area 450 miles long and at places 150 miles wide, yet it contains 18 percent of the entire United States population. What's more this giant concentration of people is still growing—at a rate of 11.2 percent over 10 years.

The Washington-Maryland-Virginia area grew the fastest over the 10-year period—37.8 percent—a commentary on the concentration of federal growth and power that has been going on for the past 40 years.

From a population point of view, the past 10 years have opened the way to a new ranking of the states by population. California has shot from second to first, leading New York. Texas has gone from 6th to 4th; Florida from 10th to 9th; Georgia from 16th to 15th; Maryland from 21st to 18th.

Perhaps of most interest to the labor movement has been the industrialization of the South. This is largely, and unfortunately, due to the South's continued low wage, non-union status. The latter has been slowly yielding to persistent organization, but any study of the records of the National Labor Relations Board confirms the immense difficulty of union progress in an area of the country where implacable employers and propagandized residents still predominate.

The states in the South have seen industry coming in while the pattern of the rural life has changed, with great numbers of Negroes continuing to move to other sections of the country in a steady—if somewhat diminishing—stream.

What has not kept pace in the South are wages. True, wages have gone up, but per capita income still lags far behind the rest of the country. As compared with a national per capita income in 1969 of $3,680 a year, most of the southern states showed substandard incomes. Lowest was Mississippi with

a per capita income of $2,192 and the rank of 50th among the 50 states. Arkansas at $2,520 was No. 49; Alabama with $2,567 was 48; South Carolina with $2,580 was 47. Other southern states had equally depressing records. Few of them go above the $3,680 national average.

In addition to the changing regional pattern of the nation, a profoundly important change in the pattern of city and suburb is also revealed by the census. This has been showing itself during the past 20 years, but became particularly important in the 1960s.

The mobility of the population has increased tremendously. Such factors as the widespread increase in automobile ownership, a movement of industry in many cases to raw countryside and the "flight from the cities" have combined to produce a population loss in the core cities and a great gain to the surrounding suburbs.

This has produced the phenomenon of a tremendous growth of metropolitan areas in which the preponderance of development has been in the areas immediately surrounding a shrinking core city.

The City of St. Louis, No. 10 among the largest cities in the country, lost about 17 percent of its population. Yet, its standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, which includes four counties in Missouri and two in Illinois, showed an overall gain of 12.3 percent.

The City of Cleveland is another example. Although Cleveland itself lost 14.3 percent population, the Cleveland SMSA, including a number of small communities in Cuyahoga County and three other counties in Ohio, gained 8.1 percent.

Even among core cities which gained population, the growth of their SMSA has been relatively higher.

The Top Ten Metropolitan Areas

1970 Rank	Area	1970 Population (in millions)	1960 Rank	Percent Change
1	New York	11.5	1	7.8
2	Los Angeles	7.0	3	16.4
3	Chicago	6.9	2	12.2
4	Philadelphia	4.8	4	10.9
5	Detroit	4.2	5	11.6
6	San Francisco	3.1	6	17.4
7	Wash., D.C.	2.9	10	37.8
8	Boston	2.7	7	6.1
9	Pittsburgh	2.4	8	-0.2
10	St. Louis	2.3	9	12.3

For workers this shift of population can have great importance. As the population has moved into the suburbs and even what once was regarded as exurbia, industry and business have followed. In turn, much of industry has abandoned obsolete core city plants and has started afresh in the countryside. It is literally true that where cows grazed a few years ago, modern industrial plants, notably electronic and computer centers, have now sprung up.

The pace of this movement has slackened appreciably during the past year as the Nixon Administration cooled the economy. But there can be little doubt that the pace will quicken once the economy picks up again.

The 1970 statistics are barely cooling in the computers and already census experts are looking forward to what today's figures will tell them about tomorrow. Dr. George H. Brown, Director of the Census, for example, opened a number of possibilities in a recent address.

Dr. Brown estimated that in the next 15 years, the population of the United States will be between 240 and 250 million, or a considerable growth over the current 204 million. Others have estimated a high of 275 million.

"Even with a low fertility rate, the population growth rate will rise for the next decade because the proportion of women in childbearing ages will increase," Dr. Brown said. "On the basis of present information, however, the population growth rate could well return to its present level in the 1980s, or perhaps, even slip below it."

Whether this would represent a social gain or not is the subject of debate among population scientists. Some argue that a slower rate of growth would ease many of the problems in the social order that the United States is now facing. Others argue that a stationary population simply would mean an increase in the average age, so that today's median age of 28

would be 37 and that such an older population would resist change.

Another possible effect on the future is further change in the geographic distribution of the American population. While two out of every three persons now live in metropolitan areas, the differential between national growth and the growth of the metropolitan areas is narrowing somewhat.

In this connection, the historic rush to metropolitan areas from the rural areas may be slowing down. While most non-metropolitan counties in the United States are not sharing in the population explosion, some areas are. These are non-metropolitan counties that are traversed by a freeway and have a moderate-sized urban center of between 25,000 and 50,000 persons.

"The growth in these counties," said Dr. Brown, "contradicts the popular notion that our nation's population is on the high road to engulfing itself in a number of big, densely packed urban centers. In sports page parlance, smaller urban centers have been and are running for daylight."

Counties having such a potential for growth are some that most of us have never heard of. They include Cascade County in Montana or Lubbock County in Texas or Quachita County in Louisiana. Even smaller ones include Campbell County, Wyoming, or Portage County, Wisconsin, or Grand Isle County, Vermont. Gaithersburg, Md., once a rural town outside of Washington, D.C., is now a city of 12,000.

What is causing unusual growth rates in these areas is still under study, but it is clear that while the metropolitan areas continue to grow larger and more populous, some smaller areas are not being left behind in the race.

Census experts are studying the 1970 results for expected changes in such things as the age composition of the country and the number of new households that will be formed. They predict a drastic increase in the number of younger adults from now to 1985 with one-third of the population in the 25 to 34 year group.

A rapid rate of household formation is expected since the next 15 years will become "the era of the young married."

Of vital importance to workers is an expected change in income distribution. On the basis of today's statistics projected into the future, Dr. Brown estimates that average family income will rise from $8,600 today to $15,000 in 1985 measured in constant dollars.

Today about one-third of the families in the United States have a $15,000 income. By 1985 three-fourths will have such incomes with most of the added purchasing power in the 25 to 44 year age group.

"In a few words," Dr. Brown said, "we are heading into a society of an affluent majority."

This prediction, he said in an obvious understatement, "has tremendous economic, social, moral, political and other major implications." An affluent majority, unfortunately, is likely to mean a poverty-stricken, desperate and perhaps hopeless minority.

While the core city and its growing suburbs have grown apart from each other—if not hostile to each other—the reality of today's growth pattern is that the inner city and the suburb are highly dependent on each other and have many problems in common that must be solved in concert.

Core cities, even if decaying as residential and cultural centers, nevertheless are still the magnets for vast economic, social and cultural values and, as such, attract a slow but steady return of many men and women who may have fled it. In addition, traffic problems, pollution, law and order and civil rights are all matters that do not respect boundaries, but overflow in both directions.

As a result, urban experts are calling for a "metropolitan" approach to relieve and correct today's core city ills.

Samuel C. Jackson, Assistant Secretary for Metropolitan Planning and Development, calls metropolitan areas "micro nations."

"They are to some degree economically self-sustaining organisms," he has said. "Their social structure represents the nation's range of family income from poverty to affluence and they mirror all the national patterns of urban frustration, physical disorganization, fiscal disparities and human inequities."

One of the important aspects of the interdependence of the core city and its surrounding suburbs—in time there will be about 50 of them—is the difficulty of transportation for workers who no longer live close to their jobs and must commute considerable distances. This problem affects the affluent suburbanite no less than the Negro housemaid.

More and more, city and suburb quarrel over freeways and parking problems. City people resent the one-car, one-man commuter who monopolizes parking space, congests traffic and adds to pollution. Commuters on the other hand complain of too little parking space and poor traffic control.

The household domestic who must commute to the suburbs has an even worse lot. Mass transportation is sketchy and expensive. She may spend hours traveling by buses that arrive late, are crowded and all too often fail to cover adequate territory.

What the 1970 Census has done, if nothing else, is to tell us that core cities, while losing population, are nevertheless the hub about which great new "city-states" are evolving. Some of them, such as New York, are huge entities that cross county and state boundaries and are more populous than many U.S. states.

The process of evaluating the 1970 Census returns is still in progress. But, already it is clear that even more than the many censuses before it, this one will have tremendous significance because of the pace of change that has occurred during the past 10 years and is continuing.

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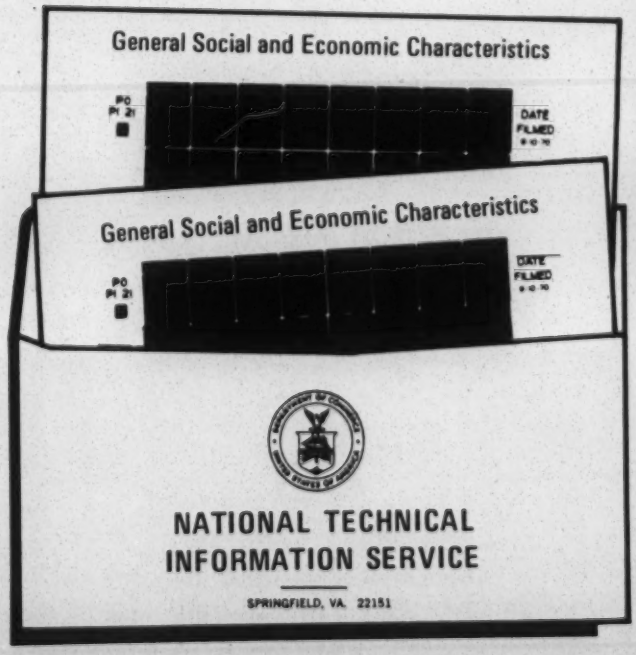

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aip INFORMATION SYSTEMS DEPT newsletter

James Johns, Editor September, 1971 Volume 1—Number 1

PROFESSIONAL HEARINGS ON U.S. CENSUS

The Census Committee of the Information Systems Department was organized last January during the AIP's Government Relations and Planning Policy Conference in Washington. It is a voluntary special-purpose group formed to bring census issues into sharp focus and to propose ways and means to resolve those issues.

At the annual AIP Conference in San Francisco, October 24-28, the Committee will conduct professional hearings which will give the full AIP membership and others an opportunity to express their views on six, specific topics. The principal speaker at each hearing will make an appropriate presentation, after which the discussion will be opened to all in attendance. A representative from Bureau of the Census will participate in each hearing to help answer questions and describe census program activities.

The topics and speakers are:

Census Mapping, Address Coding, and Geo-Coding. . . . . .Mr. Edward T. Kelly

1975 Census of Population and Housing . . . . . .Dr. Doris Halleb

1972 Census of Governments . . . . . Dr. Selma Mushkin

Small Area Data Availability and Use . . . . . .Dr. William Garrison

Census Housing Data . . . . . Mr. Frank Kristof

Census Summary Tape Processing Centers . . . . . .Mr. Britton Harris

Testimony at these hearings is encouraged from persons who are concerned with using the U. S. Censuses of population, housing and governments in the comprehensive planning process. Both oral and written testimony will be accepted. Respondents should send two typewritten copies of their testimony to Mr. David B. Klotz, Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission, 1317 Filbert Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107. Written testimony will be received up to the time of its post conference compilation. Additional information concerning the census hearings is available from Mr. Klotz.

Both criticism and praise are welcome, and will be most useful if supported by a description of the experience which has most dramatically influenced your opinion. Recommendations for changes in national policy are also solicited.

Officers of the Census Committee are David B. Klotz, Chairman, Harold Olsen, Vice Chairman (School of Library and Information Services, University of Maryland), and Leonore Siegelman, Program Coordinator (U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development). Serving as task force chairman are John Backer, Margaret Breland, Jim Crews, Morris Hansen, Albert Mindlin, Juliet Sabit and David Seidman.

Those assisting the Census Committee as resource persons are Sidney Robertson of the U. S. Department of Transportation Jacob Silver, and Arthur Young and Michael Garland of the U. S. Bureau of the Census. General committee membership includes Glenn Blossom, Robert Jentsch, Josef Nathanson, William Rucker, Robert Stuart, and Robert Vogel.

THE MID-DECADE CENSUS

On June 2, David B. Klotz, Chairman of the Census Committee of the Information Systems Department, testified before the House Subcommittee on Census and Statistics about the urgent need for a mid-decade census of population, housing and employment. His testimony, the present position of the American Institute of Planners in this regard, and the subsequent stance taken by the federal administration are summarized in the following letter which was recently directed to President Nixon.

Dear Mr. President:

The Census Committee of the Information Systems Department of the American Institute of Planners was shocked and deeply disappointed to learn of the opposition of your administration at this time to the proposed mid-decade census of population, housing and employment.

The opinion of the Census Committee of the Information Systems Department of the American Institute of Planners is representative of the Institute's membership of 6 thousand professional planners who are directly employed by or serve as consultants to general and special-purpose governments at local, city, county, regional, interstate and federal levels and by growing numbers of private business and industrial firms. We are concerned that you understand the urgent need and likely consequences of a continuing failure on the part of the federal government ot provide data required for planning of government projects and programs by all levels of government for all the needs of the American people.

As we pointed out in our testimony of June 2, 1971, before the Subcommittee on Census and Statistics of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U. S. House of Representatives, the planners are the guys who roll up their sleeves and dig into the census data in behalf of the hundreds of thousands of elected officials and other government decision-makers throughout the nation.

The metabolism of planning analysis is closely related to the ten-year cycle of census data. From 1 1/2 to as much as three years after each census, we await the release of the data. For the next two to three years, we are busy analyzing the data, calculating changes from previous estimates and forecasts analyzing the implications of the change on current and proposed programs and revising forecasts of future growth and change. Then, for the next five years, we wait for new data. Of course the problems of government don't wait and planners try to respond by making local estimates of current population. But they are almost never satisfactory in any respect except gross counts. The migration rates, the characteristics of people and their occupations and jobs and their housing conditions are seldom accurately estimated in the five-year period before new census data is available.

Bipartisan testimony on the need, value and benefit of a mid-decade census was assembled by Congress at hearings in 1962,1965 and 1967. After the 1967 hearings a bill was reported favorably by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and approved in the House by a vote of 255 to 127. As Mr. A. Ross Eckler said in his recent 1971 testimony, "There is no reason to believe that if the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee had then brought out a similar bill, the current hearings would be unnecessary." To the best of our knowledge all testimony assembled for the current hearings by the House subcommittee was favorable except for testimony of Dr. George H. Brown, Director of the Bureau of the Census, who testified on June 10, 1971, "At this time the Administration does not recommend a mid-decade census."

There may be a great sympathy across the land for your cost-conscience approach to federal government operations but we cannot believe that it applies so broadly that the nation should be denied the basic data so desperately needed for effective governmental management in these times of high population mobility and dramatic urban change. We will be dis-

appointed, indeed, to have to report to the planning profession at its national conference this coming fall your decision to withhold support from a mid-dedecade census of population. We urge you to reconsider the Aministration's decision and assure you of our sincere desire to work with the Bureau of the Census in the planning of a mid-decade census that will meet the urgent need for mid-decade benchmark data at the minimum cost consistent with the need.

Sincerely yours, David B. Klotz, AIP

TASK FORCE ON FEDERAL STATISTICS

Mr. Marvin A. Zentner, President, of Systems Design, Inc. recently agreed to chair a task force on Federal Statistics. Policy issues of concern to planners such as changes to Federal Data Series and Information Systems will be identified. The task force will recommend to the Board of Directors how the Department should organize to respond to such issues on a continuing basis.

USGS/NASA EFFORT TO PROVIDE URBAN AND REGIONAL INFORMATION

The U. S. Geological Survey, in cooperation with the National Aeronautic and Space Administration, is embarking on a new program that should, in time provide valuable information to urban and regional planners. As part of the Earth Resources Observation Satellite (EROS) program, the two agencies will be acquiring, processing, applying, and distributing remote sensor data collected from high-altitude aircraft and spacecraft.

As an initial demonstration project, a portion of the Eastern Seaboard, designated as the Central Atlantic Regional Ecological Test Site (CARETS) will be the subject of a comprehensive environmental survey and analysis. Details of this test program were presented in a June conference designed to explore the posibilities of incorporating the new remote sensor data into existing regional information systems, to invite participation and critical review by representatives of agencies having responsibilities involving resource or environmental problems in the test region, and to discuss plans for continuing development of the program.

The U. S. and NASA also sponsored a Conference on Land Use Information and Classification during the last three days of June. Among the topics discussed was the feasibility of developing standardized classes for land uses which would be usable for inventories taken via satellite remote sensors or through conventional methods on the ground. Minutes of the Conference may be published.

The principle data products will be high resolution photographic imagery at scales of 1:100,000 and 1:250,000, which will be enlarged for a variety of applications. The need for interpreting, coding, and measuring this data so as to provide land use and physical resource information for established social and economic data areas (e.g. census tracts) has been recognized as an integral part of the demonstration. The feasibility of using high-altitude flight imagery has been tested in the Washington metropolitan area by comparison with an existing file of land use information collected on a parcel basis.

The full scope of products and applications of the CARETS program is yet to be defined. The data delivery system to be maintained by a net of regional centers, of which CARETS is a prototype, will be heavily influenced by feedback from users who require data for land use planning, water resources assessment, and environmental management.

THE INFORMATION SYSTEMS DEPARTMENT

The Information Systems Department was created in the fall of 1970. It is a division of the American Institute of Planners, the national organization of professional urban and regional planners in America.

Although the Information Systems Department has the benefit of being heard through AIP publications, legislative, education and conference programs, it is relatively autonomous with its own work program, budget and objectives.

The Department was created to respond to several interests of planners including:

Information Systems. Collection, storage and retrieval of data and information; computerized processing of planning data.

Data Series. The programs of the US Bureau of the Census, land use inventories, employment and other data concerning local and regional economies.

Plan Design and Evaluation. Demographic and econometric models, systems analysis-operations research, planning system models.

INTERIM BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Policy for the Department during its initial organizational stage has been developed and implemented by the Interim Board of Directors listed below.

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NOMINEES - BOARD OF DIRECTORS (Oct. 1971-1972)

The Department's Nominating Committee (composed of Robert P. Huefner, Hugh J. Calkins and Jacob Silver) has presented the following slate of nominees for the first elected Board of Directors. The Board will be elected in September and will be installed at the Annual Conference in San Francisco.

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DEPARTMENTAL CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

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David B. Klotz

CONFERENCE AGENDA

THE INFORMATION SYSTEMS DEPARTMENT HAS PLANNED AN EXCELLENT GROUP OF MEETINGS TO BE HELD AS PART OF THE ANNUAL AIP CONFERENCE (CONFER-IN WEST). FOR YOUR USE AND INFORMATION THE FOLLOWING IS AN EXTRACT OF THESE MEETINGS. THE CONFERENCE WILL TAKE PLACE IN SAN FRANCISCO, AT THE HILTON HOTEL OCTOBER 24-28,1971.

SUNDAY - MORNING

A. Census Hearing--Geocoding

SUNDAY - AFTERNOON

A. Census Hearings - Summary Tape Processing and Census of Governments.

John F. Kain — B. National Bureau Economic Research Series of Papers (4) on their Urban Simulation Model.

MONDAY - AFTERNOON

A. Census Hearings--Housing Data and small area data

Lawrence Frishman — B. Management Systems for Urban Development Programs.

Barry S. Wellar — C. A Paradigm for the Development of Standarized Data Bases.

Glenn O. Johnson — D. Automated Planning Operations File is Dead but Alive in Spirit

MONDAY - EVENING

A. Census Hearing--1975 Census

TUESDAY - MORNING

Stephen K. Dietz — A. Social Indicators Developed from 1970 Census Data

Leo A. Schuerman — B. The Fourth Count Summary Tape

John R. Hamburg — C. Evaluation of Transportation Impact at the Neighborhood Scale.

Charles P. Carter — D. Development and Application of a Policy - Sensitive Urban Growth Model for Washington, D.C.

Robert C. Stuart — E. Modeling the Group - Goal Component of the Plan Evaluation Process

TUESDAY - AFTERNOON

Ronald E. Crellin — A. An Up-To-Date DIME File: the Results of the Long Beach Experience

Donald F. Cooke — B. Geographic Base Files - Where We've Been, Where We Are, and We're Going

Eric S Hannssen — C. Application of Census DIME Coding in an Integrated Municipal Information System

Richard D. Worrall — D. Extensions and Applications of Urban Growth Models

Douglass B. Lee, Jr. — E. The Future of Models In Transportation Planning

James Hester, Jr. — F. Urban Development Models for Policy Applications: Needs, State-of-the-Art, and Prospects

WEDNESDAY - MORNING

Jack Dangermond — A. Automated Information Processing for Urban and Regional Planning Applications (an Overview of Computer Graphics)

Don Thompson — B. Airborne Remote Sensing

Lane H. Kendig — C. Computerized Guidance Systems as Developed in Bucks Co.

Chris McDonald — D. Tabular Form As A Language for the Planner

Richard S. Bolan — E. A Quantitative Methodology for Analyzing Political Power in Urban Transportation Planning

Alan W. Steiss — F. The Use of Effective necessary Measures in Public Planning

WEDNESDAY - AFTERNOON

Richard L. Ragatz — A. Vacation Homes in rural areas: A Model for Predicting their Distribution and Occupancy Pattern

Byron H. Willis — B. AQUIP - An Air Quality Evaluation System for the Planning Community

Larry Galligan — C. The San Diego Interactive Population and Employment Forecasting Model

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NEW HUMAN SERVICES NEWSLETTER

INCORPORATING NEW CAREERS NEWSLETTER

VOL. 1, NO. 4 SUMMER, 1971

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PARAPROFESSIONALS AND THEIR PERFORMANCE

Two intensive studies of paraprofessionals in schools present new data on their work and its effect. A study of aides in the first through fourth grades of the Portland, Oregon, schools found that their use led to *children receiving increased instructional time--from both the aide and the teacher; teacher/aide teams delivered instruction at a lower per hour cost than teachers alone; and the use of paraprofessionals had a favorable effect upon pupil learning.*

--During a five hour day, teachers alone in classrooms spent 92 minutes on instructional activities. With the introduction of an aide, teachers time in instruction rose to 109 minutes with the aide providing an additional 129 minutes of instructional activity.

--Average total costs for an hour of instruction by a teacher/aide team was $8.80, compared with over $16 for a teacher alone. These differences were largely attributable to the additional instruction provided by both teacher and aide and the lower costs of paraprofessionals.

--The program had the greatest effect upon raising achievement levels of Black children. (The study was conducted by Eaton Conant, University of Oregon, under a USOE grant.)

Over 3,500 paraprofessionals in New York City were studied in a project conducted by the Institute for Educational Development. *The key findings related to the substantive instructional work done by the paraprofessionals and the strong positive evaluation given to their work by teachers, principals, and students alike.*

--The most common paraprofessional work activities were talking quietly with a child who is upset or disturbing the class, stopping arguments or fights among students, assisting with learning drills in reading or mathematics, going over a paper with children, and listening to children tell stories.

--More than 90% of the pupils interviewed said that they enjoyed coming to school more since the paraprofessionals were working in the school; principals and teachers said that pupil attitudes had improved and attendance increased; and parents reported that their children were more interested in school work.

--Teachers described the major effect of paraprofessionals as an increase in pupils' academic achievement. In noting the broad range of persons who successfully held the paraprofessional positions, the study states that "there are few limits on the kinds of people who can perform satisfactorily as paraprofessionals."

IT'S TIME TO END THE ROMANCE OF INDIGENIETY

A proposed resolution to the problems faced by indigenous paraprofessionals in traditional agencies itself raises more problems than it solves. Writing in "Social Work," (April, 1971), David Hardcastle proposes that in order to maintain the paraprofessionals' indigenous qualities he be "compartmentalized" within the agency. It would seem that such a resolution fails to see the potential (and need) for changing the agency, assumes that influence is only of the agency upon the paraprofessional and cannot be the other way, neglects the possibility of the development of a "new professional" combining the values of indigeniety and professional practice, and is likely to assure only that the paraprofessional is "compartmentalized" at the bottom.

NEW CAREERS NATIONALLY

In broad testimony presented before the House Education and Labor Committee, which is considering renewal of the Economic Opportunity Act including the "new careers" section, Jacob Fishman outlined progress and problems.

Progress

--Of 15,200 enrollees, 10,700 had either graduated or were in training. This placement and training rate of over 70% compared with 11% rate of the WIN program which enrolled much the same type of participant.

--Over 1,100 human service agencies employed or trained enrollees. A third of the agencies were in education, a third in health, and the remainder scattered in various other areas.

--The average annual wage for a graduate was $4,320, compared to $1,285 for the year prior to enrollment. For premature terminees the average in the year following program participation was $3,590.

--*The total increase in earnings of graduates and terminees 1.9 years after program completion is equal to the total federal cost for the New Careers program.*

--More than 220 institutions of higher education have been involved in the program.

Problems

--State and local agencies are still more concerned with filling quotas than they are in human growth and development.

--Paraprofessionals are often barred from advancement because of formal educational requirements and written tests.

--Salaries in entry-level jobs are often lower than a living wage.

--Colleges continue admissions barriers which are exclusionary and teaching techniques which are inappropriate; and, too often, credits are not transferable.

--The most fundamental problem, though, has been in the administration and operation of the program by the Department of Labor. Despite Congressional direction to the contrary, the New Careers program has been folded into the Public Service Careers Program, New Careers funds have been used for PSC, the full authorization was not requested in the Administration's appropriation bill, and the amount appropriated was not spent for New Careers.

* * *

Testifying before a Legislative Oversight Committee chaired by Congressman Hawkins (D., Cal.) which is studying the implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act, Velma Hill, chairman, Citywide Association of Paraprofessionals, Omaha (Neb.), proposed that the Congressional committee "establish a national board of paraprofessional workers from across the country who could offer assistance and give feedback which, I trust, would be much closer to the truth than that which comes through normal, official channels."

* * *

Vernon James, one of the original trainees in the new careers training program conducted by J. Douglas Grant in the California Men's Prison, has been appointed head of the New Careers Program in NIMH. James is the first paraprofessional to hold a position at the branch level in HEW.

ORGANIZING NEWS

Taking a leaf from chairman Mao, a "let a thousand flowers bloom" pattern seems to be occurring in paraprofessional organizations. Efforts are underway for separate groups, others are working in professional organizations, still others in unions, and yet others in a number of settings simultaneously.

AFT President David Selden has indicated that in cities where locals will not admit paraprofessional workers as equal members, *the AFT will consider chartering separate paraprofessional locals.* Such a situation is present in Detroit and is brewing in Boston.

In Massachusetts, a statewide meeting of paraprofessionals was held. The meeting grew out of the efforts of a Boston-based neighborhood workers association. Although scheduled to be a planning meeting for an October conference, with more than 300 participants, the meeting became a work session around specific issues facing Massachusetts paraprofessionals.

In Chicago, a meeting was held which grew out of organizing efforts which had occurred at last year's meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association. Plans were made for another meeting to coincide with the Ortho April convention in Detroit.

Other organizing efforts are going on in North Carolina, Miami, Louisville, Tacoma, Omaha, and New Haven and Storrs, Connecticut.

And, the New Professional group of the American Public Health Association are actively "getting their thing together" in preparation for the APHA National conference, to be held in October, in Minneapolis. The New Professionals are shooting for full section status within APHA, and plan as well to hold sessions around key issues facing paraprofessionals. *Julian Bond has agreed to be the key speaker at a session arranged by the New Professionals for the entire conference.*

In Oregon, leaders of a number of new careers programs have come together to form a statewide association. Among those represented on the new body are the community action agency, Head Start program, Career Opportunities Program, the state OEO, the CEP program, the Public Service Careers program, along with representatives of a number of state agencies.

A two-week teachers' strike in San Francisco blocked cutbacks in a number of educational programs and won a 9% wage and fringe benefit increase for paraprofessionals. In the New York City Health and Hospital Corporation, District Council 37 (AFSCME) has won a new title of Family Health Technician as a key worker in ambulatory care from satellite health centers and follow-up care in the patient's home. Training will be provided for those presently employed as Nurse's Aides to prepare for the new post. In the city's schools, the United Federation of Teachers has been recognized as the bargaining agency for paraprofessionals in the classroom, grades 3-12 (the UFT already represents those K-2); the union and the Board of Education are now negotiating the phasing in of previously won contract benefits for these workers.

The Illinois legislature has created an Employment Program Evaluation Commission to study the "feasibility of training program embodying the 'new careers' concept."

COLLEGE PROGRAMS FOR PARAPROFESSIONALS

An Office of New Careers (HEW) study found over seven hundred colleges offering programs for paraprofessionals with the largest number of offerings at the junior college level and the most programs in the health and education fields. Details of the study include:

--1,522 responses of 2,794 colleges surveyed.
--760 institutions reported paraprofessional programs.
--397 junior colleges.
--235 senior colleges.
--128 universities.

An additional finding concerned the enormous number of job titles held by paraprofessionals--273 different paraprofessional job titles in the health area, 180 in education, and 158 in social services.

"HARD" AND "SOFT" MONEY

For a long time commentators on the paraprofessional scene cautioned about the reliance upon federal money as compared with state and local funds--the former being seen as "soft" with the latter considered "hard." In the present period, it seems, the two may have turned around. For example, in New York City where sharp budget constraints on state and city funds have led to cutbacks in personnel ceilings, it is the paraprofessionals--largely paid for from federal funds--who have to date remained relatively unscathed. Not to be sanguine about budget cutbacks from any source, nonetheless, it seems we need to rethink the "soft" and "hard" categories.

FROM VARIOUS FIELDS

There is increasing use of paraprofessionals in the legal area. There is attention to various forms of advocacy: as ombudsmen in prisons, in child advocacy efforts, in court programs, in community work. And training of paraprofessionals in law has raised some of the same problems faced in other fields. Legal educators are asking if the training of paraprofessionals at law schools will "lower standards" at those schools, and whether special training is not a form of "tracking" Black and other minority group students. The issue came to a climax when Columbia University Law School voted to shift a pilot "paralawyer" training program from the University to La Guardia Community College. At the same time questions are being increasingly raised concerning legal training in general. Particular attention is being focused upon the value of the third year of law school with the charge being made that it offers courses of dubious value supplemented by makeshift clinical experience. An Association of American Law Schools study group has proposed that students be allowed to be employed after a second year.

HEW UPS PARAPROFESSIONAL PRIORITY

Secretary Elliot Richardson has designated paraprofessional programs and career development as one of his key priorities for FY 1972. Given the Department's role in setting standards, guidelines, policies, and regulations for health, education, and welfare programs--to say nothing of its significant funding role, effective implementation of this priority could mean a major leap forward.

In implementing this priority, Richardson has designated Don Davies, Deputy Commissioner, U.S. Office of Education, who has given leadership to such efforts as the Career Opportunities Program and the entire implementation of the Education Professions Development Act.

LEGISLATIVE ROUNDUP

Public Service Employment--Despite predictions of a Presidential veto, a major--albeit temporary--public service employment act has been passed. The bill authorizes $2.25 billion over a two year period for government jobs for the unemployed. The program goes into effect whenever national unemployment is over 4.5% for three months; it is now 6.2%. In addition, a special program authorizes funds for local areas were employment exceeds 6% for a three months period.

Apparently the continuing high level of unemployment, particularly among veterans and in the cities, along with strong lobbying efforts of mayors, unions, civil rights groups, and a new Public Service Employment Conference, convinced the president not to veto the bill. Although not as strong as last year's manpower bill, vetoed by the president, the present law is an important breakthrough toward acceptance on the part of the government of the role of employer of first resort.

The establishment of a board based Public Service Employment Conference is an important development in the current scene. The passage of the Emergency Manpower Bill imposes two tasks on this group and others: assurance of the best implementation of the new law and pushing beyond its limited beginning. As to the first, it will be important to assure that jobs--at decent wages under good working conditions with meaningful career opportunities--are made available to those most in need, the long-term inner city poor. There is a danger that slots will be allocated solely or primarily to the unemployed engineers and returning veterans. Second, efforts must begin--by the Public Service Employment Conference and others--to design, draft, introduce and win passage of public service employment legislation which is permanent, is linked to service needs, and incorporates significant training and education for full-blown career development. (Conference convenors include Eli Cohen, Manuel Diaz, Peter Edelman, James Farmer, James Haughton, Wilma Scott Heide, J. Carl Holman, Russell Nixon, Frank Riessman.)

Welfare Reform?--The House has once again passed the Family Assistance Program (FAP). Benefit levels are set at $2,400 for a family of four. All family members will be required to register for work and accept training except those who are ill, aged, incapacitated, a mother with a child under 6 (under 3 after 1974), or a child under 16. Persons may be forced to accept work with salaries as low as $1.20 an hour.

It is expected that the Senate Finance Committee will hold hearings on the bill in the fall with a vote expected toward the end of the year.

Opposition to the House bill was led by supporters of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), on the one hand, and conservatives, on the other. NWRO has proposed an "Adequate Income Act of 1971" (HR7257) which provides for an annual grant of $6,500 for a family of four, coverage of all persons in need, assurance of full protection for individuals, and no work requirement but strong positive incentives to work.

Office of Education Appropriations

OE's FY 1972 appropriations have been set at $5.1 billion, for 1971. Of particular interest in the Senate action was the stricture to OE that in implementing the Education Professions Development Act funds are to be used to train teaching personnel to meet special needs, rather than training general classroom teachers. Senator Pell's (D.R.I.) successful motion from the floor to provide $500,000 for the "Education for Public Service" title of the Higher Education Act, which had previously been unfunded, was dropped in the Conference Committee.

OEO

The Senate Poverty Subcommittee has completed "marking up" the bill extending OEO programs beyond the present June 30, 1971 termination. Key provisions included by the subcommittee include prohibition of administration "spinning off" of programs without Congressional approval, continuation of the "earmarking" of funds for special programs, incorporation of a new child development title and an independent legal services corporation.

Child Care

The Comprehensive Child Development Act (H_R6748) has been reported out by the Brademas Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee. The bill provides for sponsorship of programs by communities of 100,000 or more, in addition to states. *Of special interest is the incorporation of a requirement for both the employment of paraprofessionals and for a career development plan as part of a comprehensive child care program.*

Health

The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee (sic) reported out a bill to continue and extend the Health Professions Educational Assistance program. Provisions are made for project grants, loans, students grants, awards, and scholarship grants.

LEGAL INSURANCE

Groups of students and workers have worked out arrangements for legal representation. At the University of Texas, Boston University, and on three campuses of the State University of New York, lawyers (or law firms) have been retained to represent students. And in Louisiana, a program to test prepaid group legal services (designed by the Bar Association and funded by the Ford Foundation) has produced a number of surprises. The seven hundred construction workers and their families to whom the legal services have been made available use the program at a much lower level than had been anticipated. Participants see it only as a crisis resource and despite the planners' hopes, do not use it on a "preventive" basis, nor, despite the planners' fears, have the workers become legal hypochondriacs. With the likelihood of health insurance being incorporated into a national plan, unions may seek to replace that benefit (costing about 25¢ per hour per worker) with legal insurance, which probably could be provided at a third the cost.

In Oregon and at the University of California, Berkley, student fees are to be used to fund public interest law groups. The Oregon program, involving students at 21 public and private colleges, will emphasize environmental and consumer protection projects, while the Berkley program will specialize in class action suits.

WHERE IS DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN?

Black illegitimacy rates fell by nearly 15% from 1961 to 1968 while the rate among white women increased by a third.

IS THE TEACHER SHORTAGE REALLY OVER?

Over the past few years there have been periodic announcements of the "end of the teacher shortage." Now, the Senate Appropriations Committee has accepted this notion and recommended that Education Professions Development Act funds not be used for training general classroom teachers.

The subject of manpower supply and demand is a key one, and some of the problems are illustrated by looking at education as an example. Whatever the national pattern, it is clear that a teacher glut does not exist everywhere, in all fields. Thus, for example, there remain shortages in certain geographic areas--inner cities and rural areas; in certain fields--special education, handicapped, bilingual education; among certain population groups--men in elementary education, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and Indians.

As for the predictions of future patterns, they suffer from twin faults growing out of projections of the present into the future. On the one hand present staffing patterns are generally assumed, and on the other present entry patterns are taken as static.

While Office of Education analysts take into account the effect of ESEA on pupil-teacher ratios (although predicting a reduction in pupil-teacher ratios over the next ten years at only one-sixth the rate of the past five years), they do not take into account any other prospective developments. They ignore, for example, possible changes in school staffing patterns--as moving toward the Head Start ratio of one adult for every five children; the effect of various efforts toward individualizing learning; demands of professional groups such as the AFT's "20/20" program which calls for teachers to teach only twenty children per class, for 20 periods a week.

Similarly, estimates of the end of the teacher shortage fail to take into account likely new entry patterns. More women have gone into teaching than any other profession, at least in part, because of the lack of alternative employment opportunities. However, as sexual discrimination is reduced in these other fields, it is likely that far fewer women will be "forced" into teaching.

The entire area of supply and demand of manpower for the human services has been looked at in too narrow a focus. Rarely have these issues been considered in the context of the other issues of the field. It would seem that far more attention must be given to the changing nature of services offered, the availability of funds (for training as well as employment), alternative opportunities available to potential entries into the field.

PEOPLE POWER: NEW FOCUS

A new weapon for consumers has been proposed by former Congressman Richard Ottinger who has proposed that New York City residents withold up to 25% of their monthly telephone payments until service improves. Ottinger has organized Grassroots, Inc., along with Sam Brown, Terry Lenzer, David Brower, Saul Alinsky, George Wiley, and others, to help citizens groups organize local consumer and environmental protection drives.

HEALTH

Training--Northwestern University Medical School will admit, starting in mid-1972, 25 inner-city high school graduates annually to a six year program leading to an MD. The first two years will be at the Central YMCA Community College, to be followed by four years at the medical school. A key feature of the program will be the continuing relationship between the students and their home communities during the six year period.

Mass. General Hospital and Northeastern University are planning a five year program leading to a baccalaureate degree and a position as a Physician's Associate. Unique in the program is the fact that there are a number of plateaus during the five years where an individual could drop out and still have training recognized for a specific job, *viz.* after one year as a Physician's Aide and after two years as a Physician's Assistant.

The University of Miami will admit those with doctorate degrees in the sciences to its medical school to become medical doctors after two years of additional education.

A study of allied health occupations in Boston found that there were significant upgrading or promotional opportunities in clerical, laboratory, technician, and administrative fields but, interestingly, far fewer in the social service fields where special emphasis has been placed upon hiring of poor and minority group members.

Reorganization--The New York state legislature has passed laws permitting the creation of non-profit medical corporations offering comprehensive health services to subscribers, as well as establishing regulations for the positions of physician's and specialist's assistant.

Hill-Burton--Last year's amendments to this key health law contained a number of important provisions. The mandatory priority for rural areas in the construction of new health facilities has been dropped; emphasis is given to construction of ambulatory facilities serving poverty areas, as well as to those facilities offering comprehensive health care. In addition, funds are available to community groups to build ambulatory facilities if back-up hospital facilities are available.

Citizen Role--The prestigious Aspen Institute has endorsed consumer advocates, consumer advisory councils, "and, frequently, consumer control of health facilities." They noted, "Health care is too important to be left solely to the professionals."

Service--More than 165,000 abortions were performed in New York City during the first year of the new state abortion law. This figure represents 950 abortions for every 1,000 live births. In terms of safety, both the medical complications rate and the mortaility rate for those who have had abortions has dropped sharply, and the maternal mortality rate--to which criminal abortions has always contributed heavily--has also dropped by more than fifty per cent since last year. Sixty-four per cent of the women came from outside of New York State; half of all those who received abortions were non-white; and of these women who were New York State residents, over 30% received Medicaid reimbursement for the abortion.

* * *

For the first time in at least fifty years, fewer than half the nation's doctors are dues-paying members of the AMA.

MEASURING THE QUALITY OF LIFE

A stab at some indices of the quality of life, and changes over time, has been developed by the Urban Institute. Single indicators have been developed for fourteen aspects of the quality of life.

Quality of Life	*Indicator*
Poverty	% Low Income households
Unemployment	% Unemployed
Racial Equality	Non-white/white unemployment rates
Mental Health	Suicide rate
Health	Infant Mortality rate
Traffic safety	Traffic death rate
Air pollution	Air pollution index
Income level	Per capita income
Housing	Cost of housing
Social disintegration	Narcotics addiction rate
Community concern	Per capita United Fund contributions
Public order	Reported robbery rate
Education	Draft rejection rate
Citizen participation	Presidential voting rate

Of course, so single set of indices to say nothing of a single indicator can express the complexity of the quality of life. Nor, of course, do figures for a single year express changes over time. Nonetheless, the effort is one long overdue and badly needed.

CIVIL SERVICE IN THE 20th CENTURY

The National Civil Service League has proposed a bold new model for civil service. Incorporated in a new model personnel law for state and local government, the League recommends

--Abolition of the Civil Service Commission.

--Establishment in its stead of a Citizens' Advisory Board to protect the public; a Hearing Officer as an ombudsman to protect public employees; and a Personnel Officer to serve chief executives.

--Offer preferential treatment to disadvantaged and minority group members, as has been true for veterans.

--Legitimize public sector collective bargaining processes.

--Liberalize the political activities permitted public employees.

--Assure culture free validated tests.

--Replacement of the "rule of three" with a pass-fail scoring system.

* * *

"A practical test, an oral interview, a scrutiny of the candidate's past record, education and experience, and trial--or probationary period actually on the job, are used in addition to or even in place of a written test by every good personnel agency."

1937 National Civil Service League Policy Statement.

* * *

The tenant's of Boston's Bromley-Health public housing project have formed the nation's first incorporated tenant body to contract for the operation of their development. Initially the tenant group will maintain 10 of the projects 34 buildings.

TENANTS' RIGHTS

For the first time since the public housing program was begun in 1937, all local housing authorities must adopt minimum federal standards for leases and grievance procedures.

The regulations provide for a fair hearing of tenants' grievances, various due process steps in the conduct of the hearings, and, should local housing authority representatives be appointed to the hearing panel then tenants shall be represented in equal number by tenants elected by the tenant body.

And in Los Angeles, public housing tenants have successfully won HUD withholding of funds sought by the local housing authority for a modernization program due to the absence of tenant involvement in its planning and implementation.

* * *

The National Tenants Organization (NTO) is undergoing a reorganization designed to increase the scope of its work. Jesse Gray, leader of Harlem tenants groups since the 1950s, will become the Executive Director of NTO, while Tony Henry, who had held that post, will now become director of the new National Tenants Information Service, which will be an information arm with NTO concentrating on tenant organizing.

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

Health consumers in New York City and public welfare clients in Chicago are seeking the information which citizens need to have an impact upon the institutions which effect them. The Chicago welfare rights organization has won access to information concerning Illinois' answers to their allegations that various state welfare regulations were not in conformity with federal law. The regional HEW commissioner, after initially promising to make the answers available to the group, had refused and that provoked the court action.

In New York City, community members of the St. Vincent's Hospital Ambulatory Care Service Advisory Committee have sued the hospital for information concerning decisions made regarding the nature and scope of care to be offered to the community. The Advisory Committee had been set up pursuant to the state's "Ghetto Medicine Law."

DEPRESSION – PEOPLE SAY YES

Nearly two-thirds of those surveyed in a Harris Poll felt that unemployment in their area has gotten worse in the past year, and nearly three-fourths felt inflation had grown in the same time period. It comes as no suprise, then, that 63% felt that we were in a depression, that more people felt the administration's policies did harm than those who felt they did good, and that three times as many had "hardly any" confidence in the administration's economic policy as had a "great deal of" confidence.

Former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Robert Wallace has made clear some of the broader consequences of unemployment. He points out that while a 6% rate means that 5 million are jobless at any one time, since unemployment turns over, over 17 million will be unemployed in the course of 1971, another 3.5 million will be forced to work part-time although wanting to work full-time, another 1 million will be forced out of the labor force, and yet another 1.5 million will be forced into lower paying jobs. With their families, this totals more than a third of the nation.

DRUGS—ARE EX-ADDICTS THE ANSWER?

There is a current fashion that suggests that only former addicts are capable of working in drug programs. Presumably this is because they have some special knowledge, can empathize more with addicts while at the same time being less likely to be fooled, and, as persons "who have been there and returned" offer effective role models. To a certain extent this has some validity in curative programs, although many ex-addicts have an almost messianic commitment to a particular treatment modality (usually the one in which they participated) and are intolerant of alternative approaches.

It is the area of prevention, however, where the ex-addict may be less effective. Here, of course, he hardly offers an appropriate role model in that whatever strength he now possesses was not sufficient to prevent his addition; indeed, in many instances it appears (and ex-addicts avow) that the strength they now have is as a result of the treatment they underwent to cure the addiction. Thus, the way to their strength is via addiction!

In addition, some observers have noted that the ex-addicts tales of substance use (and abuse) may be enticing to the non-user or dabbler. Further, to some extent the "straight" person is a challenge to the ex-addict who was not able, himself, to avoid addiction.

Finally, of course, the unique characteristic of the ex-addict, namely his status as an ex-addict, encourages him to favor closing employment opportunities to others lacking that characteristic. Similarly, there seems to be little transferability to other fields the experiences and knowledge of the ex-addict.

It would seem more appropriate to develop specific criteria of the skills, knowledge and experience necessary to work in a drug prevention, education or curative program; to make clear where the special experiences of the ex-addict are necessary; and, perhaps, it would be profitable to move toward a team pattern of ex-addicts and others working together.

DRUG TREATMENT: A FIRST

The nation's first comprehensive bilingual drug program has opened in the South Bronx. SERA, as the program is called, offers detoxification, an intensive day care program, and then full-time residence for further therapy and vocational training.

In light of the great need for such programs to reach non English speaking persons, it would seem useful to develop legislation similar to Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for bilingual drug programs.

MONEY FOR CURE: WHY NOT PREVENTION

Just as allocation of funds between various programs suggests priorities so, too, allocations between various components of individual program efforts are revealing. In announcing a new expanded drug program effort, President Nixon authorized $150 million in additional funds: 73% is to be spent on treatment of addicts, 20% on efforts to cut off supplies, and 7% on prevention and research.

GARDEN NOTES

When marijuana moved from city to suburbs, "weeds" became "grass."

CULTURAL DISADVANTAGE: TOLSTOY DEBUNKS

"One frequently hears or reads the statement that the home conditions, the rudeness of the parents, the field labor, the village games, and so forth, are the chief hindrances to school education. It may be that they really interfere with that school education, as pedagogues understand it; but it is time to convince ourselves that these conditions are the chief foundation of all education, and that they are far from being inimical and hindrances to the school, but that they are its prime and chief movers. . . . It seems strange that this coarse domestic life should have been able to teach the child . . . difficult things and should all of a sudden become unfit to instruct him in such easy things as reading, writing, and so forth, and should even be injurious for such an instruction."

Leo Tolstoy, "On Popular Education," 1862.

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE FROM NCDC

THE PERFORMANCE OF PARAPROFESSIONALS IN THE MENTAL HEALTH FIELD, Gartner & Riessman, $1.00.

JOB TASK ANALYSIS, Jackson, $1.50.

AN EXAMINATION OF COLLEGE PROGRAMS FOR PARAPROFESSIONALS, Gartner & Johnson, $1.50.

Coming:

PARAPROFESSIONALS AND THEIR PERFORMANCE, Alan Gartner, to be published by Praeger, September.

CHILDREN TEACH CHILDREN: LEARNING BY TEACHING, Alan Gartner, Mary Conway Kohler, Frank Riessman, to be published by Harper and Row, September.

PUBLICATIONS

(Please obtain from source noted.)

A SUMMARY OF PARAPROFESSIONAL TRAINING IN COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES. Office of New Careers, DHEW, Washington, D.C.

GOVERNMENT CAREERS AND THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE.

HUMAN SERVICES CAREER PROGRAMS AND THE COMMUNITY COLLEGES. Both available from American Association of Junior Colleges, 1 Dupont Circle, NW, Wash., D.C. $3. each.

HOW TO REGAIN YOUR RIGHTS. N.Y. Urban Coalition, 55 Fifth Ave., NYC, N.Y.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT-INFLATION DILEMMA: A MANPOWER SOLUTION. The Urban Institute, 2100 M St., NW, Wash., D.C., $2.95.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

New York's "college without walls" will open this fall as Empire State College. Starting initially in the Rochester and Albany areas, the school will expand to a statewide enrollment of 7,000 by 1973. Academic credit will be awarded for activities such as correspondence work, the use of packaged instructional material, educational TV courses, on-the-job and community activities, weekend seminars, summer colloquiums, and attendance in regular college courses.

Students may enter the program at any time and "contract" for a period of work. Regional learning centers will be students' main contact point with the college.

* * *

Action, the Administration's new combined program for citizen volunteer work, plans to fund pilot projects at ten colleges in which students would work for a year in community activities and gain college credit. The first grant has been made to the University of Nebraska.

* * *

Pilot three year college programs are to get underway this fall in California and New York, and plans are under consideration at Harvard, Princeton, and a number of other colleges.

* * *

Staten Island Community College will begin a three year baccalaureate program this fall. Staten Island is a member of the 18 college "University Without Walls" consortium.

* * *

The May/June issue of SOCIAL POLICY magazine includes a special section, "Higher Education and the Poor," which raises sharp questions regarding the dangers inherent in the peculiar manner by which higher education programs are being extended to the poor.

* * *

Two more "schools without walls" are to open next fall in Washington, D.C. and Hartford, Conn. This follows upon Philadelphia's Parkway Program and Chicago's Metro High School.

* * *

Gary, Indiana, site of a major performance contracting grant, has after a several months study rejected a proposal for an OEO tuition voucher plan. Second phase planning grants for voucher plans have been made to Alum Rock, Cal., and Seattle, school districts, while Rockland, Maine, received an initial feasibility study grant.

Sixty-seven per cent of last year's graduates of New York City's high schools went on to some form of full-time higher education. This figure represents a 10 per cent jump over the previous year, largely as a result of the open admissions program of the City University. However, these figures must be seen in the context that the high schools of the city lose nearly 40 per cent of their students between December of their junior year and graduation, with the rate for Blacks and Puerto Ricans twice that of whites.

* * *

TESTS AND DISCRIMINATION: A NEW ERA

The Supreme Court's decision in the *Griggs* case, requiring that tests be related to the job to be done, marks what may be the beginning of a whole new era in selection procedures and perhaps in other areas as well.

The urgency of the need is pointed to by the findings of an OEO-funded study conducted by the National Civil Service League which found that only 54% of all civil service agencies, state and local, validate their tests.

Following on the *Griggs* decision, the federal district court in Florida has ruled that the electrical workers must adopt job-related tests with built-in safeguards to prevent cultural, racial, or ethnic bias.

In New York City, a federal judge ordered the Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers Union to pay compensatory damages to Negroes deprived of work because of the union's discriminatory recruitment, selection, and placement practices.

And in Mississippi, a federal district court has ruled that a desegregating school system cannot impose test score requirements for teachers which would markedly reduce the number of Black teachers on its faculty. The Columbus, Miss., schools had proposed to require that all of its teachers--following a 1970 court ordered desegregation plan--score 1,000 or higher on the National Teachers' Examination to retain their posts.

A federal district court judge has ruled that the New York City Board of Examiners tests for school principals are biased against Blacks and Puerto Ricans. In a school system with more than 55% non-white pupils, there are only five Blacks and one Puerto Rican among the 1,000 licensed principals.

The judge found that not only did the testing procedure lead to a disproportionately low number of non-white administrators, but the tests failed to measure the abilities essential to the performance of the supervisory positions. He said that the "questions appeared to be aimed at testing the candidate's ability to memorize rather than the qualities normally associated with a school administrator."

The finding in the case was of particular moment in that it is expected -- because of improved pension benefits -- half the current elementary school principals will retire in the next three years. Until the court's ruling, they could not have been replaced on a permanent basis by anyone who had not passed a licensing test.

* * *

A study of the sixty-seven largest California based corporations found that of the 1008 members of their Board of Directors

--None were Black or Mexican-American. And of the 6 women, 4 are either married to a corporation official or related to corporate founders.

Of the 1,268 top officers and executives of these companies

--None were Black or Mexican-American; 6 are women.

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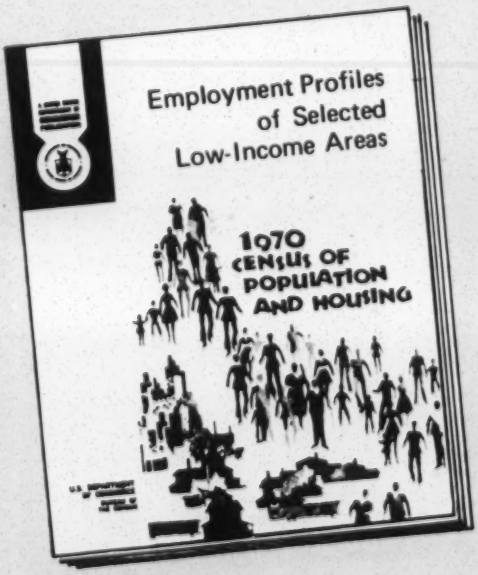
1970 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING

Final Reports

Employment Profiles of Selected Low-Income Areas PHC(3) Series



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

DESCRIPTION OF PUBLICATIONS

Employment Profiles of Selected Low-Income Areas—Series PHC(3)

During the period December 1971 through March 1972, the Bureau of the Census will publish a series of reports presenting data on the social and economic characteristics of the residents of selected urban and rural areas located throughout the United States. This series is designated as PHC(3) and is entitled "Employment Profiles of Selected Low-Income Areas."

The series, consisting of 76 reports,* covers selected low-income areas in 51 cities and seven sets of rural counties. The Series includes summary reports of cities where two or more areas were sampled and a United States Summary of the urban areas. Each report provides statistics on employment and unemployment, education, vocational training, job history, income, residential migration, and factors which are problems in job holding or job seeking for the residents of these areas.

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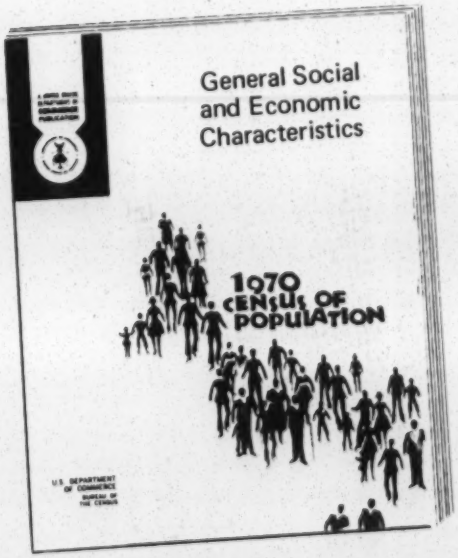

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The reports will include data on age; nativity, place of birth, and parentage; mother tongue; Spanish heritage; year moved into present house and residence in 1965; school enrollment and years of school completed; vocational training; veteran status; marital history; families and their composition; fertility; work disability; employment status; weeks worked in 1969; activity five years ago; place of work; means of transportation to work; occupation, industry, and class of worker; income; and poverty status. Items such as sex and race are also presented for the purpose of cross-classifications. In addition, for areas with Negro and/or Spanish population of specified size, the reports present selected data for these groups.

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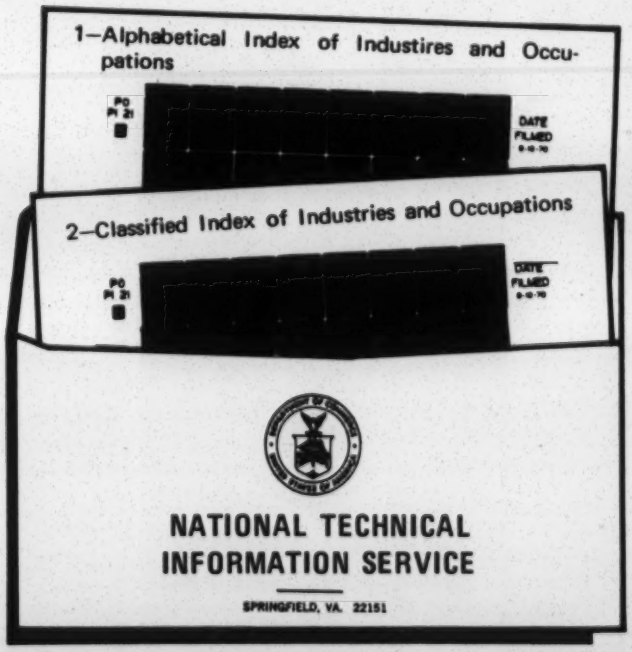

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Report 1-Alphabetical Index of Industries and Occupations

Report 2-Classified Index of Industries and Occupations

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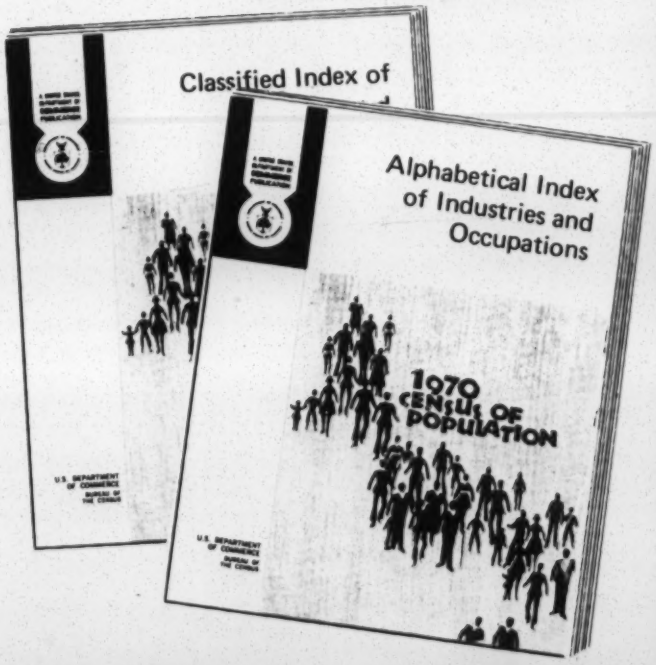

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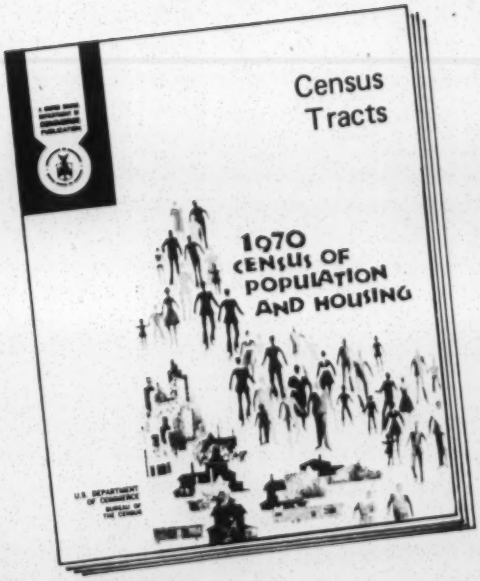

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A UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE PUBLICATION

1970 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING

December 1971

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE / Bureau of the Census

PUBLICATION AND COMPUTER TAPE PROGRAM

The results of the 1970 census are being released as soon as they are tabulated and assembled. Two major media are utilized: (1) printed reports and (2) magnetic computer tapes, including microfilm and print-outs therefrom.

For the printed reports, descriptive announcement and order forms become available from the Publications Distribution Section, Bureau of the Census or any U.S. Department of Commerce Field Office shortly before publication of the particular series of reports is initiated. After publication, census reports are on file in many libraries and also are available for examination or purchase at any Commerce Field Office. (A list of these offices appears on page 8 of this leaflet.) All final reports will be placed on microfiche (sheet microfilm) and made available for sale by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Springfield, Va. 22151. Further information and order forms for reports on microfiche may be obtained by writing to NTIS.

The publication program is described in four sections: (1) population census reports, (2) housing census reports, (3) joint population and housing census reports, and (4) additional series of reports. It should be noted that a number of the population reports will contain some housing data and a number of housing reports some population data.

Following the description of the publication program are sections on the computer tape program, certain further information on the 1970 census data, and a list of the subject items included in the 1970 census.

Inquiries concerning any phase of the data dissemination program of the 1970 census may be addressed to the Director, Bureau of the Census. The content and timing of the program outlined in this leaflet are subject to change. Revised versions of the leaflet will be issued as necessary.

Population Census Reports

Preliminary

Series PC(P1)
Series PC(P2)
Series PC(P3)

Three series of preliminary reports were issued between May and November 1970, based on preliminary population counts as compiled in the census field offices. Series PC(P1) consisted essentially of separate State reports presenting preliminary population counts for each county and each incorporated place of 1,000 inhabitants or more. Series PC(P2) consisted of a report for each standard metropolitan statistical area, giving its preliminary population count. Series PC(P3) consisted of three reports summarizing the preliminary counts for congressional districts, cities of 25,000 inhabitants or more, and standard metropolitan statistical areas. The figures in all the preliminary reports are superseded by those in the advance and final reports.

Advance

Series PC(V1)
Series PC(V2)

Two series of advance reports were issued between September 1970 and March 1971 presenting selected data prior to their publication in the Series PC(1)-A and B final reports. Each series consisted of a report for each State and the District of Columbia, as well as a U.S. summary report. Series PC(V1) reports contain final population counts for the State, counties, county subdivisions, all incorporated places, and unincorporated places of 1,000 inhabitants or more. Series PC(V2) reports contain selected data on age, sex, race, and relationship to head of household for the State, SMSA's, counties, and places of 10,000 inhabitants or more.

Population Census Reports--Continued

Final

Volume I. Characteristics of the Population. This volume will consist of separate reports for the United States, each of the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam, Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Canal Zone, and Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. For each of the 58 areas, the data will first be issued in four separate paperbound chapters, designated as A, B, C, and D. The four chapters will then be assembled and issued in a hard-cover "part." These parts will mostly be issued in the first half of 1972. The 58 chapters A will be assembled and issued in early 1972 in a hard-cover edition, designated as Part A. (For the outlying areas other than Puerto Rico, all the data on characteristics of the population will be included in chapter B.)

Series PC(1)-A
To be issued:
Oct. 1970-
Dec. 1971

Number of Inhabitants. Final official population counts are presented for States, counties (by urban-rural residence), SMSA's, urbanized areas, minor civil divisions, census county divisions, all incorporated places, and unincorporated places of 1,000 inhabitants or more.

Series PC(1)-B
To be issued:
May 1971-
Jan. 1972

General Population Characteristics. Statistics on age, sex, race, marital status, and relationship to head of household are presented for States, counties (by urban-rural residence), SMSA's, urbanized areas, minor civil divisions, census county divisions, and places of 1,000 inhabitants or more.

Series PC(1)-C
To be issued:
Nov. 1971-
May 1972

General Social and Economic Characteristics. These reports focus on the population subjects collected on a sample basis (see page 7 of this leaflet). Each subject is shown for some or all of the following areas: States (by urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm residence), counties, SMSA's, urbanized areas, and places of 2,500 inhabitants or more.

Series PC(1)-D
To be issued:
Feb.-Aug.
1972

Detailed Characteristics. These reports will cover most of the population subjects collected on a sample basis, presenting the data in considerable detail and cross-classified by age, race, and other characteristics. Each subject will be shown for some or all of the following areas: States (by urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm residence), SMSA's, and large cities.

Series PC(2)
To be issued:
Apr.-Dec.
1972

Volume II. Subject Reports. Each report in this volume will concentrate on a particular subject. Detailed information and cross-relationships will generally be provided on a national and regional level; in a few reports, data for States or standard metropolitan statistical areas will also be shown. Among the characteristics to be covered are national origin and race, fertility, families, marital status, migration, education, employment, unemployment, occupation, industry, and income. There will also be a report on the geographic distribution and characteristics of the institutional population.

Supplementary

Series PC(S1)

Supplementary Reports. This open series of reports will present miscellaneous types of population data, such as special compilations which cannot be accommodated in the regular final reports and selected tables from large reports to permit distribution of the particular figures in an inexpensive format.

Housing Census Reports

Preliminary

Series HC(P1)

This series, issued between June and October 1970, consisted essentially of a report for each State presenting preliminary housing unit counts for each place of 10,000 inhabitants or more, as compiled in the census field offices. These figures are superseded by those in the advance and final reports

Advance

Series HC(V1)

This series, issued between September 1970 and March 1971, consisted of a report for each State and the District of Columbia, as well as a U.S. summary report. The reports contain selected data on housing characteristics for the State, SMSA's, counties, and places of 10,000 inhabitants or more, prior to publication of the data in the Series HC(1)-A final reports.

Housing Census Reports--Continued

Final

Volume I. Characteristics for States, Cities, and Counties. This volume will consist of separate reports for the United States, each of the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam, Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Canal Zone, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. For each of these 58 areas, the data will first be issued in two separate paper-bound chapters, designated as A and B. The two chapters will then be assembled and issued in a hard-cover "part." These parts will mostly be issued in early 1972. (For the outlying areas other than Puerto Rico, all the housing data will be included in chapter A.)

Series HC(1)-A
To be issued:
Apr. 1971-
Jan. 1972

General Housing Characteristics. Statistics on 100-percent housing subjects (see page 7 of this leaflet) are presented for States, counties, SMSA's (by urban-rural parts), urbanized areas, and places of 1,000 inhabitants or more.

Series HC(1)-B
To be issued:
Nov. 1971-
May 1972

Detailed Housing Characteristics. These reports focus on the housing subjects collected on a sample basis (see page 7 of this leaflet). Each subject is shown for some or all of the following areas: States, counties, SMSA's, urbanized areas, and places of 2,500 inhabitants or more.

Series HC(2)
To be issued:
Feb.-Aug.
1972

Volume II. Metropolitan Housing Characteristics. These reports will cover most of the 1970 census housing subjects in considerable detail and cross-classification. There will be one report for each SMSA, presenting data for the SMSA and its component large cities, as well as a national summary report.

Series HC(3)
To be issued:
May 1971-
Jan. 1972

Volume III. Block Statistics. One report for each urbanized area showing data for individual blocks on selected 100-percent housing and population subjects (see page 7 of this leaflet). The series also includes reports for the communities outside urbanized areas which have contracted with the Census Bureau to provide block statistics from the 1970 census.

Series HC(4)
To be issued:
Nov.-Dec.
1972

Volume IV. Components of Inventory Change. A series of reports for the United States and each of 15 SMSA's based on a sample survey conducted in late 1970 and the first half of 1971. Data on the disposition of the 1960 inventory and the source of the 1970 inventory will be shown (new construction, mergers, demolitions, etc.).

Series HC(5)
To be issued:
Dec. 1972

Volume V. Residential Finance. A national report based on a sample survey conducted in 1971. Data will be presented on the financing of privately owned nonfarm residential properties (mortgage characteristics, homeowner expenses, etc.).

Series HC(6)
To be issued:
Dec. 1972

Volume VI. Estimates of "Substandard" Housing. Data on "substandard" housing units for counties and cities, based on the number of units lacking plumbing facilities combined with estimates of units with all plumbing facilities but in "dilapidated" condition.

Series HC(7)
To be issued:
Aug.-Dec.
1972

Volume VII. Subject Reports. Each report in this volume will concentrate on a particular subject. Detailed information and cross-classifications will generally be provided on a national and regional level; in some reports, data for States or SMSA's may also be shown. Among the subjects to be covered are housing characteristics by household composition, housing of minority groups and senior citizens, and households in mobile homes.

Supplementary

Series HC(S1)

Supplementary Reports. This open series of reports will present miscellaneous types of housing data, such as special compilations which cannot be accommodated in the regular final reports and selected tables from large reports to permit distribution of the particular figures in an inexpensive format.

Joint Population-Housing Reports

Series PHC(1)
To be issued:
Dec. 1971-
Apr. 1972

Census Tract Reports. One report for each SMSA, showing data for most of the population and housing subjects included in the 1970 census (see page 7 of this leaflet). Some tables will be based on the 100-percent tabulation, others on the sample tabulation. For each SMSA, the former will be prepared several months prior to publication of the full report. Copies of these tables will be purchasable at the cost of reproduction as they are prepared.

Series PHC(2)
To be issued:
Feb.-Nov.
1971

General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas, 1960 to 1970. This series consists of one report for each State and the District of Columbia, as well as a national summary report, presenting statistics for the State and for SMSA's and their central cities and constituent counties. Comparative 1960 and 1970 data are shown on population counts by age and race and on such housing subjects as tenure, plumbing facilities, value, and contract rent.

Series PHC(3)
To be issued:
Dec. 1971-
Mar. 1972

Employment Profiles of Selected Low-Income Areas. This series will consist of 75 reports, each presenting statistics on the social and economic characteristics of the residents of a particular low-income area, as well as a United States summary. The data, derived from sample surveys conducted during latter 1970 and early 1971, relate to low-income neighborhoods in 54 cities and seven rural areas. Each report will provide statistics on employment and unemployment, education, vocational training, availablity for work, job history, and income, as well as on value or rent and number of rooms in the housing unit.

Additional Reports

Series PHC(E)

Evaluation Reports. This open series will present the results of the extensive evaluation program conducted as an integral part of the 1970 census program, and relating to such matters as completeness of enumeration and quality of the data on characteristics.

Series PHC(R)

Procedural Reports. This open series will present information on various administrative and methodological aspects of the 1970 census, and will include a comprehensive procedural history of the 1970 census. The first report, issued in April 1971, focuses on the forms and procedures used in the data collection phase of the census.

PLEASE NOTE

Report series identified in this program schedule as "To be issued" should not be ordered until the appropriate Announcement–Order Form is released. This program listing of such publications constitutes only an advance announcement of publishing plans.

Computer Tapes

The major portion of the results of the 1970 census will be produced in a set of six tabulation counts. These counts will yield the statistics to be presented in most of the above-mentioned reports. To help meet the needs of census users, these counts are being designed to provide data with much greater subject and geographic detail than it is feasible or desirable to publish in printed reports. The data so tabulated will be available—subject to suppression of certain detail where necessary to protect confidentiality—on magnetic computer tape (and in some cases on printouts and microfilm) at the cost of preparing the copy. (As the balance of the data dissemination program is developed, additional computer tapes will be made available on a similar basis.)

The first three counts relate to the subject items collected on a 100-percent basis in the census. The second three counts relate to the subject items collected on a sample basis in the census, but also generally include the 100-percent items for purposes of cross-classification. The respective sets of subject items are listed on page 7 of this leaflet.

Except for the fifth count, the tapes will be arranged so that individual States can be readily purchased. The cost per reel is $60 (tape included).

The term "cells" is used below to indicate the scope of subject content of the several counts. This term refers to each figure or statistic in the tabulation for a specific geographic area. For example, in the Third Count, there are six cells for a cross-classification of race by sex: Three categories of race (white, Negro, other race) by two categories of sex (male, female).

Completed — First Count--approximately 400 cells of population and housing data for each of about 250,000 enumeration districts.
- Source of the PC(V1), PC(V2), PC(1)-A, HC(V1), and PHC(2) reports.
- File A contains the data for enumeration districts (one to ten reels of tape per State);
- File B contains summations by place, county, etc. (one or two reels per State).

Completed — Second Count--approximately 3,500 cells of population and housing data for each of about 35,000 tracts and 35,000 census county subdivisions.
- Source of the PC(1)-B, HC(1)-A, and a part of the PHC(1) reports.
- File A contains the data for tracts (one to 10 reels per State); File B contains the data for county subdivisions and the summations by place, county, etc. (one to nine reels per State).

Completed — Third Count--approximately 250 cells of population and housing data for each of about 1,500,000 blocks.
- Source of the HC(3) reports.
- The file contains one to 21 reels per State.

To be available: Dec. 1971-Mar. 1972 — Fourth Count--approximately 13,000 cells of population and housing data for each of about 35,000 tracts and 35,000 census county subdivisions; also about 30,000 cells of data for each county.
- Source of the PC(1)-C, HC(1)-B, and a part of the PHC(1) reports.
- File A will contain the data for tracts, File B the data for county subdivisions, and
- File C the summations by place, county, etc. The population data will appear in File A on one to 17 reels of tape per State, in File B on one to 11 reels, and in File C on one to six reels; the housing data will appear in File A on one to 23 reels of tape per State, in File B on one to 15 reels, and File C on one to six reels.

To be available: Apr. 1972 — Fifth Count--approximately 800 cells of population and housing data for 5-digit ZIP code areas in SMSA's and 3-digit ZIP code areas outside SMSA's.
- Available only on tape.
- One reel will contain all data for all 3-digit ZIP code areas (inside and outside SMSA's); 12 reels will contain all the data for the SMSA 5-digit ZIP code areas.

To be available: Mar.-June 1972 — Sixth Count--approximately 260,000 cells of population and housing data for each State, SMSA, and the larger cities and counties.
- Source of the PC(1)-D and HC(2) reports.
- The population data will appear on one to 12 reels per State and the housing data will appear on one to six reels per State.

Further Information

Many of the publication series and tabulation counts will include separate subject distributions for Negroes and for persons of Puerto Rican, Mexican, or other Spanish origin.

A number of descriptive publications prepared mainly for the users of computer summary tapes, but also of interest to other users of census data, are issued periodically by the Census Bureau. These documents provide information about the computer summary tapes; associated programs, products, and services; and the availability and costs of the various data products. The publications include Summary Tape User Memoranda, Data Access Descriptions, and Small-Area Data Notes. Also available is the 1970 Census Users' Guide, of which the first part provides information on the decennial census program, data products, and related subjects, and includes a glossary of technical terms used in connection with collecting, processing, and publishing census data. The second part of this publication, designed specifically to aid the summary tape user, describes the computer tape products in terms of format, language, and content.

Geographic areas on the summary tapes are represented by numeric codes. The Master Enumeration District List (MEDList) shows each geographic area name and its numeric code. Also included on this list are population and housing unit counts for individual enumeration districts and block groups. Copies are available on a State-by-State basis on computer tape, microfilm, or paper copy.

To use the summary tape information for tracts, enumeration districts, blocks, etc., it is necessary to have the maps which show the location and boundaries of particular areas. Census maps are available for purchase showing boundaries for blocks, enumeration districts, wards (where appropriate), congressional districts, tracts, incorporated and unincorporated places. county subdivisions, and counties.

Several packages of user-oriented materials have been developed by the Census Use Study—a research group concerned with exploring current uses and future needs for small-area statistics and data-handling and display techniques. The materials currently available include ADMATCH, a computer program used to assist in the assignment of geographic codes to computerized data records containing street addresses, and GRIDS and DIME, programs which relate to other geographic coding and mapping technique systems.

The Census Bureau will make available for purchase certain sample tape files containing population and housing characteristics as shown on individual census records. These files will contain no names or addresses. There will be six files, each containing a 1-percent national sample of persons and housing units; three files will be based on the census 15-percent sample and three on the census 5-percent sample. Each will provide a different type of geographic identification such as large SMSA's, States, and size of place.

(Percents indicate size of sample for which the question is asked; 100 percent is complete coverage)

Population items

100 percent.	Relationship to head of household
	Color or race
	Age
	Sex
	Marital status
20 percent.	State or country of birth
	Years of school completed
	Number of children ever born
	Employment status
	Hours worked last week
	Weeks worked in 1969
	Last year in which worked
	Occupation, industry, and class of worker
	Activity 5 years ago
	Income in 1969
15 percent.	Country of birth of parents
	Mother tongue
	Year moved into this house
	Place of residence 5 years ago
	School or college enrollment (public or private)
	Veteran status
	Place of work
	Means of transportation to work
5 percent.	Mexican or Spanish origin or descent
	Citizenship
	Year of immigration
	When married
	Vocational training completed
	Presence and duration of disability
	Occupation-industry 5 years ago

Housing items

100 percent.	Number of units at this address
	Telephone
	Private entrance to living quarters
	Complete kitchen facilities
	Rooms
	Water supply
	Flush toilet
	Bathtub or shower
	Basement
	Tenure
	Commercial establishment on property
	Value
	Contract rent
	Vacancy status
	Months vacant
20 percent.	Components of gross rent
	Heating equipment
	Year structure built
	Number of units in structure and whether a trailer
	Farm residence
15 percent.	Source of water
	Sewage disposal
	Bathrooms
	Air conditioning
	Automobiles
5 percent.	Stories, elevator in structure
	Fuel--heating, cooking, water heating
	Bedrooms
	Clothes washing machine
	Clothes dryer
	Dishwasher
	Home food freezer
	Television
	Radio
	Second home

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE FIELD OFFICES

Publications of the Bureau of the Census may be ordered from any field office listed below.

Albuquerque, N. Mex. 87101, Room 316, U.S. Courthouse
Anchorage, Alaska 99501, 412 Hill Building
Atlanta, Ga. 30309, 1401 Peachtree St. N.E.

Baltimore, Md. 21202, 415 U.S. Customhouse
Birmingham, Ala. 35205, 908 South 20th St.
Boston, Mass. 02203, Room 510, John F. Kennedy Fed. Bldg.
Buffalo, N.Y. 14203, 117 Ellicott St.

Charleston, S.C. 29403, 334 Meeting St.
Charleston, W. Va. 25301, 500 Quarrier St.
Cheyenne, Wyo. 82001, 2120 Capitol Ave.
Chicago, Ill. 60604, 219 South Dearborn St.
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202, 550 Main St.
Cleveland, Ohio 44114, Room 600, 666 Euclid Ave.

Dallas, Tex. 75202, 1114 Commerce St.
Denver, Colo. 80202, Room 161, New Customhouse
Des Moines, Iowa 50309, 210 Walnut St.
Detroit, Mich. 48226, 445 Federal Bldg.

Greensboro, N.C. 27402, 258 Federal Bldg.

Hartford, Conn. 06103, 450 Main St.
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813, 1015 Bishop St.
Houston, Tex. 77002, 201 Fannin Street

Jacksonville, Fla. 32202, 400 West Bay St.

Kansas City, Mo. 64106, 601 East 12th St.

Los Angeles, Calif. 90024, 11000 Wilshire Blvd.

Memphis, Tenn. 38103, 147 Jefferson Ave.
Miami, Fla. 33130, 25 West Flagler St.
Milwaukee, Wis. 53203, 238 West Wisconsin Ave.
Minneapolis, Minn. 55401, 110 South Fourth St.

New Orleans, La. 70130, 610 South St.
New York, N.Y. 10007, 26 Federal Plaza, Foley Sq.

Philadelphia, Pa. 19107, 1015 Chestnut St.
Phoenix, Ariz. 85025, 230 North First Ave.
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15222, 1000 Liberty Ave.
Portland, Oreg. 97204, 520 S.W. Morrison St.

Reno, Nev. 89502, 300 Booth St.
Richmond, Va. 23240, 400 North 8th St.

St. Louis, Mo. 63103, 1520 Market St.
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111, 125 South State St.
San Francisco, Calif. 94102 450 Golden Gate Ave.
San Juan, P.R. 00902, Post Office Bldg.
Savannah, Ga. 31402, 125-29 Bull St.
Seattle, Wash. 98104, 909 First Avenue

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